

THE
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- ART I—1 *An Account, Geographical, Statistical and Historical of Orissa Proper, or Cuttack. By A Sterling, Esq Asiatic Researches, vol. XV 1825*
- 2 *The Madras Journal of Literature and Science July and October, 1837 January and April, 1838*
- 3 *The Calcutta Christian Observer April and July, 1837 October and November, 1842*
- 4 *Lieut Macpherson's Report upon the Khonds of the Districts of Ganjam and Cuttack Calcutta, G H Huttman, Bengal Military Orphan Press, 1842*
- 5 *Various official Documents (hitherto unpublished)*

WHEN, early in 1836, the British first ascended the Ghats of Goomsur, the scene presented to their view was as novel as it was unexpected. It was in reality the discovery of a previously unknown and unexplored territory—a previously unknown and undescribed people. Beyond the mere fact of the existence of the hills and of a wild people, called the Khonds, who were said to inhabit them, little or nothing seemed to be antecedently known*. The change, therefore, from the low lands of Goomsur, to the colder climate and open country of the elevated table land above the Ghats, where the hills are bare of jungle, the inhabitants vastly more numerous, and their houses greatly superior to those below, was exceedingly striking, and did not fail to operate

* The entire description given of the Khonds in Mr Sterling's valuable and elaborate work on Orissa, so late as 1825, is contained in the following passage—
'The Khonds are found in great numbers in all the Hill Estates south of the Mahanadi. They form the principal part of the population of Killa Bampur which has thence been called Khondrah Daudpat. The natives have also the idea of a district situated between Daspalla, Boud and Goomsur, inhabited entirely by this tribe of hill people, which they call Khondra. I believe that the vast unexplored tracts of mountain and forest lying at the back of the Ganjam and Vizagapatam hill estates down as far as the Godavari are peopled chiefly by Khonds in a very savage state, who differ probably very little from their neighbours the Gonds, though Captain Blunt observes, on the authority of the Jaghirdar of Malud, and Manikpatam that the Coonds (Khonds) and Gonds are to be considered quite distinct races.'

The Rev Mr Brown, in 1837, after describing some of the forms of human sacrifice among the Khonds, adds—'How horrible the scenes here presented, so long practised, almost within sight of the European station, and yet none knew it till the recent resurrection'

with all the effect of a sudden surprize from an unexpected discovery. The appearance too of the savage-looking inhabitants,—with their only dress consisting of a cloth bound round the middle in such a way as to make the end hang down behind about as low as the flaps of a coat, their hair tied in a knot on the temple or forehead, which was ornamented with a band of red woollen or other cloth, or even paper, and each man carrying an axe, and the far greater part of them a bow and arrows also,—could not fail to contribute powerfully to the general effect of blended surprize and astonishment.

As it is our intention to enter at some length into an account of the measures pursued by the British Government for the general civilization of these wild tribes, and more particularly the extirpation of their atrocious system of human sacrifice, it may better serve to attract and fix the attention of the reader, if, at the outset, we refer to the position of their country, the mode in which we were suddenly brought into contact with them, as well as the social and religious characteristics by which they are so peculiarly distinguished.

Orissa, in which Goomsur is situated, though now only a British province, was anciently the seat of a renowned Monarchy. It derives its name, according to Mr Sterling, from *Or* or *Odra*, the designation of an original Hindu tribe, and *desa* country—meaning the country of the *Or* or *Odra* race. Its classical name in the Purans is *Utkala*.

Conformably with the style of the Brahmanical Shastras, its annals commence with the death of Krishna, the opening of the *Kali yug* or evil age, 3001 B C. The legends connected with this early period are in the ordinary style of the wonderful, the ridiculous and the incredible. It is with the accession of the Rajahs, called the *Kesari Pat* or *Vansa*, A D 473, that Mr Sterling is disposed to date the commencement of the real history of the province. It is to the time of the founder of this dynasty, that the recovery of the image and the restoration of the worship of Jagannath are usually referred. After the extinction of the *Kesari* family, early in the twelfth century (1131), the sovereignty of the country was acquired by a conqueror from the south, who was fabled to have been “the offspring of the goddess Ganga Sana, or the lesser Ganges (Godaveri) by a form of Mahadeo” or Shiva. With him began the race of princes called the *Ganga Vansa*, or *Gajapati* line, who ruled the country for about four centuries—a period “fertile in great names and events of importance and which forms unquestionably the

most brilliant and interesting portion of Orissan history,—if such terms may be applied to the annals of a hitherto unknown dynasty, governing one only of the many provinces, which now constitute the British Empire in India.”

When conquest had enlarged the Orissan dominions, a new coin and seal were struck with the following titles, so characteristic of the turgid taste of orientalism —“The illustrious hero, the Gajapati (Lord of elephants), sovereign of Gaur (Bengal), Supreme Monarch over the rulers of the Tribe of Utkala, Kernata, and the nine forts, a divinity terrible as Bhairava to the wicked, protector of the grants enjoyed by the pious, King of Kings, like the Lord of a thousand arms in the field of battle by his unequalled might, and a comet (or portent) to the martial race” At length the Mahomedan invaders appeared, and after many fierce and deadly conflicts, succeeded in establishing their supremacy With the death of the Rajah Pertab Rudra Deo, A. D 1524, terminated all the glories of the Gajapati dynasty, and the royal House of Orissa. Soon after the demise of that sovereign “the race itself became extinct, and the independence of the country was not destined long to survive,” though the Rajahs of Khurda “claim to represent the majesty of this once powerful race”

After the lapse of two centuries, (1743) the Berar Mahrattas suddenly made an incursion into the country—plundering and destroying without mercy And after repeated invasions of a similar predatory character, the whole territory, in about ten years, fell under “the sole undisputed government of the Berar Mahrattas” Their administration was, as in every other part of their foreign conquests, “fatal to the welfare of the people and the prosperity of the country, and exhibited a picture of misrule, anarchy, weakness, rapacity, and violence combined, which makes one wonder how society can have been kept together under so calamitous a tyranny”

In the strange revolutions of empire, however, the whole territory was eventually destined to fall piecemeal under the sway of Imperial Britain In 1804, the last surviving vestige of Mahratta sovereignty was extinguished in Orissa. Since that period “the proud but insignificant representatives of the Maharajahs of Orissa, (the royal family of Khurda) have been officially acknowledged only as private land-holders. But the liberal policy of government has conferred on them a sufficient pension,” in the enjoyment of which they may “pass their days in tranquil and honourable retirement.”

A kingdom, which experienced such political vicissitudes,

must also have undergone many and essential territorial changes. The modern Zillah of Cuttack, (*Katak*) which in Sanskrit, means "royal residence," or "seat of empire," may not inaccurately, says Mr Sterling, "be called Orissa proper, from its comprising the ancient original country of the *Uriya** or *Odra* nation, and from the circumstance of its retaining among the natives of the present day the exclusive appellation of *Or Desa* or *Oresa*." But when the kingdom was in the zenith of its glory, under the Gajapati sovereigns, it occupied an extensive territory of several degrees, both in latitude and longitude—stretching along the western shore of the Bay of Bengal, between the Great Delta and valley of the Ganges and those of the Godavari. In other words, it comprized within its limits "four of our modern zillahs entire, and portions of three others, viz Midnapore, Cuttack, Ganjam, and Vizagapatam, with parts of the Jungle Mehals, Hughli, and Rajamundry, besides a portion of the hills and inward land country of Gondwana."

The accounts which the Purans give of the beauty and fertility of this ancient kingdom and the happiness of its inhabitants are quite in keeping with their panegyrics on its ancient heroes. "Its happy inhabitants," say they, "live secure of a reception into the world of spirits, and those who even visit it, and bathe in its sacred rivers, obtain remission of their sins, though they may weigh like mountains. Who shall describe adequately its sacred streams, its temples, its khetrs, its fragrant flowers and fruits of exquisite flavour, and all the merits and advantage of a sojourn in such a land." But without stopping to describe its sacred streams or fragrant flowers, as depicted in the visions of a glowing imagination, it is more to our purpose to point to its leading divisions, Historical and Natural, as they really are. Glancing, then, at a map of the country, it will at once be seen, that it was traversed in its whole length by the range of Eastern Ghats, running at an average distance of fifty or sixty miles from the Coromandel Coast, and was naturally divided, though by no strong or clear lines of demarcation, into an Alpine, a Subalpine, and a Maritime Region. Of these three divisions, the following is Captain Macpherson's brief but clear and intelligible description —

"1st. Its Maritime division extended along the whole sea board, with an average breadth of fifteen miles. It was an open, salubrious, and highly productive expanse, with the exception of a tract of marshy and forest-

* Towards the south in Ganjam this term is pronounced and written Oodiah or Wodiah.

covered deltas, intersected by lagunes, which was situated in its Northern portion. The open and fertile parts of this territory formed, in conformity with the general usage, the *khalisah* or state Domain, whilst the wilder and less accessible districts were partitioned into a number of *Zemindaries* of very various rank, value and extent.

2nd The Subalpine region comprehended the subordinate ramifications and the dependent hill groups of the great mountain chain upon either side with the extensive tracts of country which they embraced. It comprized above one-half of the entire area of the kingdom, forming a vast, ill explored expanse of hilly wastes, impenetrable forests, and swampy wood lands, interspersed with numerous valleys generally characterized by beauty and fertility, and broken occasionally by broad and productive plains.

This region was divided into a large number of *Zemindaries*, some of which, bearing the rank of petty principalities, have made a considerable figure in the history of the eastern division of the Peninsula of India.

The subject of the relation of these great estates to the Orissan Monarchy, and to the empires in which they have been included since its fall, has been obscured rather than illustrated by the application to it of the terms and analogies of feudalism by writers who have regarded its objects, and its external features, rather than its origin, its principles and its spirit. These *Zemindary* Domains vary in point of extent, from inconsiderable estates of small value, to territories of great dimensions, yielding large revenues. The latter are possessed by families which derive their origin from the Royal Houses of Orissa, or from the principal stocks of Rajputana, or which have sprung from successful adventurers generally of two classes, the leaders of predatory bands and great provincial officers, in whose hands administrative have passed into proprietary rights.

But the greater *Zemindars* of Orissa, as a body, do not owe their territories, like the original nobility of feudal Europe, to the direct patronage of a sovereign, nor their authority to the social wants of a particular age. Their possessions were generally acquired by the enterprise or by the policy of the founders of each house, either conquered from earlier Hindu proprietors, or wrested from the primitive occupants of the soil, or severed by fraud and force from the state. But all have acknowledged the theoretical supremacy, in succession, of the Orissan Monarchy, of that of Delhi, of the Mahratta power, and of our Empire, accepting from each either original or renewed deeds of tenure, which bear every date within a period of twelve centuries, and exemplify conditions endlessly varied.

The precarious and unfruitful allegiance which they have yielded to these powers has been signified by the payment of tribute which, under our rule, is in some quarters nominal, in some heavy, by the performance of services generally formal, and the maintenance of nominal contingents.

But the chiefs of these estates have always borne the title of *Rajahs*, and have generally exercised, with few practical limitations, all the powers of independent sovereignty, ruling the haughty and uncontrolled despots of their wild domains,—save where revolts have arisen, generally from the operation of unsuitable laws and excessive assessments, and we have bent them completely or partially to our yoke.

3rd The Alpine Region, comprising the central ridges, the lofty plateau, and the inner valleys of the chain of Ghats, with the great tracts of forest by which they are surrounded, has been occupied from the earliest historical period, as it is at present, chiefly by remnants of three races, which claim, with the universal support of tradition, the aboriginal possession not of this portion alone, but of the greater part of the soil of Orissa.

Of these remnants, the *Koles* prevail in the Northern parts, the *Khonds*

in the middle region, and the Sourabs in the south, and whilst each of these holds exclusive possession of a part of the central tracts of mountain and forest it exists also, thinly scattered over portions of the Zemindary domain, under various relations to the Hindu people

The Khonds are now seen, in both of these situations, within the following ill defined limits Upon the east they appear scattered over the wilder tracts of the Ganjam district bordering upon the Chilka Lake, and are seen in that quarter at a few points, upon the coast of the Bay of Bengal. They are found, on the north west, on the confines of Gondwana, in longitude 83° , while on the west they extend within the unsurveyed frontier of Berar They are found as far south as Bustar in latitude $19^{\circ} 40'$, while the Zemindary of Palconda is like that of Kunapur possessed by a Khond Chief On the south east, they are replaced on the limits of the Souradah and Moherry district in Ganjam, by the Sourah race, which thenceforward occupies the eastern acclivities of the Ghats to the Godaveri To the north, fifty miles beyond the Mahanadi, in the Meridian of Boad, they are succeeded by the Kole people On the north east, they are found high in Cuttack, while Sourahs (not identified with the southern race) there inhabit the inferior ridges of the Ghats

The extreme length of the territory which is thus indicated, is about two hundred, its extreme breadth about one hundred and seventy miles, and it is unequally divided by the Mahanadi flowing from west to east in $20^{\circ} 40'$ N lat

The Sourah race extends from Kimeddy Zemindary which adjoins Goomsur upon the south to the Godaveri, a region two hundred miles in length, which is almost entirely unexplored "

The races now named form, to all appearance, a portion of the " numerous remnants of the primitive population of India, which have survived the Hindu conquest where favoured by social and physical circumstances, and which are now to be observed under the most various aspects and often under highly interesting relations to the supervening people " *

It would, however, be altogether repugnant to our present purpose, were we to expatiate more at large either on the History of the Orissan Monarchy, or on the condition of the diverse races which it claimed as subjects or as allies, or on the varieties of the wild and uncivilized hill population of India. Our more immediate business is with the Khonds, and our first object is to shew how we originally came in contact with them

Before the recent Goomsur war we had no relationships with this race nor any knowledge of their peculiarities But

* " Exactly similar to these," says Captain Macpherson, " is the position of the Cheusuwars to the south of the Kistna on the same range of Ghats, that of the Goands (or Gonds) which replace the Khonds on the West and North West, following the Vindhya chain across Behar, that of the Tadawars of the pastoral tracts of the Nâgiri Hills and the Currumbars at their bases, that of the Bheels of the Dekhan and Central India, and innumerable others between Nepal and Comoro, which, with diverse institutions, manners, superstitions, tongues, and physical features, exist both unchanged, and at every stage of assimilation to the more civilized people "

Goomsur had long been one of the British tributaries, and it had certain political relationships with the Khonds, unintelligible and unknown to us. In the case of this petty principality the tribute happened to be rather a heavy one. The average gross revenue has been estimated at rather more than a lakh and a half of rupees*. Prior to 1783, the public tribute derived from it was never more, generally less, than half a lakh. In that year, the reigning Rajah, Virama Bunge (Bhonju) having failed to perform his engagements to Government, the Zemindary was taken from him and made over to his elder brother, Lutchmana Bunge, who, besides undertaking to liquidate the arrears then due, agreed to raise the tribute to a lakh. In those days the invariable practice was to effect such arrangements through the medium of sirkars, who became responsible for the fulfilment of the terms entered into by the Zemindar, and, under that plea, were permitted to take the management of the country and the collection of the revenue into their own hands.

In 1788, the Rajah died and was succeeded by his son, Strikara Bunge, but the country remained as before under the grinding sway of the securities. The Rajah, disgusted at the situation in which he found himself, at length went on a pilgrimage to Brindabun, and resigned the Zemindary to his son, Dananjia Bunge, who held it until 1795, when his father returned and expelled him from the country. From this period the Zemindary continued in a state of the utmost disorder and confusion. For about three years little or nothing was paid into the public treasury. During the greater part of that period, the Rajah himself absconded. His conduct was attributed by the collector to his inability to meet the public demand, he, on the other hand, declared that the course he had taken was forced upon him by the ill-treatment and the frauds of the securities and other agents employed by the collector. But be the cause what it might, his disaffection terminated in open rebellion, and in setting the public authorities at defiance.

When matters were in this state, Mr Brown, in 1800, succeeded to the collectorate. At first he felt sanguine of reclaiming the Rajah to obedience, but the hope proving fallacious, he was constrained to apply for military aid to eject

* The actual sum is said to be 1,66,140. To save the necessity of future reference we may, once for all, state that our brief epitome of the recent history of Goomsur is derived or rather compiled mainly from original documents which had been drawn up with great care by the Commissioner Mr Russel, and other public officers in the service of Government.

him from the Zemindary The Madras troops in the northern Circars not being sufficient, troops were sent from Bengal under Colonel Marley, who was armed with power, to bring to summary trial, and, if necessary, punish with death all persons found in arms, or, in any way, aiding or abetting the cause of the insurgents On his arrival in Ganjam, early in May, 1801, the Colonel issued a proclamation, offering a reward of ten thousand rupees for the apprehension of the Rajah War was then commenced in earnest throughout the district It was prosecuted with vigour Forts, barriers, and stockades were destroyed. The country was completely scoured, but from the enemy's better knowledge of the roads, he was always enabled to make good his retreat into the jungles Having established posts for protection, in different parts, Colonel Marley, by proclamation, formally deposed the Rajah (Strikara) and appointed his son, Dananjia, in his stead

In September, the unhealthiness of the posts compelled the troops to fall back into the more open country, which encouraged the peons in the interest of the deposed Rajah to make incursions from the jungles, and occasion much mischief In October, sickness increased to such an extent that all the regular troops had to be withdrawn, and the protection of the country left to the friends and adherents of the young Zemindar The rebel party then renewed their efforts with increased vigor They retook the principal post of Koladah, but were soon again dislodged with great loss At length, a temporary cessation of hostilities ensued, in consequence of a compromise on the part of Mr Brown, who granted forgiveness and a pecuniary provision to the ex-Rajah, on condition that he should acquiesce in the accession of his own son But as his proximity to the Zemindary and the intrigues of his adherents tended to keep it in an unsettled and disturbed state, Mr Brown next gave him certain Maliah districts for his maintenance, free of any payment to government This arrangement lasted for several years, when he got into difficulties with the Khonds. Through the ascendant influence of his son, he was obliged to abandon the country He then roamed about in the garb of a religious mendicant—visited most of the shrines and places of pilgrimage in the western provinces—returned, through the Mahratta country, to Madras—had an interview with the Governor, and through him, obtained a passport once more to Ganjam

About the year 1812, a great many accusations of violence, cruelty and murder were brought against the reigning Zemindar, Dananjia Bunge, which led to a voluminous correspondence

between the Magistrate and Government. At last, in 1814, a warrant was issued for his apprehension, and for the employment of troops to enforce it. For resistance to the process of the Criminal Court, the Zemindary was declared to be forfeited. War was commenced, and pursued so hotly that, in June of the following year (1815), Dananjia gave himself up to the collector, and was finally sent to Chingleput. The Zemindary was then held by Dora Bisaye* and other leading native officials, in the name and for behoof of a supposed son of the ejected Rajah Dananjia. But there was really no such son in existence—the father having previously murdered him. For this supposed living but really dead son, Dora Bisaye and his wily compeers actually succeeded in passing off a *female child* on the public authorities.

The former ex-Rajah, Strikara, the father of Dananjia, after his return from Madras betook himself to his wonted vocation of fomenting all manner of seditious disturbances. He was seized, in the guise of a Byragi, or religious mendicant, and confined in Berampore, Ganjam. Early in 1818, he escaped and fled to Goomsur. He was soon at the head of a party—detected and exposed the conspiracy of Dora Bisaye and his co-adjutors—sent the supposititious girl-Rajah to the collector, and was himself eventually re-instated in the Zemindary, in May, 1819. It was, however, stipulated, that, at his death, the Zemindary should revert to Government, to be disposed of as might then be thought most proper. The rent or revenue was fixed at 75,000 rupees. From this an allowance of 8,000 rupees was made to Dananjia, who, moreover, was told, that should his demeanour be peaceable and his conduct satisfactory, he might, at his father's death, be restored to the Zemindary.

For about ten years, Strikara paid the public demand with unwonted regularity. He then began to get embarrassed. Through the mismanagement of his people, and the appropriation of his resources to superstitious purposes, he fell into arrears, to the amount of nearly a lakh of rupees. Finding himself incompetent to liquidate so large a sum, he intimated his wish to retire from public business and surrender the Zemindary to his son Dananjia. The latter was recalled from Chingleput, but before he arrived, the old man had changed his mind and refused to make over the country to him. Finding, however, from the appearance of a detachment of troops, that the government was determined to use force, he submitted to

* This is the official title of a functionary, the nature and character of whose office will afterwards be explained.

the necessity, and retired in 1831 to Jagannath, on an annual pension from the public treasury of 8000 Rupees. The Zemindary was then formally restored to Dananjia, on the same terms as it was held by his father, so far as related to the future amount of tribute, but subject to the farther condition, that he was to discharge the balance due for former years. In the event of his failing to make good this engagement, it was distinctly stipulated that the Zemindary would be resumed by government and transferred from him and his family for ever.

For two years (1832-33 and 1833-34) the assessment was paid in full, while in addition to the current demand, he undertook to discharge, by annual instalments of about ten thousand rupees, the heavy arrears which had accumulated during his father's management. All this he seemed at first really anxious to perform. But soon a change came over his mind,—whether from its being impaired by excessive riot and debauchery, or from the selfish intrigues of his courtiers,* or from these and other causes combined, it is not easy to determine. But, be that as it may, of the fact itself there could be no doubt. The Collector's agent he would not allow to proceed beyond the frontier village, and threatened with punishment any one who afforded him shelter, or attended to his orders.

In July, 1835, the Board of Revenue at length directed the Collector to warn him that, if arrears were not discharged, within a month, the Zemindary would be resumed by Government, agreeably to the terms of his *sunnud*. A warrant was, at the same time, transmitted for his arrest, if necessary, as a state prisoner. But the Collector was authorized to offer him a restoration of his former pension, if he agreed to retire and live peaceably beyond the bounds of the Zemindary. The official communication was made to him on the 7th August following. Still, unwilling to proceed to extremities, the Collector made several attempts to obtain a personal interview with him, so as faithfully to remonstrate, and solemnly to warn him of the danger on which he was rushing headlong. At last he made his appearance, promised to pay all arrears within twelve days, and requested, in the meanwhile,

* It was afterwards fully ascertained that one of the chief authors of the Zemindar's revolt was Dora Bisaye, the Khond chief, who had been appointed by Dananjia Bunge, Head Agent, in connection with his Government, for all the Khond territory belonging to Goomsur above the Ghats, under the title of Malah Bisaye. He had filled the same place when Dananjia was in power before Strikara, after his accession, had appointed another, Lochano Bisaye, in his stead, but the power he (Dora) had acquired, enabled him to defy his authority and evade all his efforts to seize him. Of late years, he had lived chiefly in a village established by himself on land belonging to Koradah.

that the Collector's Amin or Agent be withdrawn from his territory

On the 7th September, the period, within which the arrears* must be paid, expired. The Collector had no alternative but to carry the orders of Government into effect. Anticipating resistance, he deemed it expedient to advance a body of troops into the country, though the season was peculiarly unfavourable for any military operation. On the 22nd September, the detachment under Colonel Hodgson reached Askah. Various unsatisfactory proposals were then made by the Zemindar, the discussion of which occasioned delay. The Collector did every thing in his power to induce him quietly to submit, but in vain. He would not surrender himself. After coming, on one occasion, a great way with the Collector's Agent, he suddenly jumped on his horse, and galloped back again.

All measures of conciliation having thus failed, the force advanced, and on the 3rd November (1835) occupied Goomsur, and on the 9th, the town and fort of Koladah—meeting with no molestation, till, on the 12th, they reached Gullery. Here the adherents of the Zemindar opened a fire on the camp, and did all in their power to oppose its farther progress. On this act of open rebellion, martial law was proclaimed, the Zemindary was declared to be forfeited, and a reward of 5000 Rupees offered for the apprehension of Dananjia Bunge.

In marching forward, the troops were incessantly fired on from the hills and the jungles—the Rajah and his followers getting constantly ahead. The difficulties to be encountered were now found to be immense. The whole country was in a state of insurrection. The authority of Government was acknowledged only where the presence of the troops was felt, and they were all but disabled with fever. The neighbouring Zemindars, the hill chiefs, the inhabitants of the country, and in many instances even the public servants of Government seemed averse to the downfall of the Goomsur family† and the establishment of the direct power of Government.

* The balance due was Rs 40,333 and Rs 10,767 the instalment payable on account of his father's arrears. This may seem a large sum to have been demanded in payment, within so short a time. But, from the accounts and documents of Dora Bisaye afterwards seized, it appeared that he and his master had 70,000 Rupees, when they went into rebellion—a much larger sum than that claimed by Government—so that there seemed to be much perverse wilfulness in the matter.

† In the Madras Journal for January 1838, appears the translation of a long Teldgú Manuscript purporting to be an historical narrative of the Rajahs of Goomsur. It is altogether a purely Brahmanical Legend—tracing the origin of the *Bhonyu* family, to some *riahs* or great sage of the *Treta Yug*—some thousands of years it may be before the Mosiac era of the creation—and gravely registering the genealogy and the exploits of the ruling members of the family down to Dananjia Bunge, in whom the line finally terminated.

instead The country was deserted by the inhabitants, with no symptom of a friendly disposition any where In these circumstances, the Collector, Mr. Stevenson, was induced to propose that a son of Dananjia, Vurdaranze Bunge, should be appointed, or even Strikara to be again restored. This, however, was a measure which the Government could not entertain—being apprehensive that such a proceeding would amount to an open acknowledgement of its own inability to enforce the penalty which it had proclaimed. On the other hand, they could not shut their eyes to the difficulties of completely subjugating the country Detachments might, and did, march to any part of it But, when they arrived, they found nothing but a few deserted thatched cottages or huts, in some place of difficult access The post, from the nature of its position, the difficulty of supply, the deadliness of the climate, could not be retained, and even if it could, the cost of so doing would be immensely greater than any concurrent gain that could be expected from it. The detachments were obliged to retire under a heavy and constant fire from invisible enemies, who naturally attributed the necessity of retreat to their own superior prowess The British had no party—no friends to give any information on which the least reliance could be placed,—while the enemy was made acquainted with every minutæ in their movements No promise of reward—no bribe,—had the effect of drawing a single individual of any weight to assist in any material point The authority of the British in these quarters was found to be little more than a shadow—not being acknowledged in the least beyond the fertile plains of the low country The Rajah was all in all. The extensive mountain tracts of Goomsur joined on to other endless tracts of mountains and forest, of which the British had no knowledge, and with the independent chiefs of which they were even unacquainted by name

When affairs began to assume so serious an aspect, the Collector at last suggested that some person invested with greater powers than himself, should be appointed to undertake their management. Accordingly, the Honourable Mr Russel, was commissioned to the discharge of the arduous task. Leaving Madras on the 22d December (1835), he reached General Taylor's camp, near Goomsur, on the 11th January 1836

It was now given out and very generally believed that the rebel zemindar, Dananjia, was dead. And the object, on all sides, seemed to be, to secure a public recognition of his son, Vurdaranze, as his successor Mr Russel, however, would give no pledge, beyond that of kind treatment, if the son was given up to him.

After various excuses and delays, this boy, aged about 13 years, was on the 6th February, brought to Mr Russel, being accompanied by one of the leading insurgent chiefs. The rest of them remained behind, to see whether the youth would be formally installed in the zemindary. Being disappointed in their expectation, in this respect, they, after a few days, resolved to disperse, and stir up more disturbances.

It was now determined to pursue the rebel fugitives, who betook themselves to the jungles and the hills. In furtherance of this object, it was found necessary for the *British* troops, for the first time, to ascend the Ghats. And, in doing so, they came in contact, for the first time, with their wild Highland inhabitants, the Khonds.*

Every effort was made to prevent the outbreak of any hostilities with them. They were distinctly apprized of the sole object which the British had in view. They were expressly assured that they had nothing to fear—that no new duties would be imposed on them—only the general duty they had always owed the *Sarkar*†, viz obedience to the persons appointed as Bisaye over them, attendance in arms when their services were required, the seizure and delivery of all offenders obnoxious to their authority, and a trifling annual *nuzzur* or offering, in token of their allegiance. At first, these positive assurances appeared to have the desired effect. They visited the British troops by tribes and villages, and brought fowls to barter with the men for small pieces of cloth and tobacco. They soon got very fond of amusing themselves with looking glasses. Mr Russel was highly pleased to find the good understanding which prevailed between the Khonds and the troops. On his own way to join the camp,‡ he was met by the people of all the villages near the road. Great numbers came to him with their chiefs, bringing with them the usual presents of a kid, a bunch of plantains, and some fowls, and receiving in return

* The troops under Captain Butler appear to have been the first that encountered these in any number. When marching up one of the steep passes the Khonds collected in great force, and appeared determined to oppose any further progress of the British troops. But, after the explanations given, they quietly withdrew. At that time the region into which the troops had advanced was entirely unexplored. "Of the Khond people," says Captain Macpherson, "we knew nothing save the name. We were ignorant of the nature of the connections which subsisted between them and Goomsur, or the neighbouring zemindaries. We knew nothing of their social organization, or their feeling towards the late zemindar, or towards ourselves, of their numbers, their language or their manners,—while they could have formed no idea of the character of our power, of our views, or any of our objects."

† The universal native designation for the Supreme or Paramount power for the time being.

‡ Mr Russel was accompanied to the interior by Lieut. Hill, of the survey department, Capt. Campbell, his own assistant, had been despatched on another errand.

red handkerchiefs, and other little articles on which they set value

This pleasing, kindly and friendly intercourse was destined, however, to be but of short continuance. The evil counsel of Dora Bisaye and the other fugitive chiefs at last began to prevail. These succeeded in beguiling the unhappy people, with their base insinuations and gross mis-statements. It was strongly asseverated that the real ultimate intention of Government was to deprive them of the privileges they had hitherto enjoyed and so highly prized—their independence and birthright liberties—to seize upon their country and subject it to a heavy revenue assessment. Deceived and duped by such artful and mischievous representations, the deluded people, in an evil hour, resolved to resort to arms and repel force by force *. Every attempt was made to undeceive them, but in vain. And this was the signal for the commencement of a harrassing and miserable and inglorious warfare.

It were altogether foreign to the purpose of this article to enter into any detailed account of the scenes of devastation and bloodshed, which, for the next three months, were so widely enacted throughout the hitherto unvisited and unknown Highlands of Goomsur. We need only glance at a few leading particulars, and then very briefly state the result.

Rewards varying from 500 to 5,000 rupees, were, by proclamation, offered for the capture of the chief rebels, Dora Bisaye and others. But, wretched and poverty-stricken though the people were, not one in all Khondistan was found ready, in the case of one of their own chiefs, to take the price of blood. The circumstance may serve to remind us of the

* It was also supposed that the unworthy and unjustifiable conduct of some of the men who lagged behind to steal fowls from friendly villages might have furnished some ground of provocation, and given a colouring of plausibility to the fictitious statements of Dora Bisaye and his companions. Afterwards it was found that there was another and still stronger cause than any yet named, and one of whose nature or existence the British had originally no suspicion. As will be afterwards better shewn, there existed a *very peculiar political relationship* between these Khonds and the Rajah of Goomsur. "The dying Rajah," says Capt. Macpherson 'had obtained a pledge from several of the tribes of the plateau, given before their great Divinity to prevent in any event the capture of his family which had suffered treatment, in the last degree dishonourable, at our hands upon a former occasion, when taken by Colonel Fletcher a force in 1815. The disposition of the Khonds, at first considered amicable, was observed to tend towards hostility, upon the apprehension of these distinguished guests. But the existence of their pledge first appeared from a bold, startling, and partially successful attempt to fulfil it. They rose and overwhelmed a small detachment, which contrary to the intentions of the Commissioner, was employed to escort a portion of the family of the Zemindar by a difficult pass from the plateau to the low country, putting to death, to prevent their dishonour, seven ladies of the Zepana.' Thus these poor people "were arrayed against the British in the name of every authority which they regarded as legitimate and in the sacred name of hospitality."

somewhat similar devotion of the Scottish Highlanders to Prince Charles, when even the magnificent lure of three lakhs of rupees could not tempt the poorest of his followers to betray him into the hands of a hostile Government. Dora Bisaye, in particular, as their principal chieftain, was an object of deepest reverence to the Khonds. He had freely thrown himself on their hospitality and protection. And in that feeling of honour, which in such circumstances, such wild tribes, whatever be the other defects of their character, have often been seen to exhibit, he found a refuge of more inviolable security than in the munitions of rocks.

Various attempts were next made to open communications with any of the chiefs who had not yet committed themselves by any overt acts of rebellion, but in vain. No offer of money or of presents could induce any of the commonest Khonds to act intermediately even as messengers. In this emergency, recourse was had to the native method of fastening letters, written in the Uriya language, to the boughs of trees, and other conspicuous places, where they were most likely to attract notice. The letters were always found afterwards to be removed, but no effect whatever was produced on any of the chiefs.

When any villages were approached, it was uniformly found that the inhabitants had fled to the higher hills and neighbouring jungles, carrying with them all their cattle, grain, and other property. And if, in any case, a few were discovered lagging behind, they manifested no disposition to espouse the British cause, either because they could feel no real interest in doing so, or because they were deterred by fear lest any and they might afford during the short stay of the troops, would render them objects of revenge after their departure. When any of them, under the influence of fear, undertook to act the part of guides, to any of the fastnesses in which their principal chief might be reported to have taken refuge, they almost invariably proved their acquaintance with the tactics of their brother mountaineers of the west, when professing to assist the celebrated Bailie Nicol Jervie in his pursuit of the redoubtable Rob Roy. They repeatedly brought the troops to a dead fix—conducting them to spots, where they found themselves literally shut up—surrounded by rocks and precipices hundreds of feet in height. Then to their surprise and dismay, would a comparative handful of British officers and soldiers find themselves suddenly encompassed by a bristling array of one or two thousand Khonds starting from their ambuscade, and displaying axes and bows and arrows in menacing attitude from the “bush and bracken” of the

neighbouring hills—somewhat reminding us of the famous apparition which started into being at the shrill whistle of Roderick Dhu —

“ Instant through copse and heath, arose
 Bonnets and spears and bended bows ,
 On right, on left above, below,
 Spring up at once the lurking foe ,
 From shingles gray their lances start,
 The bracken-bush sends forth the dart,
 The rushes and the willow wand
 Are bristling into axe and brand,
 And every tuft of broom gives life
 To plumed warrior arm'd for strife
 That whistle garrison'd the glen
 At once with full five hundred men,
 As if the yawning hill to heaven
 A subterranean host had given ”

It was not the policy of these wild people to meet disciplined troops in the open field. No. Such encounter they always took good care to avoid. It was from behind the bush and the rock that they aimed invisibly their fatal shafts, for there was scarcely a solitary crag or thicket that did not conceal a foe with his deadly axe and poisoned arrow. In this way they repeatedly cut off stragglers, and small guards. On the occasion already alluded to in a previous note, they nearly destroyed a detachment of upwards of thirty men with two British officers several women and servants. After this the Khonds were wont to insult the British troops by vauntfully appearing in the clothes and uniform of their murdered comrades. At last the fear of them became almost contagious, and the sepoys were well nigh seized with a general panic. And to add to their misfortune, no European or Native escaped fever, though the country above the ghats was to appearance healthy.

Of the Khonds, on the other hand, numbers were shot like wild beasts. Some were seized and hung up on the trees. Their villages were every where laid in ashes. The inhabitants were either dead, or fled to enter into fresh contests with the tiger and other lords of the forest. And with the habitations of man perished also the produce of the field, while the hopes of a coming harvest were wholly blasted. The widow and several members of the late Rajah's family together with some of the more notable of the rebel chiefs had also been taken.

At last, Sam Bisaye, the powerful chief of Hodzoghoro, accompanied by Ostan Sing of Tintalagudda, made their appearance. The various shuffling excuses and delays of the former greatly shook Mr Russel's confidence in him. He professed to be friendly. But it soon appeared that his sole object was

to amuse with false hopes and idle stories about the lurking places of Dora Bisaye, and other fugitives. Well did he know where they lay concealed. With his knowledge and connivance they often skulked in safety within a stone's throw of their pursuers. While professing a desire to aid the British, he gave secret information of all their movements, and, by his influence with the people, under whose protection they were living, he prevented these from delivering them up. Thus it was that, through his continued treachery, Dora Bisaye and others still escaped, while, in other instances, there was the best reason to conclude that he was accessory to the rescue of some, after they were captured. As it was, Dora Bisaye, in particular, had many hair-breadth escapes. His temporary place of refuge was often invaded, but an hour or two after he had decamped—leaving his cooking vessels still warm with sundry other petty articles behind him.

Thus before the setting in of the monsoon in June (1836), the whole of the district, including its strong holds and most difficult positions, had been frequently visited by the British troops, who left behind them a universal scene of havoc and desolation. The insurgents had no longer any place that they could rely upon as a safe retreat. With the exception of Dora Bisaye, the most influential of their chiefs had been taken. Some of the rest, it was ascertained, had fled to the Hill Districts of Boad and Duspalla in the Bengal Presidency*. In the low country, hostilities had entirely ceased, and the people returned to their ordinary occupations. And thus,—after an infinitude of harassing work—fighting, burning, capturing, marching and counter-marching—terminated the *first* campaign of the Goomsur War.

Meanwhile, during the interval of the cessation of hostilities, an Act (XXIII.) was passed, merely declaring Goomsur and Souradaht† to be no longer subject to the general Regulations, and giving the Madras Government power to adopt the

* In anticipation of such a contingency, Mr Stevenson, the collector, had, as far back as the 13th November, 1835, written to the commissioner of Cuttack to move troops into the hill Zemindaries on the Bengal side. Thus the Bengal Government, from their want of information respecting the nature of the country declined to do. Mr Russel subsequently wrote to the same effect, with a similar result,—though permission was granted to him and his party, if deemed necessary, to cross the frontier. Afterwards Mr Wilkinson, the collector of Puri, went to use his influence with the Zemindar of Nyghur, to deliver up the rebel fugitives, still lurking in his territories, while Mr Bicketts, the commissioner at Cuttack, intimated that the Bengal Government must move on forces to crush a rebellion in Baunpore, which bordered nearly on Goomsur, and punish those who continued to harbour the rebel fugitives.

† This Zemindary had been annexed by purchase, in 1829, to that of Goomsur, and now, of course, and shared in the common forfeiture.

mode of administration best suited to the tribes. During the monsoon, Sam Bisaye and other chiefs were also detained, from motives of policy. All doubt of the death of the late Rajah had ceased. No disturbances any where broke out. And at length the Government resolved on the absolute resumption of the Zemindary *

And however ominous the forebodings seemed to be, before this step was actually taken, the propriety of it was now proved by the general satisfaction with which the decision was received when finally and irrevocably taken. The people, far from evincing, as was anticipated, any sympathy for the family ejected, hailed their removal from the Zemindary as a deliverance from rulers, who knew no law but the gratification of their own passions, and from whose cruel oppressions no family was safe.

Of the *second* and *last* campaign of this unhappy Goomsur war,—which, commencing about the middle of November, 1836, terminated about the beginning of May, 1837,—little need be said. Both in its leading characteristics and more minute details it very closely resembled the *first*. At its close, the spirit of insurrection and rebellion was not only fairly broken but every where exterminated—and peace and order not only restored but every where formally established.

New villages began to rise up on every side. The Military classes who had always been foremost in their resistance, and all along the most active opponents of British supremacy, gave the most substantial proofs of their submission. The entire country was in the absolute possession of the British. With the exception of Dora Bisaye, every chief, whose capture was of any importance, had been taken,† and condemned to

* Among the considerations which influenced this final consummation, the following may doubtless be specified, viz that the numerous military expeditions necessary to be undertaken for the suppression of disturbances, arising from the misconduct of the Zemindars, and the intrigues of parties struggling for power, rendered Goomsur an expensive appendage to the British Government—that all claims on the part of the reigning family had legally ceased—that the restoration of it to power would, in a few years, produce a renewal of the same scenes and a repetition of the same calls for the aid of military force, whereas, from the situation of the zemindary, its direct and continued possession, on the part of the British Government, would add to its salutary power and influence over the neighbouring states.

† “The Khonds themselves,” says Captain Macpherson, “refused with the most admirable constancy, to bring their natural Heads, or their guests, bound to our scaffolds. The country was laid utterly desolate. The population was unceasingly pursued by the troops. The Rajah’s *Hindu* officers were given up for a reward in the Malahs of Boad. The Khond Chiefs of the offending district of Goomsur were betrayed one by one by the (Hindu) Naiks of the border, and the Hindu inhabitants of the hills, with the exception of the Chief, Dora Bisaye, who favoured or feared by all, escaped to the Patna Zemindary from whence having obtained the promise of his life from the Commissioner for Cuttack, he sometime after came in.”

imprisonment, exile, or execution. And as regarded the great ring leader of the rebellion he was now reduced to a condition of utter powerlessness. There remained not the shadow of an apprehension that he could any more disturb or endanger the public tranquillity. Instead of the former chiefs, new Múlkos were every where appointed. And Sam Bisaye,—to whose character, on account of his treacherous conduct in the *first* campaign, much suspicion naturally attached, but who had rendered some very important services in the *second*—was rewarded by having the office of Dora Bisaye, or chief Bisaye, to whom all the others owed obedience, conferred on him, with the additional honorary title of *Bahadur Buksh** To bring him into closer and more frequent intercourse with the European functionaries of Government, a portion of land was allotted to him in the low country. The peons who were most deeply implicated in the late rebellion were removed to a distance, and their lands bestowed on the sirdars who had been faithful, and who by being thus mixed up with others that had been more or less disaffected, contributed essentially to the general protection and safety. The native corps of peons, raised and organised by Major Campbell, appeared to answer every expectation. And thus, all things around seemed to hold out the promise and the guarantee of lasting peace and prosperity †

* This is a title only given to chief Ministers, and it was added to distinguish Sam Bisaye from his predecessors. It is common to man, in all stages of civilization, to be flattered with honorary titles. The names by which the principal leaders in the late insurrection were best known, were titles of this kind, conferred upon them by the Rajah. Of some of them, which were very characteristic, the following are translations—"Strong of Arm," "Lion in war," "Unconquerable," "Strong as the elephant in battle," "Lion hearted," "Strong as the Lion in battle," "One who works in darkness," "Swifter than the winged tribe," "One who can get through a rock," "Swift as the hawk," &c.

† From the brief sketch given of the recent history of Goomsur, it has appeared that the whole country has been in an unsettled state since it came into our possession—that each successive zemindar had been in rebellion against us—that the public revenue was uncertain, and even when realized, was collected with difficulty—that the actual state of the country and its management was so little known that it was governed for more than two years in the name of a boy who was dead, and was personated by a girl—that the endeavours made at different times to establish our power by means of troops had been attended by a great sacrifice of treasure, life, and character, owing to the system of compromise which had marked the close of every such attempt. And the history of our connection with Goomsur, it would seem, is but a repetition, more or less, of the history of our connection with all the great zemindaries to the south—Puriah Kumed, Golkondah and Visanagram, and various parts of the Vizagapatam Districts. Such having been so uniformly and extensively the scenes of violence and anarchy exhibited in these regions, it well becomes the Statesman and the Philanthropist to ask, what has been the cause? There is good reason to believe and if we mistake not, it was Mr. Russel's opinion, that one chief cause has been the great mistake of our system in applying laws and regulations, unsuited alike to the nature and circumstances of the country and the character and feelings of the people—laws and regulations, too, which, more especially in the hill districts, we have not the means of enforcing. For surely, there can be few greater

Such, then, were the time, the way and the circumstances in which the British were first brought into direct contact and

absurdities than, on all occasions to apply the laws, that are adapted to one state of society to all other states however widely dissimilar

Nor is it that the system pursued there has been inapplicable merely. We have not been consistent with ourselves. The system pursued in one place has been often at total variance with that adopted in another—provoking unfavourable contrast and terminating in irritation and open anarchy. Look, for example, at either side of the border or frontier line between the Presidencies of Madras and Bengal. On the Bengal side, in the neighbouring zemindaries of Cuttack the tribute paid to the state is a "mere pepper corn," the zemindars are free from all interference whatever with the internal government of the country, neither are they subject to the ordinary Courts of Justice. On the Madras side of the frontier on the other hand, the Zemindars or Rajahs have been subject to the Courts and Regulations in common with all others, the assessment was originally high being made on the principle of allowing one third of the gross revenue, in case of default, the lands were liable to sequestration and eventually to sale for recovery of arrears while the Rajahs themselves were liable in their own persons to arrest and imprisonment.

A change of system was obviously demanded, and in the necessity of some modification all parties appear to have concurred—from the Governor General of India downwards.

What, in the first instance Mr Russel proposed was, that while the low country or coast zemindaries remained subject to the Courts as before, both in Ganjam and Vizagapatam the Hill zemindars and Tributaries should be exempted from the jurisdiction of the ordinary Courts, and placed exclusively under the Collector of the District, and that the powers then vested in the Criminal Judge and Courts of Appeal and Circuit be transferred to that officer modified so far as to dispense with Mahomedan law, and provide in certain cases for a reference to the *Sudder* and *Foujdari Adalat*, and the Board of Revenue. Even in cases of reference, whether Civil Criminal, or Revenueal, Courts or Boards in the exercise of their supervision, 'should look only to the administration of substantial justice and dispense with the observance of any forms not essential to that end.' Much latitude and discretion ought, in all respects, to be allowed, since it is the knowledge that a Functionary 'has the power to act on the instant, that will best prevent the necessity of putting it in force.' And since, if this recommendation were acted on, the duties and the powers of the Collector would be both increased and enlarged, it would be clearly expedient to confer on that officer some designation more suited to the relation in which he would stand to the people placed under his control and jurisdiction, and to the nature of the further authority proposed to be vested in him. Perhaps, the most appropriate designation might be that of Collector and Government Commissioner or Governor's Agent for the Hill country.

The duties of the Functionary who might be thus appointed would be exceedingly various and onerous. In consequence of the resumption of the Zemindaries of Goomsur and Souradah, a fair and equitable settlement of the revenue or public assessment would itself be a complex work of the greatest difficulty. From the defective system heretofore pursued, and the interest which all classes had in disguising the truth, the attainment of correct accounts of the resources of the Zemindaries, leading to a final adjustment, would be a slow and arduous process. The Collector-Commissioner ought, therefore, to be provided with an able assistant. And it was desirable that the assistant should be a Military Officer, with a band of armed peons, ready to repel any predatory incursions on the part of the Khonds, and keep in check the various Military retainers in the Zemindary. Such an assistant ought to make it his business to qualify himself by getting acquainted with the political state of the district, and the peculiar character of the people with whom he had to deal, and for this end he ought to spend some months of every year in the zemindaries.

The recommendation of so sagacious, experienced, and competent a Functionary as Mr Russel could not fail to carry the greatest weight. And we believe that in the future management of the Hill zemindaries it was substantially acted on. A Governor's Agent or Commissioner with increased powers was appointed with a Military Assistant. By Act XXIV of 1860, all previous Regulations were declared to have ceased to have effect, and a complete change was made in the Judicial Administration of the District. And when, early in 1841, Mr Bannerman, the Commissioner, was called on to say, whether from his experience of its working, he found the powers vested by it

personal acquaintance with the Khonds. A recent time, it must be allowed—when we consider that for upwards of a century they were located in their immediate neighbourhood, and that the very capital of British India is not above a distance of three hundred miles from Khondistan. A rough way of forming a first acquaintance, it must be acknowledged—the way of the sword, of fire, of bloodshed, and of horrible devastation ! Unpleasant and untoward circumstances, it must be confessed—rebellion in one of the provinces and the hospitable entertainment of the rebel fugitives by an ignorant, innocent and deluded* people. But, how often is this the way in which a mysterious over-ruling Providence begins to work out what shall eventually issue in the consummation of the wisest and most beneficent designs ! It is only by the lacerations of many a stroke of the hammer and the chisel that the rough block in the quarry is at last converted into a polished statue. It is only by the torture of many a cutting and hewing and carving that the rude trunk in the forest is in the end transformed into a beauteous cabinet. And it has only been by the terrific shock of war and havoc and ruin that many a people has been violently wrenched from the grasp of barbarism, and placed on the high way of ultimate civilization and general prosperity

It is now, however, time to change our theme, and direct attention, as originally proposed, to the general, social and religious characteristics of the singular race thus recently and suddenly brought within the limits of our statistics and geography. In doing so, we must briefly indicate the sources of our information

One thing is obvious enough, that when the British first ascended the Ghats in February, 1836, every intelligent officer, and indeed every man, whether intelligent or not, who had simply eyes to see, and ears to hear, must have formed some acquaintance, more or less minute, with the Khonds and their country. The general aspect of the hills and valleys, the general appearance of the people and their abodes, the

in the Governor's Agent adequate, his report was, that "it appeared to him to be most full and ample for the punishment of all crimes of whatever description," but that, "in his opinion, the restrictions and forms of procedure which had been prescribed by the Rules for the guidance of the Agents under the provisions of the Enactment were calculated, and had operated, to frustrate in a great degree the main effect of the late change."

* It is impossible not to be touched at the spectacle of these people when returning to fields and villages which the scourge of war had laid waste. "They seemed astonished," says an eye witness, "at the strange men wearing red cloth breaking in amongst them;" saying, "Why did they come to us? We never saw these new men before, we never gave them trouble, why give us pain, and leave us hopeless?"

general products of the field and the forest,—these and other merely *external* phenomena must have obtruded themselves on the senses of all,—though the degrees of accuracy with which even these were noted must have varied indefinitely with the taste, talent and intelligence of the different observers. But, with whatever degree of accuracy these might be discerned by the outward eye, it is clear that the power of accurately describing or recording them for the benefit of others must have been possessed but by few, while to fewer still would belong the faculty or the power of penetrating beneath the outer surface, of threading the mazy labyrinth of the social economy, and of detecting the sources and the symbols of the inner life of the people. Indeed, the latter is a task of so difficult and arduous a character, that few probably would ever think of attempting it. Be this as it may, as far as we can discover, it is an achievement, which, with any tolerable pretensions to completeness, *only one man* has succeeded in accomplishing,—and that man is Captain Macpherson, formerly Assistant Surveyor General and now Government Commissioner to the Khonds.

In his first report to Government* the Hon'ble Mr Russel announced the simple *fact* of the *existence* of human sacrifice among the Khonds. In his second report† he was enabled to incorporate a statement of *one of the modes* of the sacrifice, which had been furnished to him by the collector, Mr Stevenson—adding, at the same time, a few general items of intelligence relative to the appearance, the dress, the occupations, and the abodes of the people. In Mr Ingles' Return‡ to the Precept of the Northern Court of Circuit, two or three facts are stated respecting the elemental or Sabian worship of the Khonds. In one of Lieut Hill's Survey Reports,§ there are some valuable topographical notices of the portions of the country, said to be occupied by the Khonds. At a later period,|| on the Bengal side, Lieut. Hicks supplied a few particulars relative to the mode of sacrifice, but added nothing to what was previously well known. But beyond these few and scanty *notanda*, which do not profess to give any thing like a full delineation even of *exterior* phenomena, still less to sound the *interior* depths, we can find nothing worth naming, or rather literally nothing at all respecting the physical, social,

* Dated, Berhampore, Ganjam, 12th August, 1836

† Dated 11th May, 1837

‡ Dated 31st December, 1837

§ Dated 2d July, 1838

|| Reports, dated 13th May, 1844, and 1st June, 1845

or religious condition of the people in any of the voluminous official Reports to Government

And, then, as to the public, the matter seems to stand thus. In the *Calcutta Christian Observer* for April and July, 1837, appeared two papers by the Revd. Mr Brown, of the general Baptist Mission, Orissa. These contained the gleanings of a short tour in the seat of war among the hills of Goomsur, during the preceding cold season—gleanings, which were the result partly of personal observation, and partly of hearsay from the British Officers engaged in the harassing and desultory warfare. The somewhat copious notices thus given to the public of the Khonds and their country—though, for the most part, loose, unconnected, and, as respects the inner frame and workings of the social fabric, partial, fragmentary and unauthoritative—must have possessed an uncommon degree of interest and value, at a time when little was known of the people but the name. They were moreover, pervaded by a fine spirit of noble-minded Christian benevolence which tended greatly to enhance their value and deepen their interest. Again, nearly cotemporaneous* with these notices, appeared, in the *Madras Journal*, a paper “On the language, manners and rites of the Khonds, or Khoi Jati of the Goomsur mountains, from documents furnished by J A. R. Stevenson, Esq. Commissioner in Goomsur, and W G Maxwell, Esq., M D, with illustrative and connecting observations, by Revd. W Taylor, Member of the Madras Literary Society, &c.” A few months afterwards† some additional notes were given on the same subjects, in the same Journal. Except on the topic of the Khond language, these notices are not nearly so copious or so interesting, as those supplied by Mr Brown in the *Calcutta Christian Observer*. The same Journal, much about the same time, published a paper by Lieut Campbell, Assistant Surveyor General, on “Meteorological experiments,” made by him on the Goomsur Mountains, but this paper is strictly limited to its own professional object, and contains no remarks on the people.

Apart from occasional scraps which appeared, from time to time, in the Newspapers of the Madras and Bengal Presidency, and which made no substantial addition to the information conveyed else where, the papers, now succinctly described, exhaust, as far as we can learn, with a single exception, the entire catalogue of formal documents on the subject—whether official or unofficial—published or unpublished. That single exception is the original and subsequent reports of Captain

* July, 1837

† January, 1838

Macpherson. His original Report was drawn up from information which was obtained during his employment with his Regiment, and on survey under the orders of the Commissioner in Goomsur and Souradah, in the years 1836 and 1837; and the following year, from intercourse with Dora Bisaye, the Chief Khond Patriarch of Goomsur, after his final surrender of himself, and with other prisoners of Ganjam. The effects of exposure in the most unhealthy parts of the region of the Ghata, then compelled him to leave India for two years, and immediately on his return he was called on to submit the result of his enquiries for the consideration of Government. Thus he did, in June, 1841, in the form of the Report now adverted to. Of the more popular parts of this Report, which was afterwards published by order of the Supreme Government of India, a copious analysis, with remarks, was given in the October and November numbers of the *Calcutta Christian Observer*, for 1842. The Report itself is a large and elaborate document—extending, in print, to 125 folio pages. It is a full, clear, systematic* and authoritative dissertation on the whole subject of the Khonds—their country, its general configuration and superficial characters, its geological features and routes—their relations to the neighbouring Zemindaries—their Government and organization in tribes and other subdivisions—their usages of mutual intercourse, social and domestic, as also of civil and criminal Law—their manners and customs relating to marriage, convivial habits, dress, habitations, medicines—their religion, priesthood and ritual observances—together with minute statistics relating to their vegetable and other products, their professions, their Mntahs and villages, the numbers of

* A brief statement of the sources whence the information in the report was mainly derived, will at once establish its authoritative character. They are the following —

1. The Bamsavuli or Book of Family Records of Goomsur
2. The Bamsavuli of Boad.
3. The Rajah of Boad and his principal servants
4. Nowbhum Khonso the Chief Khond Patriarch of Boad who met me in the district of Atcombo
5. Madhwa Khonso the present Khonso whom I saw in the same district
6. Mysoor Mullik, Chief Patriarch of Battabari, whom I visited there
7. Damoo Jenui, one of the two Chief Patriarchs of Borogutza, whom I met there
8. Para Bisaye and the Patriarch Kando Mullik of Bulcupa, whom I met there
9. Mittar Naik and the Chief Patriarch Ghussai Mullik, of Dumsasinghi, who came from thence to Courmanghi to meet me
10. Babene Mullik, Chief Patriarch of Ugdur, who met me at Boad
11. Bagwan Sen, Chief Patriarch of Bara Mullik, who met me at Boad
12. A Nephew of the Chief Patriarch of Punchora, who came to meet at Boad.
13. Sam Bisaye at Kodseghora.
14. Ootai Sing Dulbehra whom I saw at Tintlaghora
15. The Hindia Collector of Tolga, at Gattegudda, and other Hindus whom I found in Chokaped
16. The Chief Patriarch Ummi Magi whom I visited in Nowagar in the Duspalla Zemindary
17. The Chief Patriarch of Goomsur Dora Bisaye, when in confinement at Ganjam.
18. The Karsis and Kurnums of several of the Districts of Goomsur below the Ghata.
19. Khond and Hindu prisoners in the Jail at Ganjam.

the houses and the names of the Chiefs. On all these and their kindred or connected subjects the Report sheds a full and steady light which we look for in vain elsewhere. The whole is mapped out and cantoned with the skill of one who was thoroughly master of his subject—every topic, whether leading or subordinate, occupying its proper compartment, appearing in its relative dimensions, and having its proportional value affixed to it. To the author, who has in it displayed so much talent for original and recondite research, and who has had the courage and patience voluntarily to undergo so much personal toil and fatigue in prosecuting it,—it is an honour. Nor must we withhold the credit that is due to the Government which shewed itself capable of appreciating such rare and arduous labours.

In subsequent reports,* hitherto unpublished, Captain Macpherson has been enabled to confirm, as well to make considerable additions to the valuable materials previously collected and arranged. On one subject in particular he has succeeded in supplying information that is altogether new. Formerly the existence of female infanticide among any of the Khond tribes was but barely suspected. In his first Report Mr Russel simply intimated the fact of its supposed existence. But we have not been able to ascertain that either he or any one else was ever able to furnish any details on the subject. Indeed, in none of the official reports to Government do we find the painful theme ever afterwards so much as even alluded to. In an after Report, however, Captain Macpherson was enabled to lay it bare in all its extent and heinous enormity.

With these preliminary remarks we shall proceed to supply the proffered intelligence relative to the Khonds—making, for the reasons now stated, Captain Macpherson's reports our principal guide, while, at the same time, ready to draw from any other available source any interesting or important item which may timeously present itself.

The name of Khonds.—On this subject Captain Macpherson's words are —

"The Hindu name for this people which we have adopted, "Khond," in the plural "Khondulu," means Mountaineer, from the Telugu word signifying a "hill." Their sole native appellation south of the Mahanadi is

* It must be distinctly borne in mind that Captain Macpherson's first Report referred chiefly to the state of the Khond race in the seminaries of Gumsur, Boud and Daspalla—and that while subsequent inquiries tended to shew the general identity of the Khond system, in regard to its leading features, as exhibited elsewhere, they also served to bring to light many striking differences in points of particular detail.

race secured his conquests by the systematic assignment of lands, upon the tenure of military service, to the agricultural soldiery, called Paiks, by which they were achieved. Accordingly, it appears that under the operation of a few simple causes, the modern Khonds are divided into *three* principal classes.

First In the level plains below the Ghats, the ancient race now exists only in scattered families, which either occupy, upon what may be termed *servile* tenures, tracts lost amid the forests, too wild, inaccessible or insalubrious, for the habitations of the Hindu, or dwell in petty hamlets whose services are assigned to particular villages or temples. This constitutes the completely subjugated or *servile class*—designated "*Bethah*" Khonds, i. e. "labouring without hire."

Secondly Along the rugged and forest laden skirts of the bases of the mountain chain, the Khond population, animated by the spirit of wild freedom and aided by the physical advantages of their locality, instead of suffering degradation, were permitted to retain their lands either upon a rent tenure, or on condition of free service to the Rajah. And their descendants, gradually becoming assimilated to their conquerors, now assist as *free* subjects of the Zemindary, under the appellation of "*Bennah*" Khonds.

Thirdly The lofty plateau or central table-land of the Ghats is occupied by Khonds that are either *wholly* or *virtually independent*. For this independence they are mainly indebted to the ramparts which the God of creation hath reared around them. The table-land itself, elevated about two thousand feet above the plains, is broken by vallies and crossed by ridges of various altitudes. The great subalpine forest sends large offshoots up the exterior vallies of the plateau which occasionally rise above its edges and meet from either side. But many considerable tracts are perfectly bare of wood, others are lightly sprinkled with forest trees of luxuriant growth, scattered singly in clumps, some portions are covered with light bushy jungle rich in flowers, while every where dark umbrageous groves mark out the abutments and deeper recesses of the hills. The climate of this region has been proved to be, to strangers and foreigners, like that of every other forest-girt plateau in India of similar elevation as highly insalubrious as that of the wooded district underneath, though, favoured by the influence of never failing rains and perennial springs, it yields a rich return to the skilful and energetic industry of its native inhabitants—the Khonds. Whilst, therefore, from the difficulties and the advantages of their position, none of the hill tribes were ever reduced under a foreign yoke, it might yet be expected that those which occupied the portion of the Ghats bordering upon the great Zemindary domains, would be brought into frequent hostile collisions with their powerful lowland neighbours. Their simple traditional history, accordingly, abounds with the usual rehearsal of "border" friendships and "border" enmities, "border forays and border" compacts,—*sometimes* upon the point of falling into vassalage, *at others*, affecting a distant and independent interest,—*now* combining, in the prosecution of their objects with the domestic, and *then*, with the external enemies of the Zemindaries,—*at one time*, obeying the summons of the Zemindar-Rajah to render their aid in uniting with him against Hindu chiefs that might be mutual foes; *at another*, rallying round their own Federal Heads to defend their ancient rights against his encroachments. In the course of ages however, a growing sense of mutual interest led to the establishment of something like mutual permanent relations between the "border" tribes and the neighbouring Zemindary Chiefs—relations based on a mutual recognition of perfect political equality*.

* This statement will serve to account for the extreme ignorance which previously existed respecting the Khonds. These tribes have existed from a period

and independence. Whatever disparity may be observed to exist between them, or whatever superiority, the latter may manifest over the former—it is not of a political, but altogether of a social and moral character,—it is the disparity that must ever exist between even demi-civilization and comparative barbarism—the superiority of learning and arts of any kind over rude untutored ignorance. Socially and morally severed from each other by lines of demarcation as clearly defined as their respective territories, they are *politically* on a footing of complete equality, as free and independent* allies. While the heads of the Khond tribe do not scruple to recognize the *superior social and personal rank* of the Hindu Chiefs, in contradistinction to their *unacknowledged authority*, by outward forms which superficial observation might easily mistake for rites, resembling those which attached in the feudal usages of Europe to the incidents of “homage” and “investiture,” the Zemindar-Rajahs, upon their accession, must, in their turn, accept a silken “sari,” or dress of honour and investiture, under the alternative, in case of refusal, of not being recognized by the Khonds as friends and allies. When military aid is required by any of the allied Hindu Rajahs, they communicate their desires, respectively, to the Federal Head of the cluster of tribes connected with each. This aid may be given or withheld with perfect freedom. Should the requisition require consideration, a Council of Chiefs or of the whole people may be assembled, as usage may prescribe, to determine the course to be pursued. Should there be no doubt as to the propriety of compliance with the demand, the Federal Head at once sends his “arrow of summons” through the mountain valleys within his jurisdiction, and, as it circulates with lightning-speed like the Celtic fire cross, each house affords its fighting man or axe-armed warrior.”

of the remotest antiquity, as they are seen at present, nearly isolated by manners language and prejudice of race from the surrounding Hindu population, while they have been until recently completely cut off by the *interposed Zemindary domains*, from all contact, from *all relations* with the successive Governments,—the Orissan that of Delhi the Mahratta, the British—which these have acknowledged. To these Zemindaries they have all along been attached individually, and in loosely coherent groups, as independent but subordinate allies. The barrier, by which they were thus separated from our immediate provinces was suddenly removed by our assumption of the Zemindary of Goomsur for arrears of tribute, which was followed by the rebellion of its Rajah, in the end of the year 1835. That chief retired before a force which advanced to apprehend him and to take possession of his estates, into the Khond districts above the Ghats, which were most anciently attached to Goomsur, and there he soon after died. A small body of troops then penetrated, as we have already detailed the great Mountain Chain, *for the first time*, to endeavour to obtain possession of his heir, of the remaining members of his family and of his treasures. Thus it appears that we first met the mountain Khonds of Goomsur as the ancient and religiously pledged allies and at the same time the hosts of its rebel Zemindar, with whom, from their situation, and from our policy, they had necessarily exclusive relations. A portion of them, in profound ignorance of the character and the objects of our power, blindly offered resistance, and suffered the extreme penalties of rebellion.

* A late event, says Captain Macpherson, “established unequivocally the true nature of this relation. The Khond District or rather half district of Hodzoghoro, lately *transferred its attachment from Bond to Goomsur*. This affair was the subject of frequent discussion, while I was at Bond, between the chief servants of the Bond Rajah, and the Khond Chiefs who visited me. The right of any Khond community to dissolve old and enter into new relations was not disputed on the part of the Zemindar. He complained only of the loss, through the arts of Sam Bisaye, of an old subordinate ally whom he had never injured. The idea of the defection of a subject society, far less of the departure of a chief from its allegiance, was not for a moment contemplated.”

Their Language.—It has been well remarked by Dr Taylor, that “the number of languages in any given district is generally in the inverse proportion of the intellectual culture of the inhabitants. Messrs. Spix and Martins collected the vocabularies of sixty different languages in Brazil alone. It is utterly impossible to classify those of Australia, and to add to the complexity, there is reason to believe that unwritten languages are constantly fluctuating.” And if the variations of language among an uncultured people be not so marked as to constitute essentially distinct tongues they at least constitute widely different dialects. From the scanty information we possess on the subject, this appears to be the case among the Khonds. Their language, says Captain Macpherson, “has more than one distinct dialect with many varieties.” The people of certain districts which he names are scarcely intelligible to those of others at no great distance.

“It would be a work of some difficulty,” says Lieut. Hill, “to form a correct vocabulary of their language, without a thorough knowledge of Uriya, from the circumstance of its not being a written tongue, the perplexity occasioned by their using many Uriya words, and the number of different dialects which prevail. A Khond of one district has been found unable to hold communication with one of a neighbouring tribe.”

The language is “distinguished,” says Captain Campbell, “by a peculiar pectoral mode of enunciating it.”

From Mr Taylor’s able philological remarks on the materials supplied by Mr Stevenson, the general result is, that the Khonds have many words peculiar to themselves—though there is an intermixture of terms which are found in common with the lowland languages of the Peninsula—more particularly Uriya, Telúgú and Tamil. On the supposition, therefore, that there was an ancient primitive people, with one original substratum of an early rude language, running through the whole of Hindustan and the Peninsula—a supposition which is confirmed by many philological investigations and traditional and other analogies—the probability is, that “the Khond dialect is a relic of that common language, somewhat modified by time”—together with a due intermixture of more modern terms which intercourse with their neighbours* may have naturalized in the dialect of the Khonds. “If at an early period,” adds Mr

* The Uriya language is said to have “a closer affinity to that of the Khonds perhaps than any other, and all the Digháls, or Khond village accountants, speak and write Uriya, as do many others among the Khonds.” The Khond is not a written language, but “they readily understand Khond written in the Uriya characters—a method frequently adopted during the late operations.”

Taylor, "they were driven to take refuge in mountain fastnesses, by reason of nomadic hordes of foreigners taking possession of the low lands, then they might very probably carry with them the ancient general dialect of the low country"

Their domestic relationships—The highest authority has pronounced that "it is not good for man to live alone" The first and simplest form of association is the domestic or conjugal union Now, in the rudest state of society, this has always been marked by irregularity, degradation and bondage Women, as has been said, "belong to the man who seizes them first They afterwards become the property of any one who has the address to seduce them, or the strength to carry them off The children who spring from this irregular intercourse, scarce ever know who are their fathers They know only their mothers, and for this reason they always bear their name" What can be expected to result from such a condition of things, but disorder and misery? Hence it is that the resolute and systematic endeavour to strengthen the ties of marriage, and render that union sacred and inviolable, has always been a sure sign and symbol of an improved society And the success with which such endeavour is crowned may well be regarded as an infallible index of the degree of its civilization

From this we must infer that, however rude or barbarous, in a comparative point of view, the Khonds may be, they have not yet sunk into the lowest depths Among them there is much of what is irregular and loose Still, woman is not degraded into an absolute drudge or slave. On the contrary, she usually enjoys a degree of social influence suited to the genius of rudely modified Patriarchal institutions. Mothers of families in particular are generally treated with much honour, and few things are said to be done either in public or private affairs without their being consulted On this subject, however, it is better to condense the statements of Captain Macpherson —

"Marriages can take place only betwixt members of different* tribes, but not with strangers, though these may have long been adopted into or domesticated with a tribe A state of war or peace appears to make little difference as to the practice of inter-marriages between tribes The women of each tribe, after a bloody conflict, visit each other to condole on the loss of their nearest common relatives Reversing the usage which prevails amongst most other people, boys of from ten to twelve years of age are married to girls of fifteen or sixteen In the superior age of the bride may

* One exception to this general practice Captain Macpherson afterwards found in the Khonds of a Southern district called Bodoghoro While the rest of the Khond population regards marriage betwixt persons of the same tribe as incestuous intercourse between such parties being followed by their instant expulsion from the society, the Khonds of Bodoghoro do not hold, and it is said have abandoned this view But of the origin of this remarkable difference he could learn nothing

perhaps be seen a proof of the supremacy of the paternal authority amongst this singular people. The whole arrangement is of course completed by the parents of the parties. The father of the bridegroom pays twenty or thirty lives (of cattle) to the father of the bride. And in the wives thus obtained for sons, during the years of their boyhood, the parents possess very valuable domestic servants, and their selections are avowedly made with a view to utility in this character. The marriage rite itself is very speedily and simply solemnized. The father of the bridegroom with his family and friends bear a quantity of rice and liquor in procession to the house of the parents of the girl. The priest dashes the bowl and pours out a libation to the gods. Immediately the parents of the parties join hands and declare that the contract is completed. An entertainment, to which both families contribute equally, is then prepared, of which all present partake. To the feast succeed dancing and song. When the night is far spent, the principals in the scene are raised by an uncle of each upon his shoulders and borne through the dance. The burdens are suddenly exchanged, and the uncle of the youth disappears with the bride. The assembly divides into two parties. The friends of the bride endeavour to arrest those of the bridegroom to cover her flight, and men, women and children mingle in mock conflict which is often carried to great lengths. Thus the semblance of forcible abduction attends the withdrawal of the bride amongst the Orissan Khonds, as it did among many nations of ancient Europe, and now does amongst the tribes of the Caucasus! The new wife lives with her boy-husband in the father's house, aiding his mother in domestic duties, till he grows up and gets a house of his own, unless he is the youngest son.

Notwithstanding the payment which is made by the father of the bridegroom, the wife cannot be correctly considered the property of the husband. If childless, she has a right to quit at any time, if otherwise, she may still do so within six months after the marriage—the consideration paid to her father being in either case restored. In any case, a wife who chooses to retire to her father's house cannot be forcibly reclaimed. Marriage is *ipso facto* dissolved by a woman's unfaithfulness to the conjugal compact. In such a case, or that of a voluntary withdrawal, she cannot contract another matrimonial alliance. With the permission of his wife, a man may ally himself to another without any disgrace. Concubinage is not reckoned, in any degree disgraceful,—fathers of respectable families allowing their daughters to contract this connection. The children of a concubine in some districts inherit but a half, and in others an equal share of the paternal property with the children of marriage. An unmarried woman is not considered disgraced by becoming a mother, but no one will marry her if acquainted with the circumstance. Ordinarily the wife and children serve the father of a family while he eats, and then take their own meal. Women, for some unknown cause, are never permitted to eat the flesh of the hog.

Births are celebrated on the seventh day after the event, by a feast given to the priest and to the whole village. To determine the best name for the child, the priest drops grains of rice into a cup of water, naming with each grain, a deceased ancestor. He pronounces from the movements of the seed in the fluid, and from observations made on the person of the infant, which of his progenitors has re-appeared in him, and he generally receives the name of that ancestor. On the death of a private person, his body is burnt on a pile with no ceremony, save a drinking feast, which is given to the inhabitants of the hamlets on the tenth day. On the death of any of the chief Patriarchs, the event is every where proclaimed by the beating of gongs and drums. The Abbays and Heads of society assemble from every quarter. The body is placed on a high funeral pile. A large bag of grain is laid close

by upon the ground and in it is planted a high staff bearing a flag. Over the grain are piled all the personal effects, such as the clothes, arms, eating and drinking vessels of the chief. These are subsequently distributed among the Abhayas present. The pile is next fired, and his family and the people of the hamlet dance a dance peculiar to this occasion around the flag-staff, until the whole is consumed."

But, passing by other minor points, we hasten on to the remarkable disclosure made by Captain Macpherson, relative to the practice of *female infanticide*, which he found, in his visit of 1841, so extensively and lamentably to prevail in some of the Southern Khond districts. His own account, hitherto unpublished, is as follows —

"The practice of female infanticide, and the usages with which it is connected, alternately as a cause and an effect, deforms the system of life of a large division of this middle Khond population, including that of all Pondacole (with the exception of Degi) the tribes of Gulodye, those of Bori, and much of the sacrificing population in the quarter of Guddapore. In Bodoghoro, the custom is regarded with abhorrence.

This usage appears to have existed in these tracts from time immemorial, and, there generally the life of no female child is spared, except when a woman's first child is a female, or when the head of a tribe or of a branch desires to form connections by inter-marriage. The infants are destroyed by exposure in the jungle ravines immediately after their birth, and I found many villages without a single female child.

This custom has no connection with—bears no reference whatever to—religious feeling. The facts which the Khonds allege as accounting for, and as justifying it, are amongst the most obvious and necessary of its consequences,—reference being had to the usages which here prevail relative to the property which is involved in marriage contracts and to the very peculiar ideas which exist respecting the relations of the sexes.

The Khond bridegroom every where gives a consideration for his wife to her father which is called "Seddi," in contradistinction to the *price* which is paid for a woman of any other race, who, as a wife, becomes property. Should a woman quit her husband at any time, he is entitled to the repayment of this consideration, deducting the nuptial expenses which the father has incurred. While, should she become the wife of another, the father has a right to recover the same amount from him.

Now, the peculiar rules and habits which affect the marriage tie in these tracts, are barely compatible with the fulfilment of the first object of that contract. Women have the right to quit their husbands at pleasure, with this sole restriction, that they cannot leave them when pregnant, nor for one year after the birth of a child, and upon the other hand, no man who is without a wife, can refuse to receive any woman who chooses to enter his house to become, in that capacity, his mistress. And the women of Pondacole, for example, exercise this right of change on an average four or five times in their lives, some, twice as often, but very few, not at all. And to do so, is a very easy process. In some parts of the country in a village containing a hundred men, not above twenty or at most thirty women are to be found, so there is always abundant room for choice, while, should the repugnance of the person preferred be extreme, or should there be any other temporary difficulty, his tribe must receive the seeker of his bed until it is overcome, or she would pass on heaping shame upon the rejectors, declaring of them

that such people had once lived but had ceased to exist, and deep disgrace would attach to them

The wife, upon changing her husband and domicile, takes with her, her child or children if they be young, the father reclaiming them at his pleasure at a later period. No new marriage ceremony is performed on the occasion of such change, and the new connection is in every point of view a marriage, and the woman is, as before, a wife

So much trouble and vexation, so many serious consequences arise, say the Khonds, out of each such matrimonial change—out of the exaction by the deserted husband of his original payment to the woman's father, and out of the simultaneous process of levying a like sum from the new spouse, that a married daughter is to any man and to his tribe, unless he be a rich patriarch, a curse

The amount of the marriage consideration, and the degree of difficulty attendant either upon its repayment by fathers, or on its production by husbands (voluntary and involuntary) as well as the power of the woman to range amongst these,—all depend, of course, upon the proportion which exists between males and females. In Pondacole, where few female children are permitted to live, the marriage consideration amounts to farm stock, &c of the value of from fifty to seventy Rupees, so that no one who has a daughter married can tell, save during the intervals to which I have alluded, what part of his property he may consider his own, nor can his tribe, which is answerable for his engagements, know what sum it may be called upon at any time to make good for him, nor what important payments it may have to enforce in his favour against members of other tribes

In the adjacent district of Bodoghoro, on the other hand, where the practice of female infanticide is regarded with detestation, the consideration given for a wife is nearly nominal, not exceeding three or four rupees. Hence every man there is married, or, as is extremely common, from the abundance of women, lives in concubinage, which is regarded as an honorable connection, and wives, although in theory as free to change their husbands as in Pondacole, have no power to enjoy that right

The Khonds of Pondacole, it is to be observed, consider the position of a concubine as highly disgraceful to a woman, and they partly justify the practice of infanticide on the ground of its preventing that evil. But their feeling upon this point is, I believe, from the whole spirit of their manners, clearly a secondary one, and has arisen out of the high marriageable value of their females

The extreme license which exists with respect to the marriage tie, does not appear to conduce in any degree to fidelity to their voluntary attachments on the part of Khond women. On the contrary, their great boast is the number of intrigues of which their lovers have been convicted, and have paid the penalty called "prúnjú," a fixed amount of fine, of twelve heads of cattle and one pig, a woman advanced in life will taunt a younger female with the remark, that before her age, six or eight "prúnjús" had been paid for her sake. And the same feelings and the same practice, it is to be remarked, exist amongst the people of Bodoghoro who do not destroy their female infants

Neither the character, nor the influence in society of Khond women, the latter of which is extraordinarily great, appears to suffer in any degree whatever from their indulgence either in matrimonial change or in intrigue.

The desertion of his wife is a matter of great concern to a Khond husband, unless he is rich enough immediately to supply her place. But in cases of infidelity, if the "prúnjú" is readily produced, he is held to have no serious cause of complaint. Should a Khond of these districts have

even ocular testimony of his wife's faithlessness, he never proceeds to any act of violence against the lover,—while to strike a woman, or even to insult her seriously, would entail lasting disgrace upon a man's family.

The convicted wife is excluded from her husband's house generally for a day until the "*prúnjú*" is adjusted, when the affair is considered settled. In a few tribes, indeed, which may perhaps value themselves upon a nicer sense and observance of the point of honor, it is customary for the husband and his wife's lover to do a species of battle previous to the settlement of damages, but not in right earnest with bow and battle axe, but with arms of courtesy. The combatants cast loose their long hair, and each seizing his adversary's side locks, they wrestle furiously for some hours, until both are utterly exhausted. Then the "*prúnjú*" is agreed upon with some modifications and a dinner of reconciliation is eaten.

At the lowest estimate above one thousand female children must be destroyed annually in the districts of Pondacole, Gulodye, and Bori."

Their social organization and Government—The most elementary unit in any social community is undoubtedly the *family*. And if the family, in some form or other, exists, because man cannot help it, so may it be said of society, organized society, that, in some form or other, it exists, because men cannot help it. One of the chiefest characteristics of lawless barbarism is that portrayed in the *Odyssey*, where the Poet writes of the Cyclops that they "know no laws"—that "each governs his family and rules over his wife and children"—that "they trouble not themselves with the affairs of their neighbours, and think not themselves interested in them"—that "they have no assemblies to deliberate on public affairs"—that "they are governed by no general laws to regulate their manners and their actions." Compared with the state of things here represented, the Khonds certainly manifest a considerable superiority. If any thing could prove the primitive and aboriginal character of this people, it would be the continued predominance of the *family* or *patrarchal* principle throughout the entire framework and constitution of their society. In the rudest form of society, children are "subjected to no coercion or corrective discipline." The savage, it has been said, "does not chide his child, but this forbearance arises not from love, but from recklessness which shews the weakness or absence of love. He suffers the children to be absolute masters of their own conduct, because he is too lazy to watch and superintend their actions." With the Khonds, on the other hand, we are told it is a maxim, that "a man's father is his God," disobedience to whom is a great crime. All the members of a family live united in strict subordination to its head until his death. Before that event a son cannot possess property of any kind. The fruits of his labour, all his acquisitions, go to increase the common stock, and the form and sense of family unity are farther preserved, by

the remarkable usage, according to which all the sons of a house with their wives and children continue, while their father lives, to share the patriarchal board prepared by their common mother. The married sons, however, necessarily occupy separate houses, with the exception of the youngest who never quits his father's roof. Now, from the ideas which produce, or which spring from this singular system of family life, Captain Macpherson very naturally and properly conceives, that the *outward* order of Khond society—its varied conditions and texture and colouring—chiefly derive their distinctive and permanent character. His deeply interesting representation on the subject is, in substance, as follows —

“A number of families located together constitute a *village*. This aggregation of families implies relationships and reciprocal dealings, not provided for by the institution of the family “*Abbaya*” or Patriarch. Hence it is that, for the management of village interests, there is a *village Abbaya* or *Patriarch*, who is the lineal descendant, of its original founder. A number of adjacent villages constitute a *district*. The interchange of offices between different villagers creates a new series of relations. For the regulation and adjustment of these, there is a *district Abbaya* or *Patriarch*, who is regarded as lineally descended from the Head of the colony or migrating family that first took possession of that portion of the soil. The inhabitants of a number of contiguous districts constitute a *Tribe*,* over which presides a *tribal Abbaya* or *Patriarch*, who is the representative of its common ancestor. A cluster of adjoining Tribes constitute a loosely coherent *federal group*, which is presided over by a *federal Abbaya* or *Patriarch*, who is the representative of a Chief, the Head of a Tribe, who was anciently selected to represent and maintain the common interests †

It thus appears that the various grades of the Patriarchal office now enumerated are immemorially hereditary in particular families—special provision being made for cases of failure of direct male heirs, or temporary incapacity from non-age, or any other contingent causes. And the strength and perpetuity of the family principle are still farther enhanced by the sacredness of *religious feeling*. Originally the chief civil and sacerdotal offices, in strict accordance with the spirit of the Patriarchal system, appear to have been conjoined in the Heads of the chief Patriarchal families. At present, while the Patriarch, of whatever grade, is in some

* The Tribes are distinguished from each by various significant appellatives. Thus we have the Syalings or “Spotted Deer” Tribe, the Pochangea or “Owl” tribe, the Olls or “Bear” Tribe, &c.

† Such is the *theory* of the social organization of the Khond people. But it is no where to be seen completely realized. Every conceivable deviation from the model occurs. As for example, two of the districts in Goomsur (those of Bara Mútah and Athara Mútah) have now no chief Patriarchs—their subdivisions being governed by their respective Abbayas without reference to common Heads. The Khond people necessarily suffered very extensive permanent disorganization during the contest with the Hindus, which ended in their gradual coercion,—a broken remnant within the limits of the Mountain Chain. The tribes, accordingly, are generally much intermingled, although some are said to remain distinct. But each now forms a social body, of which the chief bond is the idea of natural affinity. While a common name, community of interests, of religious rites, of associations, of traditions, render its sense of unity complete.

distracts uniformly, and in all occasions, the priest, the fortunes of his house are regarded as the chief Patriarchal index of the disposition of the deity towards the society over which he presides. On this account, he inevitably becomes the object of a certain degree of *religious veneration* somewhat on the same principle as the Teutonic and Celtic *Chiefs* came to be venerated as the special favourites, if not the issue, of gods and demi-gods. Thus it is, that *the family and the religious principle*, both conspire to perpetuate and dignify the Patriarchal office of every grade as the heritage of particular families. But what, it may be asked, if, with the gradual growth and complication of public interests and private rights, the want of a public authority, more powerful than that which the principle of family alone can supply, should be felt?—In such a case, not unlikely to arise in the fluctuations of human affairs, what remedy, if any, has been provided? Has it ever been proposed, as in similar exigencies elsewhere, to change the nature of the existing jurisdiction—to endow the Patriarch with prerogatives enabling him to blend coercive with moral authority—to convert the Tribe's Father into a Chief Magistrate? No—never. The actual course adopted has always been to maintain the nature of the public governance unchanged—to provide security for its more efficient exercise by the introduction of the principle of *selection*, or by making *personal fitness*, in addition to birth, a condition of tenure—especially in those higher trusts for which it is desired to secure efficient depositaries. In other words—the Patriarchal office, remaining still *hereditary as to family*, often becomes virtually *elective as to person*, without suffering any change in its peculiar character or any shock to its real stability. And when this supplementary principle of *selection** within the Patriarchal circle is superadded to the *family* and the *religious* principle, a *three-fold* guarantee is afforded not only for the maintenance, but the *vigorous* discharge of the functions of all the grades of the Patriarchal office.

On what, then, does the *authority* of the Abbayas or Patriarchs, superior and inferior, rest? Chiefly if not solely, it would appear, on *moral* appliances as contra-distinguished from *coercive* or *forcible* measures. The Patriarch or Abbaya is simply the head of a family of which every member is socially of equal rank—the spirit of equality pervading the entire fabric of society. He is the *first* amongst *equals*. Unlike the clan or feudal baron, he is no way raised above the community, whose interests, associations, traditions, and manner of life he shares. None minister servilely to his comforts or necessities. He has no trace of state or external pomp, however rude—no separate residence or castellated stronghold with frowning battlements—no gay retinue of flattering courtiers—no costly appendage of idle retainers—no property or domain save his ancestral fields, by the cultivation of which he lives—lives, like another Cincinnatus,—lives, amid the patient toils of a frugal and untiring industry! He receives neither tribute nor aid, save perhaps an occasional harvest offering of good will. The enjoyment of the place of dignity at every public and private festival may be reckoned, as in the case of the Homeric kings, amongst the most valuable, as it is amongst the most agreeable prerogatives of the Patriarchal Headship.

*The Federal Patriarch, or hereditary Head of a cluster of Khond Tribes, loosely associated for general purposes of mutual protection as well as the attainment of various secondary and accidental objects, is the centre and bond of union of the group. He exerts, as might be expected, a powerful influence on society at large—the authority which he derives from birth

* For example, the late federal Head of Goomsur, Dora Bissay, was raised to that office on account of his superior abilities, in the room of his elder brother

being generally enhanced both by the possession of superior abilities, resulting from the principle of *selection*, and by superior official education. His first duty is the maintenance of the degree of union which is essential to the principal ends of the confederacy. He aids in the arbitration of all difficulties which do not yield to the authority of the Patriarchs of Tribes. The settlement of boundary questions, the most frequent sources of quarrel, are his especial care, and he generally takes a part in the decision of all important disputes to which both Khonds and Hindus are parties. He is usually the sole channel of intercourse between the confederated tribes and the Zemindar-Rajah in matters of highest importance,—as with respect to military aids, which he assembles, and when on a considerable scale, accompanies to the field. Hence it is that the Federal Patriarch appears, as occasion requires, in each great Zemindary, in the ostensible character of representative or hereditary agent (technically designated *Khonro* or *Bisaye*)*

* The federal Patriarch of a cluster of Khond Tribes, constituting, a loosely aggregated confederacy, being the centre and bond of union of the group, it was obviously the policy of the Hindu chiefs to conciliate, and to attach by ties of interest and of feeling these heads of the unconquered remnants of the primitive race with which they formed relations, and they appear accordingly at a very early period, to have induced them to accept the office of their agent for Khond affairs, with which were enjoyed advantages and distinctions which the rude Patriarchs greatly prized.

This representative or hereditary agent of the Zemindar is designated in Boad by the Orissan term *Khonro*, in Goomsur, by its synonyme *Bisave*. The *Khonro* (who is the Abbaya of the Dubakkia tribe) bears for the insignia of his rank the Orissan symbols of a turban, a sword a shield a banner and a horse, and when Mahomedan styles penetrated the jungles of Orissa the designation of "Omrah" was added with a grant of land, and in Goomsur, the head of the Jakro tribe represented by Dora Bisaye, had a similar investiture and the immediate descendants of the holders of these two offices all assume, respectively, the affix, "*Khonro*" or "*Bisaye*."

The duty of these Patriarchs, as the Agents of the Zemindars, is this —It is their part to reside near them, to wait on them at their pleasure, to advise them on all that relates to Khond affairs, and upon every occasion to advocate their interests and to vindicate their claims.

Now, so long as the duties and engagements of these two offices generally coincide, their combination, which makes it the interest of the chief Patriarch for the enjoyment of his two fold dignity, to reconcile the conflicting claims of the Rajah and the tribes, has generally a beneficial—a pacific tendency. But when their claims are irreconcilably opposed, when no compromise can be effected between them, or when the federal heads, as is frequently the case, are personally hostile to the Zemindars, this union of functions enables the former to act against the Hindu Chiefs with the accumulated influence derived from both offices.

The recent annals both of Goomsur and of Boad, present striking examples of such opposition arising from various causes, and of the expedients, which have been fruitlessly resorted to by the Zemindars with a view to remedy it.

From all this the precise rank position and office of *Dora Bisaye* who figured so conspicuously in the Goomsur rebellion, may be distinctly understood. In his family was the hereditary Federal Patriarchate of the Khond tribes of Goomsur. He himself, from his superior abilities, was raised to supersede his elder brother in that office. On his uncle was conferred the distinction of "*Dora*," meaning "chief." Bisaye, by a late Zemindar of Goomsur, while he himself likewise received from the same source the titles of "*Runjit*," and of "*Birbol Patro*" meaning "Chief of Angelic nature." Of this celebrated personage, now a state prisoner, Captain Macpherson favours us with the following description —

"Dora Bisaye Chief Patriarch in Goomsur commands to a great extent the admiration both of the Hindu and the Khond population of the districts which lie between Kumed and the Mahanadi and he is well known beyond that river. He is the object of feelings of the deepest veneration to his own race in Goomsur Daspalla and a great part of Boad. And having had opportunities of observation, I may state that my estimate of his character justifies the opinion of those before whom his life has been spent.

This remarkable man, it may not be out of place to observe is in his 57th year and although

of the Zemindar, in respect of his relations with the independent Khond tribes—whose affairs he is sacredly bound to manage, whose interests to protect, and whose claims to moderate, with patriarchal wisdom and patriotic zeal. In important matters, he always consults, in accordance with prescribed usage, the Heads or Patriarchs of Tribes, and, in great emergencies, convenes an assembly composed of the entire population of the federal group.

The Patriarch of a Tribe has charge of the *especial* relations of his own Tribe to the neighbouring Tribes and Zemindaries. He leads in war, and always accompanies the military aids rendered to the Hindu chiefs. At home he is the protector of public order and the arbiter of private wrongs—conciliating feuds, and dispensing justice, but depending for obedience to his decisions entirely upon his own *personal* influence and authority. He too is aided and controlled in the management of ordinary affairs by a Council consisting of the Heads or Patriarchs of Districts—while it is his duty from time to time, to assemble the whole Tribe, either for deliberative or judicial purposes. He moreover discharges the local duties of Patriarch of his own village.

The position of the Patriarch or Abbaya of a District is, with reference to his more limited jurisdiction, exactly analogous to that of the Patriarch of a Tribe. Aided, in his turn, by the Heads or Patriarchs of villages whom he consults as his assessors, and co-operating with the Chief Patriarch of whose councils he is a constituent member, he contributes to the same general and local objects.

The Patriarch or Abbaya of a village, in like manner, administers its affairs in concert with its Elders or Heads of families. Thus assisted, he endeavours to determine in the first instance all questions of slight importance relating to property or to order. If he do not himself exercise sacerdotal functions on behalf of his fellow-villagers, on him, in conjunction with the village priest, devolves the public duty of making suitable provision for the maintenance and celebration of religious ceremonies.

From this brief outline it appears, generally, that the *ordinary* affairs of a Khond Society, whether relating to its public interests or to private justice, are conducted by Patriarchs of federal groups, of tribes, of districts, and of villages—aided and controlled, the three former by the Abbayas of the next lower grade, the latter by the Elders of each hamlet. At all these Patriarchal Councils, however, the common members of every Society have a free right, if they will, to be present, and to give their voices on the questions mooted, although the Patriarchs alone take a part in the public discussion. But, besides these Councils, general Assemblies, as already stated, of whole federal groups, or tribes, or districts, or villages, may, in causes of emergency or for the settlement of business of general importance,

care-worn is still vigorous. In person he is somewhat below the middle size according to the Hindu standard, of spare habit and by no means robustly formed. His physiognomy is spirited, and when excited intellectual but with a predominating expression of benevolence. His features are regular sufficiently bold in expression but by no means striking and not strongly marked by the peculiarities of his race. His manner is animated perfectly self-possessed, and very pleasing. He might pass as a well-bred Brahman of Orissa. His views upon every subject on which he is informed are clear and discriminating and he perceives new facts and their relations with remarkable facility. His habits not being Military (as also is the case with Nowbhun Khonro chief Patriarch of Boad) cowardice was vulgarly imputed to him in our camp as if a people ever lavished its affections upon a poltroon.

Having passed his time by turns amongst the Khond valleys of the Ghats and the petty Courts of the Zemindars, he is as well informed of all that relates to the Hindu population of a considerable portion of Orissa, as of the usages and interests of his own people. He is well read in the Puranas, and forgot his prison in enquiring of the present state of the jewelled palace of Lunka. His personal habits are those of an Orissan Brahman, and he is attended exclusively by persons of this caste.

be formally convened by the patriarchal Chiefs of these several departments. As an average specimen of the method of procedure, on such occasions, we may refer to the convocation or gathering of a Tribe

When, in the judgment of the chief Patriarch, any thing has occurred to require a collective expression of the general will, he sends a summons to every village to attend upon a particular day, at a central point, which is selected by him for the Assembly. The nearer hamlets contribute the *whole* of their population to the Council, the more distant depute the person or persons thought best qualified to represent them. The place of meeting is, generally, the open slope of a hill. The District Patriarchs and the Abbayas of sections first seat themselves in a circle. Around them the Abbayas of villages form an outer ring. The rest of the male community, all bearing arms, arrange themselves beyond the Patriarchal circles. Women and children sit apart, but within hearing distance. As the day advances, and the Assembly begins to fill, the chief Patriarch rises from time to time to demand, whether such an Abbaya has taken his place?—Whether such an Elder has appeared?—Whether the men of such a village are prepared for their part? He then dispatches messengers for some, chides others for delay, and receives replies, apologies, and explanations, loud and various in return. With the completion of the Assembly, the *peculiar* functions of the chief Patriarch appear to cease. Though its most distinguished member, he does not usually regulate, or even preside over, its proceedings. Having convened the meeting, he makes obeisance towards the four quarters of the globe, to the sun, and to the earth, and then takes his seat among the other Abbayas. In an Assembly of a Tribe, the Patriarchs of the inner circle alone usually offer public counsel, and upon its formation, one of them immediately rises to address the meeting. He generally begins by touching upon some spirit-stirring theme of the past,—the actions of a distinguished man, or the memory of a cherished event which bears some obvious relation to existing circumstances. Having by such preface prepared his auditory, he invites from amongst the circling crowd some Elder of the people of venerable age and character, to bear testimony, as a living record and as a depository of the traditions of the past, to the facts and principles on which their proceedings should be based. He next exhibits his own views of the matter under consultation—appealing, as he progresses, to the reverend witness, who, standing in the centre of the meeting, now avouches, now modifies his statements, or, taking the part of an interlocutor, maintains a dialogue with the speaker, or interposes episodes in his discourse,—while the Assembly freely interrupts the Patriarch with loud tokens of applause or of dissent, but in all causes, it is said, without infringing the natural laws of decorum. When the different Abbayas, succeeding each other in debate, have fully expressed their views, a plan of action in accordance with the general sense of the Assembly is finally determined on. This final decision is then formally announced by the chief Patriarch, and the meeting is forthwith dissolved without farther ceremony.

No distinction, or clear line of demarcation, exists amongst the Khonds between *Deliberative* and *Judicial*, *Legislative* and *Executive* Assemblies, or Courts, or Councils, in regard either of constitution or of forms of procedure. In this respect they only resemble every other people at a similar stage of advancement. When the Abbaya of a district, instead of consulting with the heads of villages, formally assembles *all* under his authority, or when the Abbaya of a village collects its inhabitants in familiar council beneath the appointed tree,—forms similar in spirit regulate the proceedings. The jurisdictions of *all* these councils and assemblies, however composed,

are, of course, entirely undefined. Those of each higher grade are simply supplementary to those below—deciding on matters which these have not sufficient weight to determine.*

Such is a general outline of the *peculiar constitution and government* of the community of independent Khond tribes—by means of the simple machinery of *different grades of Patriarchs, Patriarchal Councils, and Popular Assemblies*. From the disorganizing influence of intestine feuds, offensive and defensive wars, and other causes, the theoretical regularity and uniformity of the scheme must often be disturbed, while other influences of a local, fluctuating, and partial character must constantly originate temporary or permanent shades of difference in the *details*. Overlooking, therefore, minute particulars and distinguishing singularities, we have contented ourselves with marking out characteristics which

* In order to complete this description, as well as to throw light on the position and office of another personage who, next to Dora Bisaye figured most in the Goomsur War, and who, in point of fact, at the conclusion of the war, succeeded him—Sam Bisaye—it is proper to advert to another kind of institution of comparatively recent origin among some of the Tribes, which are at present, or were at no very remote period included in Boad. We quote Captain Macpherson—

“The relation betwixt these tribes and this zemindary having become (through causes which will be hereafter noticed) peculiarly complicated in the time of Rajah Bir Bunje, about seven generations ago, a class of hereditary Hindu officers was established to aid the chief Patriarchs in the discharge of their duties particularly those relating to the external interests of their Tribes.

These employes received the Hindu appellations of Bisaye, Mahahika, Naik or Dabchra, the two former of which are usually applied in Orissa to the civil managers of districts, while the latter denote Military authority.

The object of the institution of these offices was, to remedy the incapacity of the natural heads of Tribes for the conduct of such interests as required any considerable degree of knowledge of Hindu usages and manners, by attaching, by the ties of birth and of interest, to each district, a person bearing a respectable rank in Hindu society and sharing its civilization.

These offices are hereditary in the direct line, and are held during good behaviour, valuable grants of land are attached to them upon which villages formed of the families and dependents of the holders uniformly spring up. The Bisaye, &c are formally recognized as channels of intercourse by the zemindars who confer “Saris” upon them when they assume office, and generally court their friendship.

The first duty of an officer of this class, however designated, is the practical management under the Abbava of the relations of the tribe to Hindu Society. It is his part to represent his chief at the petty courts of the zemindars, and to attend him thither, and elsewhere upon all occasions when required to interpret his language or to write for him. And finally, the ministry of the Deity adopted from the Hindu pantheon, and generally that of certain local Gods, is added to his cares.

These functionaries uniformly enjoy a high degree of consideration amongst the Khonds. They have an honorable place in the public assemblies, at all private entertainments, and at religious festivals. When endowed with the talent which is requisite to sway the passions of their rude employers, their influence often predominates in their councils, and as arbiters in cases which the ordinary public authority is unable satisfactorily to determine, they often exert a very important power. But any semblance of pretension to independence, or forgetfulness of their subordinate situation in the Tribe, is promptly and indignantly resented.

The Bisayeship of Hodzoghoro was established under these circumstances.

A Hindu family by degrees established a separate interest in the Western quarter of the district, and its head was ultimately selected as “Bisaye,” by a division of the Tribe, and was recognized as such by the zemindar of Boad.

It may be added, that the father of the present Bisaye having quarrelled with the Boad Rajah, laboured to bring the Khonds of Hodzoghoro into connection with Goomsur. And this object has been recently effected by his son Sam Bisaye.

Thus Hindu Bisaye, the employe of a section of a Khond district, until now attached to Boad, has been appointed on our part, to take the place in Goomsur of the federal Khond Patriarch, the late Dora Bisaye.”

form the leading points of co-incidence and agreement To attempt more would be to enter on the trackless wilderness of perpetual and almost imperceptible distinctions between the modes, forms, and usages of constitutions, the most nearly resembling each other,—giving, as Fergusson the Historian has remarked in reference to societies in general, to “human affairs a variety in detail, which, in its full extent, no understanding can comprehend, and no memory retain ”

Their personal and social characteristics—physical, mental, and moral—These exhibit the ordinary mixture of good and bad qualities which distinguish a rude but not utterly savage state of society From the account given of their notions and practices in regard to hospitality, we almost fancy ourselves listening to a tale of Arab life From the representation given of their principles of honesty and the circumscribed limits of their respect for property, we almost fancy ourselves transported back to the days of Robin Hood or Rob Roy, whose guiding maxim has been happily embodied in the lines—

“The good old rule, the simple plan,
That he should take who has the power,
And he should keep who can.”

Their favourite phrase is that they “seize whatever they like best,” which happens unfortunately to be, as Mr Brown remarks, “just those things which their neighbours also most esteem—property of the solid kind—cattle, rice, and implements of husbandry” When returning from the plains which tradition delights to picture as having once belonged to their own ancestors—laden with the spoil or “black mail” levied on their low land neighbours, we may almost fancy the Khond chief indignantly vindicating himself in the words of Roderick Dhu —

“These fertile plains, that softened vale,
Were once the birthright of the Gael
The stranger came with iron hand,
And from our fathers rent the land
Where dwell we now ? See rudely swell
Crag over crag, and fell o’er fell
Pent in this fortress of the north,
Think’st thou we will not sally forth
To spoil the spoiler as we may,
And from the robber read the prey ?”

But it is time to hear Captain Macpherson —

“The Khonds are distinguished by *bodily* strength and symmetry Their height is about the average standard of Hindus in the peninsula. The muscles of the limbs and body are clean and boldly developed The skin, is clear and glossy, its colour ranging from a light bamboo to a deep copper shade The forehead is full and expanded The cheek-bones are high and rather prominent. The nose is seldom, though occasionally, arched and is generally broad at the point The lips are full but not thick The mouth is rather large. The whole physiognomy is generally indicative of

intelligence and determination, blended with good humour. In their personal demeanour they exhibit the easy bearing of men who are unconscious of inferiority, and rarely employ expressions of mere courtesy. In salutation they raise the hand perpendicularly above the head. In meeting on the road, the younger person says, "I am on my way," and the elder replies, "go on."

They exhibit considerable *intellectual* capabilities. They shew an aptitude for the perception of new facts and the comprehension of new relations. Their views on any common subject on which they are well informed, are clear and discriminating. This is true, more especially of the Patriarchal families. Their own language has not been reduced to a written form. In the absence of a vernacular* literature, some of the Abbayas have betaken themselves to the study of the Hindu Shāstras which they read with considerable ease †. And their children are declared to exhibit a capacity for learning equal to that of Hindu youth of any caste. Of the women, a celebrated Khond chief, gave this character "They are not," said he, "deficient in intelligence, but they have this fault that when we are at feud with our next neighbours we never dare intrust to them a purpose of war. It would be strongly opposed, or inevitably revealed to some relative or friend whom it might endanger." But, added he, with an expression of deep thankfulness, "we can impart such designs to the youngest stripling who can bear an axe."

Their *natural moral* qualities, good and bad, as in the case of all tribes similarly circumstanced, are strongly marked and strangely contrasted.

They are highly distinguished for personal courage, bravery, and unconquerable resolution. They manifest a wild and passionate love of individual liberty, which is but partially subdued by the softening influences that usually accompany the hereditary possession of competence with freedom, and which often unequivocally shews itself in the preference of death, in its cruelest forms, to the endurance of the least restraint. Rather than brook any thing like confinement, they have been known, by sternly refusing food, or tearing out their tongues by the roots, to perish. Their attachment to the *institutions* of Tribe, Branch, or Hamlet, is comparatively feeble, but their devotion to the *persons* of the Abbayas, or Patriarchal Chiefs, is equal to any which the annals of humanity can record. In private friendships they are faithful; and their fidelity to all public engagements is not less conspicuous. But, while faithful to friends within

* Like all rude nations, however, the Khonds have their songs and traditional legends. Of the former a few characteristic pieces rendered into English verse by the well known D. L. R., lately appeared in the columns of the *Hurkaru*. One or two specimens may be supplied hereafter.

† Science, in any proper sense of that term they have none. Even in Arithmetic they appear to be deficient.

"They do not," says Lieutenant Hill, 'count beyond twelve' after which they say Runbarra, Rinbarra, &c. one dozen two dozen, &c. Two dozen is also called Koreka and twelve dozen Ritti. The Digallā and others who have occasion to keep accounts, use the Uriya method of numeration.

Such deficiency in numeration is quite characteristic of rude tribes. But in this respect the Khonds are in advance of many. Of some of the American Indians it is veritably related, that "they could not reckon further than three, and had no name for numbers beyond it."

The fact above stated of accounts being kept in the Uriya language may account for the difference between the numerals as given by Dr. Maxwell and Lieut. Hill. In the list of the former they are all of Sanskrit origin through the medium of Uriya, which like Bengali and Hindi, is but an off-shoot from the great Sanskrit trunk. In the list of the former, some at least of the numerals seem peculiar, such as one, *rundi*, two, *rindū*, three, *mufi*, four, *saligi*, &c.

their own tribe, and honorable in the maintenance of special compacts entered into with communities beyond their social sphere, the idea of pacific rights and obligations, considered as incidental to the mere fact of social existence, apart altogether from ties of natural affinity or arising from express covenants, has not yet been attained. Peace towards each other, and towards those who are allied by convention express or implied, is the rule, but enmity, hostility, or war is equally the rule towards all mankind besides. With respect to communities beyond their own system, to which they are attached by no natural or artificial ties, the very idea of social or international rights and duties, has never entered their minds. Accordingly, while the different tribes do restrain the conduct of their individual members towards each other, or towards those who may be associated in intimate alliance, such as the neighbouring Zemindaries, they never attempt to impose any restrictions whatever upon man's supposed natural privilege of acting freely for himself beyond the prescribed pale. Within that pale, a Khond is generally faithful, honest, and honourable, beyond it, he may be a robber, a spoiler, a plunderer, not only without loss, but with a positive gain of credit and character. As contradistinguished from the idle roaming spirit of savage restlessness, the disposition of the Khonds is settled, industrious and laborious. Their patient passive endurance under physical sufferings, the most excruciating and protracted, has been rarely paralleled—never surpassed. As might be anticipated of such a people, they are "given to hospitality." The duty is equally imperative upon all. "For the safety of a guest," say they, "life and honour are pledged, he is to be considered before a child." Every stranger is an invited guest, and any person may acquire, under any circumstances, the privileges of the character by simply claiming them. No person, whether Khond or Hindu, can appear at a Khond village without being invited to enter, and the burden of public hospitality does not fall more upon the Abbaya than upon any one else. There is no limit to the period* to which hospitality may extend. A guest can never be turned away, and his treatment must be that of a member of the family. Fugitives upon any account whatever, from the same or other Tribes, must be received and protected. If a man, even though a murderer, can make his way by any means *into the house* of his enemy, it is considered a case of refuge, and he cannot be touched, although his life has been forfeited to his involuntary host by the law of blood revenge. Sometimes, however, when an enemy or a criminal thus makes himself a guest the house may be vacated, food may thus be refused to him, and he may be killed if he comes out. But such a proceeding is very rarely considered justifiable.

The *evil* qualities or *vices* that mar the moral constitution and temperament of the Khonds are not less marked than their natural virtues. Foremost we may place the spirit of retaliation and revenge. In cases of murder, revenge is recognized as an individual right, inherently belonging to the nearest relatives of the deceased, only it is optional, without incurring disgrace, to accept of private satisfaction or some substantial equivalent instead. Moreover, the ideas of the Khonds on moral and social rights and duties being necessarily few and vague, uncertain and perplexed,

* The inviolable sacredness attached to the rite of hospitality was remarkably exemplified in the case of Dora Bisaye. He was their guest. They viewed with horror the violation of hospitality. "Give up," said the British Government, "give up Dora Bisaye and the other leaders, and your villages will cease to burn and yourselves and your helpless wives and children will cease to suffer." But, No, Death itself was braved in preference.

there is often combined with childlike reason, on such objects a maturity in passion. Hence it is that, apart from acknowledged cases of bloodshed, they are often seen to gratify their baser appetites, indulge their resentment or revenge, with all the selfishness, brutality, and head-strong fury of the barbarian. In special cases, such as those connected with human sacrifice, there is periodically manifested a revolting cruelty—a savage ferocity—that cannot be out-matched by the Indian scalping-knife or tomahawk. To all this may be added the habit of lawless plunder, after the manner of freebooters, in some, and an addiction to the debasing and unhumanizing vice of drunkenness, in all.* At the season of periodical intoxication—the blowing of the *mow* flower—of which their favorite spirit is made, the country is literally covered with frantic and senseless groups of men. And though usually the women share more sparingly in the liquor cup, they yet, on public festival occasions, partake in every form of social enjoyment—food, drink, extemporary songs, recitations and dancing—mingling freely and without shame with the other sex, both married and unmarried, in more than saturnalian license and revelry, which often terminate in gross and nameless excesses, and as the guests are armed, not unfrequently in sanguinary brawls.”

Their Judicial Usages—Civil and Criminal—There are certain notions, sentiments, or principles of right and wrong which spring spontaneously from the natural reason or conscience. These may be more or less distorted or obscured, according to the ever varying circumstances of individuals. In the case of rude communities, they give birth to *customs* and *usages*, which, with them, have the effect of *laws*. In a loose way they constitute the unwritten rules and precedents for all judicial decisions. Still, from the absence of acknowledged judges, in all cases, authoritatively to apply them, and of acknowledged magistrates, in all cases, authoritatively to carry them into execution, it must needs happen that interminable disorders and inconveniences must be the result. Such, as might be expected, is the state of things among the Khonds. They do not possess any thing like a code of written laws or statutes, passed by competent legislative authority, and held as obligatory on the community at large. With them traditional prescription, or

* “The Khonds,” says Lieut. Hill, “are immoderate in their use of intoxicating liquors. The forest does not produce the *toddy*, viz. (*Palma maxima*) so prized by the Khonds of the hills, but the abundance of the *Mow* tree compensates for its absence, from Bundarra of the Ganjam Hills it is found in the neighbourhood of every hut, besides being in many places thickly scattered in the jungle. In the villages of Nagpore large quantities of liquor called *morora*, are distilled from its flower, and consumed by people of all denominations publicly and privately.”

“The Khonds,” says Mr. Brown, are “a nation of drunkards.” They drink “any thing, the stronger the better.” He then adds one or two of his illustrative anecdotes. “A young man going up to a tent was offered some spirits, first of one sort then of another—all of which he drank off without any hesitation. Several sorts of liquors were then mixed up with some ketchup still he shewed no repugnance but drank all up with the utmost glee.” A gentleman expressed a desire that he should see Ram Makika one of the Khond chiefs, though, it was observed, it would be “difficult to find him sober,”—his maxim being “As much as I may find, so much I will drink and more if I can.”

immemorial usage, supplies, in most cases, the place of a statute-book. —

“The right of property is distinctly recognized. Land is possessed without tenure, the rights of possession being simply founded on priority of appropriation or of culture. In some quarters, the waste or unreclaimed land for pasturage or for jungle produce, is partitioned among the villages, in others, not. Landed property and agricultural stock descend exclusively in the male line, females being incapable of holding land. In some districts, the eldest son receives an additional share of both these species of property, in a few, they are equally divided. Daughters participate equally in the personal ornaments, household furniture, money and moveables, while their brothers are obliged to maintain them, and to contribute conjointly to the expense of their marriages. On the failure of heirs male, land becomes the property of the village, and is divided among its members. When land is transferred by sale, the selling party goes with the intending purchaser to the village to which it is attached. Summoning five respectable inhabitants, as witnesses, they proceed to the property. The owner of it then invokes the village deity to bear testimony that the portion of land specified is alienated by him, for ever, to the individual present, for a certain consideration. He then delivers a handful of soil to the purchaser, when the transaction is complete.

Cases of murder, manslaughter, and wounding are left very much to the operation of the law of private retaliation. When the revenge of blood is foregone, the entire personal property of the murderer is awarded, in compensation, to the representatives of the deceased. For wounds inflicted under circumstances of extreme provocation, or in a drunken squabble, slight compensation is awarded. If the injury be severe, or of a lasting nature, a large equivalent in property is adjudged. And in every case, the injured party has a right to subsist in luxury at the expense of the offender, during the period of convalescence.

In cases of established matrimonial unfaithfulness the husband has a prescriptive right to put the seducer to death, while the guilty spouse, not being regarded as his property, is punishable only by dismissal to her paternal home. In cases of theft or of robbery, the restitution of the property abstracted, or the substitution of an equivalent, is alone required by Khond usage on the first offence, but expulsion from the society follows upon its repetition.

More important questions, whether of property or of personal offence, are generally decided by the different Patriarchal Councils. On such occasions, there is a formal examination of witnesses. Of judicial tests the two most sacred are founded on the belief that rice, moistened by the blood of a sheep killed in the name of the earth god, will, if eaten by litigants, destroy the perjured, and that a portion of disputed soil, made into clay will, if swallowed by them, have a similar effect. The common oaths are upon the skin of a tiger, from which animal destruction to the perjured is invoked, upon a lizard skin, whose scaliness they pray may be their lot, if forsworn, upon the earth of an ant-hill, like which they desire that, if false, they may be reduced to powder, and upon a peacock's feather;—while the universal ordeals of boiling water, oil, and hot iron are constantly resorted to. Boundary lines, when determined by public tribunals, are marked by stones set up with renewed sanctions, in the presence of the Abbaya. The liberal entertainment of the members of every tribunal with rice, flesh, and liquor, at the conclusion of the proceedings, falls in all cases, as costs of suit, upon the losing party.”

Their Arts and Manufactures — The number, the variety, and

the constant increase of arts and manufactures may well be regarded as a test of advanced and still advancing civilization. In a rude state of society the range of these is at once limited and stationary. In the rudest state of all,—where men live, solely on undressed roots and fruits, insects and reptiles, while they are content simply to cover their nakedness with a few leaves or untanned skins of beasts,—they can scarcely be said to exist at all. Into so low a state as this none of the Khond tribes of which we have learnt has ever sunk. Hunting and war have called into existence their axes, bows and arrows. Their husbandary has called for a species of plough and other agricultural instruments. Their mode of domestic economy has made them acquainted with various processes of preparing food, distilling liquor, extracting oil, and working in clay. Their habit of dress—which consists in wearing a single piece of coarse cloth, either white or checquered, from twelve to twenty cubits in length, girt round the loins, with its extremities flowing loose behind—has made some slight demand on the operations of the loom and the dyer, while the fondness of the women for brass armlets and anklets, and small nose and ear ornaments of gold and silver, has led to some acquaintance with the art of working in metals. The style of their habitations has created a species of architecture. Each man constructs his own dwelling, which is usually formed of strong boards, joined together and frequently plastered inside—the roofs being thatched. Several of these dwellings,—arranged in two rows, so as to form a street increasing gradually in width towards the centre, and having a strong barrier at each end formed of logs and planks—constitute a village. A Khond village,—which is in general beautifully situated, either by a clump of trees, or at the bases of the wooded hills, or on the knolls of the vallies—lasts on an average about fourteen years. When it begins to decay, it is not repaired, but a new one is built on a different site, and none of the old materials are used. Yet even here, the stationary, unimproveable, unprogressive, monotonous state, so characteristic of barbarous society, is strikingly manifested. Forty or fifty houses constitute a village. Now, “one uniform plan of building,” says Mr Brown, “appears to prevail—which plan all must follow.” Moreover, “the houses are as uniform as the towns. One uniform plan obtains amongst them like the cells of a bee-hive, the one is the fac-simile of the other. The patrician and plebeian—if such distinction indeed exists amongst them—are lodged the same. They eat, drink, sleep, and perform all the duties of life in precisely the same sort of habitation.”

Before concluding the subject of "arts and manufactures," it is proper to state, that, with the exception of some of the tribes in the Southern districts, who practise the arts of working in iron and clay, the mountain Khonds themselves regard the occupation of agriculture, varied by the pursuits of war and of the chase, as almost exclusively honorable. How, then, it may be asked, do they manage to maintain this exclusiveness? The reason is obvious. From time immemorial, families of the Pariahs or low Hindu castes, or rather Hindu outcastes, have settled amongst them, viz the Panwas* or

* As this is by far the most important class of settlers it is proper to enter into some farther detail concerning them. The name by which they are known among the Khonds is 'Dombango'. It is in the low country that they are denominated by the Hindu appellation of "Panwa" or weaver. "The Panwa," says Captain Macpherson, "is proverbially indispensable to every Khond hamlet. His duties are to provide human victims, to carry messages such as summonses to council or to the field, to act as musician at ceremonies, and to supply the village with cloth, of which the Khond allowance is a yearly garment." He uses both the Khond and Uriya languages. Again in his Report of the Southern districts Captain Macpherson thus writes —

Of the origin or the history of any of these races nothing certain is known. The tradition of the Khonds respecting the Dombango is that they have sprung generally from the illicit offspring of Khond women and from that of Hindu women who have visited the hills for traffic or during times of famine. And it is certain that the descendants of several families of the Gour Caste, who removed from Souradah to the hills during a drought which occurred about fifty years ago are now regarded as pure Dombango.

This class of people is attached by families to particular Khond Tribes by whose names they are distinguished as the Syalings Dombango, but they frequently change their place of residence and their protectors. In the country betwixt Kumed and Boad their social position is seen to range between a state approaching to equality with the Khonds and one bordering upon servility. But they no where attain to the former point nor sink distinctly to the latter. They are always inferior and protected but are always free. The Khonds in some districts rarely and in others frequently buy their daughters for wives but save in some parts of Bodoghoro alone they never give their children to them in return.

The Dombango may and frequently do acquire land by purchase but as the full rights of citizenship in a Tribe attach to the possession of property in its soil — rights which involve a circle of mutual responsibilities both for private engagements and for public conduct — the Khonds practically prevent as much as possible their acquisition or their long retention of such property. The Dombango with the rare exceptions of those who possess land in certain quarters have no voice in the public councils of the Khonds although they constantly sway them in private. Their proper occupations are said to be weaving trade and theft. As the brokers and interpreters on all occasions betwixt the Khonds and Hindus they manage the whole commerce of the hills. They are the musicians at festivals and they provide the human victims in the sacrificing districts by kidnapping or purchasing them in the low country and occasionally by the sale of their own offspring. They keep up constant intercourse and connection by marriage with the families of their race who live in the low country near the Ghats and those at least in Souradah uniformly call a priest from the hills for the performance of their domestic ceremonies. They are of the Khond religion and frequently act as Jannus or priests for its lesser rites but the families who reside in the tracts under the hills have acquired many ideas of Hinduism. On changing their residence from a sacrificing tract, to a district which does not sacrifice they are not free from the imputation of easily adapting their system of faith to their interests. The Dombango in the Northern districts are unlike in their habits in some of their Southern tracts they are held to be quite equal to the Khonds in courage.

The character of this race forms a striking contrast in all its features to that of the Khonds and curiously exemplifies the power of circumstances to produce moral and intellectual diversity. The masters of the soil form a bold free rude laborious mountain peasantry of simple but not undignified manners open, faithful and upright in their conduct serious and sincere in their superstition well informed of their rights and resolute to defend them. The Dombango excluded from property in land and from the power to practice the only honorable art and depressed by a sense of social inferiority are with the exception of those in some retired districts a mean false mercenary thievish race who live chiefly upon the ignorance, the superstition and the industry of the primitive people as low priests, brokers and pedlars, sycophants and cheats.

weaver, the Lohara or ironsmith, the Romaru or Potter, the Gouro or herdsman, the Sundi or distiller * These, in their different capacities, manufacture most necessities, and otherwise perform sundry handicraft and indispensable menial services. Though generally treated with kindness, the whole of these constitute an inferior, protected, or even servile race. They can in no case, in the northern districts, hold lands, and in many of the peculiar forms and ceremonies of the ruling class, they are not allowed in any way to participate.

*Their professional usages—Martial and Agricultural—*Arts and manufactures, as we have seen, are not accounted honorable among the Khonds. But this is by no means singular. A distaste for handicraft or sedentary employment of any kind, and an ardent thirst for exciting occupations, such as hunting and war, have ever been distinguishing marks of a people so circumstanced. It was so among the petty states of ancient Greece, and until recently the clans of Scotland. To define, strengthen, and secure the rights both of the individual and the community is one of the highest triumphs of civilization. But, "where rights are unsettled and undefined, wrongs must be frequent, and recourse must be had to violence for that redress which no law exists to afford. When the right of redressing his own wrongs is left to every individual, injuries are felt most deeply, and revenge is sought with unrelenting rancour." This is precisely the state of things among the Khonds. Their rights are ill defined, wrongs are very frequent, and the right of retaliation and revenge is fully conceded. And when they do war, it is, says Mr Brown, "to exterminate not subdue, for revenge and not honour. They destroy without mercy, neither age, sex, guilt or innocence is spared." The following is a summary of Captain Macpherson's statements in reference to the two great departments of honorable employment—war and peaceful agricultural industry —

"All the Khonds are, from their earliest years, trained to the profession of arms. Their weapons consist of the sling, the bow and arrow, in the use of which they are peculiarly dexterous, and an axe with a blade very curiously curved, and a light long handle that is defended by brass plate and wire. No shields are used. They usually prepare for hostilities by sundry propitiatory offerings to the god of war. They adorn themselves for battle, like most rude nations, as for a feast. They carefully trim their hair, plaiting in a flat circle on the right side of the head, where it is fastened with an iron

* The existence of these artisan and servile classes led at first to the supposition that the distinction and division of *castes* existed among the Khonds. Mr Brown was even led to imagine that the *Sundi* "from many circumstances" was "the principal caste." But this was plainly a mistake. The *Sundi* is no caste or class of Khonds at all, but one of the meanest classes of settlers amongst them.

pin and adorned with peacock's feathers, or cock's tail plumes, and bound with a thread of scarlet cloth. From the neck to the loins the combatants are often protected by skins,—cloth being wound round their legs down to the heel, but the arms quite bare. They advance with blowing of horns and beating of gongs. The women follow behind, carrying pots of water and food for refreshments, and the old men, who are past taking an active share in the strife, accompany for the sake of giving advice and encouragement. The priest, who in no case bears arms, gives the signal to engage, by flourishing an axe in the air and shouting defiance. They often commence with slinging showers of stones handed by the women. When they approach nearer, arrows are thrown in flights. At length single combats spring up betwixt individuals, and when the first man falls, all rush to dip their axes in his blood and hack his body to pieces. The right hands of all who are slain are cut off, heaped in the rear beside the women, and afterwards hung up on the trees of the villages. Of the wounded, many die from their entire ignorance of the simplest healing processes. The dead are carried away and burned on funeral piles.

From such sanguinary and revolting scenes, there is some relief in turning aside to contemplate the occupations of the Khonds during the intervals of *peace*. These are chiefly of an *agricultural* character. Their distinct recognition of the right and consequent distribution of property, and of the law of inheritance as essentially involved therein, is eminently favourable to the spirit of individual industry,—a spirit which is in direct antagonism to the characteristic sentiment of unbroken barbarism—that labour is at once an evil and a degradation.

With the exception of a few districts, in which the arts of working in iron and clay are cultivated, the occupation of agriculture, varied by the pursuit of war and of the chase, is almost exclusively regarded as honorable. Being therefore pursued with no ordinary degree of skill and energy, it results in no small share of rural affluence. They have large herds of bullocks and buffaloes and swine, numerous flocks of fine goats and abundance of poultry. Rice of several sorts, oils, millets, pulses, fruits, tobacco, turmeric and mustard, are the most important species of hill produce. These are often bartered in exchange for salt, cloth, brass vessels and ornaments. With the exception of cowries, the use of money was, until recently, nearly unknown. The value of all property is estimated in "lives," a measure that requires some adjustment every time that it is applied,—a bullock, a buffalo, a goat, a pig, a fowl, a bag of grain, a set of brass, or any thing else that may be agreed upon, being each and severally regarded as "a life." The whole community consists of one class, viz. that of allodial proprietors of the soil. There are no renters of land, nor labourers for hire. Each petty freehold consists of a portion of the irrigated soil of the valley, which is minutely sub-divided, and of a tract of the upland which is held in much larger portions. At the season of labour, the Khond rises at day-break. Before quitting his cottage he eats a full meal, of which goat's or swine's flesh usually forms a part. Yoking his team or shouldering his axe, he sallies forth for the day. When employed in ordinary work, as at the plough, he labours without intermission until three o'clock in the afternoon, when he bathes in the nearest stream. But when his toil is more severe, as in felling wood, he rests to eat a mid-day meal which is brought to him to the field. At evening, when he returns home, his meal has the addition of liquor and tobacco. During harvest and seed-time, the women share in every form of field labour, to their share it often falls to watch the village cattle by turns."

Their diseases and remedies — The most prevalent diseases are fever, inflammation in the bowels, and small pox. The first of these may be said to be a periodical visitor, the second is usually brought on by excess of drinking, — while the last frequently rages as a desolating epidemic. Such being the case, it may, at first sight, appear somewhat surprizing that amongst the Khonds the use of medicine is unknown.

To external wounds they may apply the earth of an ant-hill made into a warm mud, or a poultice of millet, they may also apply, in extreme cases, the actual cautery to the belly—using a hot sickle over a wetted cloth. But be their internal ailments what they may, they use no medicines of any sort. This, however, is nothing but what might be expected of a people circumstanced as the Khonds. It has often been noted that in the earliest ages we find no mention made either of physicians or medicines for the cure of internal maladies, or those “diseases which proceed from the disorder of the humours.” And what is true of the earliest ages, is equally true of every existing race situated as the people of those earliest ages were. But how are we to account for this state of things? It cannot be attributed solely to the difficulty of discovering the specific virtues and properties of different herbs. The repeated observations and experiments, made partly from choice, partly from necessity, could not fail, if rightly noted, to lead ultimately to a discovery of the medicinal effects and qualities of various natural products. But the truth is, that in all ages and countries, the invariable tendency of ignorance and superstition has been to refer sickness in general, and especially sickness in any unusual form, to *supernatural* causes or agencies. Of course, whenever this persuasion prevailed, there could be no expectation of aid from the application of any *merely human* art. Consequently it is to the ministers or interpreters of the Divine will, in other words, to the *priests*, or to *conjurers* of some description, that recourse would be had. It was long ago remarked by Celsus, the celebrated physician, that the barbarians “imagined that all internal diseases come immediately from the Gods, and that they applied to them only for their cure.” In such a case, “incantations, sorceries and mummeries of various sorts” would be resorted to and employed instead of medicine. The New Zealanders, it is said, “believe that whenever any person is sick, his illness is occasioned by the *Atua* or deity, in the shape of a lizard preying upon his entrails.” And by Dr Taylor, in his *Natural History of Society*, it has been very properly remarked, that substantially similar is the impression, and similar the resources of ignorance in every

country "In some parts of Ireland," says he, "an unfortunate child suffering from rickets or consumption is declared to be fairy-struck." In other cases the patient is believed to be literally "bewitched." Accordingly, he adds, "the use of spells and charms is not quite banished from our own land. The writer has one in his possession, given him as an infallible remedy for toothache, by one who so firmly believed in its efficacy that he made its unfortunate failure a cause of quarrel." And he mentions the case of a young man of respectable family, who sewed the verses of which this spell consisted in his sister's petticoat, really believing that they would ease her of her toothache. Now, how exactly all this presents the state of things among the Khonds, the following statements from Captain Macpherson will amply shew —

"In cases of sickness, as of every other species of misfortune, it is the duty of the priest to discover the real or supposed causes, in the immediate displeasure of some deity, or of some ancestor ungratified by food and honours. Thus he attempts to do, by resorting to charms, incantations, and other magical arts. Seating himself by the afflicted person, the priest, taking some rice, divides it into small heaps, each dedicated to a god whom he names. He then balances a sickle with a thread, places a few grains upon each end, and calls all the gods by name. The sickle is slightly agitated. A god has come perching by the offering. The priest declares his name and lays down the sickle. He then counts the heap of rice dedicated to that god, if odd in number, the deity is offended, if even, he is pleased. In the former case, the priest becomes full of the god, shakes his head frantically with dishevelled hair and utters wild incoherent sentences. The patient addresses the god in his minister, inquiring humbly the cause of his displeasure. He refers to his neglected worship, sorrow is professed and forgiveness prayed for, and the sacrifices prescribed by the priest are instantly performed. Deceased ancestors are invoked in the same way as gods, and appeased by offerings of fowls, rice, and liquor. The consecrated rice with the brass vessels used in these ceremonies are the perquisite of the priest."

Their magical and other superstitious usages — Under the last head notice has been taken of the manner in which, in the case of internal maladies, the Khonds, like all unenlightened people, have substituted the spells, charms, or incantations of the priest for the medicines of the physician. But this is not a solitary instance of resort to the mysterious and the superhuman. The constant tendency of all ununstructed and superstitiously disposed minds is to fancy, not to investigate, causes—promptly to ascribe phenomena to imaginary agencies, instead of patiently endeavouring to detect the real ones—to multiply the number of influences, natural and supernatural, rather than attempt to simplify and generalize them. Hence the strong and fervent belief of the ignorant of all lands in all sorts of non-descript beings, such as wizards and witches, magicians and sorcerers, augurs and astrologers, diviners and conjurers,

who are in league with diverse invisible and powerful beings that are supposed to control and regulate the destinies of man—and in all sorts of non-descript influences, such as spells and talismans, sorceries and incantations, witcheries and charms, omens and auspices, the second sight and the evil eye. On this prolific head to adduce examples were as needless as it would be endless. Suffice it to say that the Khonds, like all people similarly circumstanced, are in the habit of attributing to the interposition of some superior and invisible power, every unusual occurrence in the works of nature or the events of life—the thunder, the drought, the murrain among cattle, the epidemic or the pestilence that mows down its thousands of human victims. And with the view of averting such evils or of mitigating their rage, all manner of superstitious usages have been instituted.

For the present, however, we shall simply advert more particularly to their belief in magic and witchcraft, because of certain peculiarities, both in theory and practice, which have been connected with it. On this subject Captain Macpherson, in one of his unpublished reports, remarks —

“The belief of the Bannah Khonds upon the subjects of Witchcraft, Sorcery and Magic influences in a considerable degree nearly all their habits of life, and they retain with respect to them, nearly unmodified, the ideas of the Mahah Khonds of this quarter. But while the Hill Tribes exact compositions, in the spirit of their usages, for injuries inflicted by those arts, the Khonds of the low country, following an ancient but long disused Hindu practice, have, until very recently, assigned to them the extreme penalties which have been generally their meed elsewhere.

The views of the Khonds upon this subject are chiefly founded upon their peculiar doctrine, that death is not the necessary and appointed lot of man, but that it may be incurred, either as a special penalty for offences against the gods, by their appointment, or by magical agency purely human. The gods are held to inflict death either by ordinary means, as by a wound received in battle, or by the agency of men who are endowed by them with the power of transformation (called *Mleepa*) which enables them to assume the forms of wild beasts for the purpose of destruction, or to enter into other men's bodies to cause disease and death. And this gift is considered to be very commonly dispensed, as the Khonds, at least of these Districts, attribute all deaths by tigers to persons so endowed, for they believe that the gods did not create the tiger to prey upon man, but to hunt to provide food for him,—much game being left to them by this animal in the open cultivated spots in the valleys where it generally strikes down its prey, and all sickness is, in the same way, attributed immediately to a god, or to a man, who is thus gifted. *Magicians* are, however, believed to have acquired the power to take away life at pleasure, without reference to the will of the gods, by dark and impious arts which are purely human.

Against the class of sorcerers gifted by the gods, those who have suffered by them frequently rise, to compel them by threats of plunder and by violence and by levying heavy compositions, to promise to cease to afflict them. But the Magician experiences a different doom. In Pondacole, until very

recently, he expiated his crime in the flames, at a stake which was placed close by the funeral pile of his victim

A person whose testimony may be implicitly relied upon, saw three persons suffer death in this way at Pipulpanka in Pondacole in the years 1834 and 1835. A foolish looking old woman was pointed out to me in a neighbouring village, for whom the faggots had been several times prepared, but who had escaped from the introduction of our authority into Souradah. The guilt of Sorcerers and Magicians is always ascertained and declared by a priest, and the imputation, whatever may be the consequences, appears to be never denied by the accused."

Their Mythology—It has been a question whether any race or tribe of men has ever sunk so low as to have lost all traces or impressions of a superior invisible power. Our own persuasion is altogether on the negative side. And we think that they who advocate the contrary, do so, very much, from confounding the form with the substance—the name with the reality. But this is not the place to weigh the merits of this controversy. On one point, all would be agreed—that if there be a people any where, totally insensible, not merely to the being of a distinctly conceived Divinity, but to *all impressions of the existence of any superior invisible agency whatsoever*, that people, both intellectually and morally, must inevitably be sunk to the dead level of the brute creation.

To this lowest depth the Khonds have certainly never been reduced. At first it was very difficult to ascertain what their belief, in this respect, really was. On this subject Mr Russel, even in his second Report, could only say that their "religion appeared to consist of the worship of the Earth and the Sun." And Mr Brown, in his first paper in the *Calcutta Christian Observer*, writes thus doubtfully, "Of their mythology, *if any really exists*, we have no means of knowing at present, and the history of bygone ages who can tell?" Again, "They appear to consider the Earth a Deity, whom they sometimes call *Deirne*, or some such name, and they pay a kind of adoration to the sky and the elements." And even in his second communication to the *Observer*, some months later, the Revd Gentleman was able to add little or nothing on this vitally important subject.

Captain Macpherson, however, has succeeded in pouring a stream of light on the whole subject. The Khonds have their Divinities. These have arisen from the deification of the most prominent forms of the sensible universe, or rather of the powers which are believed to animate and control these forms, or, from the deification of those preter-natural agents which are supposed to direct and influence the leading events and pursuits of life. But, with these are often

blended or associated the most awful and mysterious notions of a *supreme power*, whose attributes are vaguely conceived, and therefore confused, perplexed and undefined—making up but a dim barren abstraction in the minds of men incapable of forming distinct ideas of existence or energy, not immediately derived from the sphere of their sensible experience. Apart from this all-comprehending or supreme power, which, apparition-like, flits up and down the chambers of a fearful fancy, without shape, form, or substance, physical or metaphysical—the Khond Deities may be conveniently divided into two great classes —

“*First—The superior or generally acknowledged Deities* From the dependence of the Khonds on the earth as the proximate or immediate nourisher of their bodies, the ‘Earth-god’ or rather goddess, may well be placed at the head of their Pantheon. She appears to be worshipped under two distinct characters, which, however, are seldom separately contemplated by her trembling votaries—viz as the supreme power, and as the deity who presides over the productive energies of nature. In the former character, she appears to receive distinct worship in one case only. When a tribe engages in war with enemies of another race, her awful name is invoked, and vows of sacrifice are recorded in the event of success. Her nature is purely malevolent, but she does not seem to interfere with the independent actions of other deities in their respective spheres, and she is nowhere peculiarly present. As the divinity who presides over the operations of nature, the character and the functions of the Earth-goddess are defined with a considerable degree of distinctness. They reflect generally the leading wants and fears of an agricultural population. She rules the order of the seasons, and sends the periodical rains. Upon her depend the fecundity of the soil and the growth of all rural produce, the preservation of the patriarchal houses, the health and increase of the people, and in an especial manner the safety of flocks and herds and their attendants. She is worshipped by human sacrifices.* She has no fixed corporeal shape, form, image, symbol,

* On this subject additional light has been thrown in Captain Macpherson’s second unpublished Report, as the following important extract will shew —

While the whole Khond race professes the same nature worship and adores the same powers which animate and control the sensible forms of the universe upon whose functions they chiefly depend and the divine energy as associated with certain abstract ideas and sentiments and local objects the tribes of the northern tracts (the only portion of the sacrificing population whose opinions I have had an opportunity to ascertain exactly) regard the earth goddess a supreme—and at the same time attribute to her in her character of regent of the operations of nature pure malevolence towards man and they believe that while no observances or course of conduct can change her malignant aspect into benignity her malevolence may still be placed in partial or in complete abeyance by the sacrifice of human life which she has expressly ordained.

The Khonds of this middle region upon the other hand seem to believe that the Sun God and the Earth Goddess exercise an equal and joint supremacy—forming an inseparable duad. No malevolence towards mankind is ascribed to them on the contrary they are merciful and benign towards those who observe their ordinances and discharge their rites instead of delighting in cruel offerings they abhor the inhuman ritual of the Northern Southern, and Western Districts and they would resent with detestation any semblance of participation in it by their worshippers.

It is plain that there must exist an endless diversity of opinions an infinite variety of sentiments and of feelings amongst this widely spread people upon every point of their vague fluctuating and undefined superstition some of the leading doctrines of which I have attempted to seize and to fix in exact language and it is to be expected that the two sets of elementary ideas which I have found to prevail respectively amongst the most Northern Tribes which practice the rite of sacrifice, and the most Southern Tribe which

or temple But she together with the other superior gods, may *temporarily assume* any earthly forms at pleasure, as, for instance, that of the tiger as convenient for purposes of wrath 2—It is easy to understand why, among a cluster of jealous tribes which depend entirely upon the soil, a "God of Limits," should be universally and signally acknowledged He is adored by sacrifices, human and bestial Particular points upon the boundaries of districts, fixed by ancient usage and generally upon the highways, are his altars, and these demand each an annual victim, who is either an unsuspecting traveller struck down by the priests, or a sacrifice provided by purchase 3—The sun and moon are universally regarded as deities by the Khonds, but to neither the "Sun-god" nor the "Moon-god" is ceremonial worship addressed They are acknowledged by a simple reverence, which is paid to them when visible upon every occasion of public solemnity, whether religious or not 4—The "God of Arms" has in every Khond village a grove sacred from the axe, in the centre of which, beneath a spreading tree, his symbol, a piece of iron about two cubits in length, is buried To no Khond Deity is worship more assiduously or devoutly paid *

abstain from it will be found to approximate to blend and to run into each other in every possible way But the conclusion at which I have arrived in opposition to preconceived views with respect to these two sets of ideas and to the distinct rituals which spring from them is this—that they are equally ancient and original—that the tribes which do not now offer human sacrifice have not relinquished that rite as other barbarous races have done either in consequence of impressions received through contact with superior civilization or as the result of gradual mental development for they are decidedly behind the northern population which offers sacrifice in respect of the number and the variety of those impressions and in point of general advancement But that those non sacrificing tribes entertain ideas of some of the attributes of God with which the rite is incompatible and have always held it in abhorrence

* The following war lyric is one of the specimens of Khond poetry referred to in page 42 —

1
Great God of Battles Oh, forgive
(For thou our wants and weakness saw)
If we so long have seemed to live
Regardless of thy glorious law
Our herds were few our fields were bare
Our bravest warriors bowed with care

2
But how Fate scowleth on the foe
And famine haunts each cot and bower
And some the fever blasts lay low
And some the gaunt wild beasts devour
Unnerved is many a manly limb
And many a youthful eye is dim

3
Oh Laha Pennú Lord of strife
Watch all our weapons as thine own
And at each mark of mortal life
Direct the shaft and hurl the stone
Make wide the wounds on every frame
Deface the dead the living maim

4
Oh let our ponderous axes fall
Like blows of death from tiger's paws
Or crush bone flesh and garb and all,
As twixt the fierce hyena's jaws
Let arms not ours as brittle be
As long pods of the Karta tree

5
Each aim misguide unnerve each hand
Of those to mock our might that dare
Make all their weapons light as sand,
Or Mowa blossoms borne on air
Or let our wounds quick dry again
As blood drops on the dusty plain

Success in arms is carefully ascribed in every case to his immediate interposition—never to personal valour, and it is in the power of the priest upon any occasion to prevent war by simply declaring him to be unfavourable 5—The Khonds being much given to hunting, there is a “God of Hunting,” who must always be propitiated by parties proceeding, usually in the hot weather, to the chase. Such parties generally consist of from thirty to fifty persons who drive and mob the game, killing it with their bows, slings, and axes. They seem now to be ordinarily unaccustomed to the use of poison for their arrows 6—In cases of barrenness, the priest is immediately put in requisition. He takes the woman to the place of confluence of two streams, sprinkles water over her, and makes an offering to the “God of Births,” and the same deity is uniformly appealed to when any animal fails in fertility 7—The Khonds being greatly subject to the ravages of the small pox, there is a “God of Small Pox,” who, they say, “sows that disease upon mankind as men sow seed upon the earth.” When a village is threatened with the dreadful scourge it is deserted by all save a few persons who remain to offer the blood of buffaloes, hogs, and sheep, to the destroying power. The inhabitants of the neighbouring hamlets attempt to prevent his approach by planting thorns in the path which lead towards the infected place 8—Every knoll and eminence in the Khond country has a name and a divinity, called the “Hill-God,” but as from him little is to be hoped or feared, to him no formal worship is addressed 9—That timber may never be wanting in case of accidents from fire or from enemies, a considerable grove, generally of saul, is uniformly dedicated by every village to the “Forest God,” whose favour is ever and anon sought by the sacrifice of birds, hogs, and sheep, with the usual accompaniments of rice and an addled egg. The consecrated grove is religiously preserved—the young trees being occasionally pruned, but not a twig cut for use without the formal consent of the village and the formal propitiation of the god 10—Among a people who depend so much on regular and copious supplies of rain, it is not to be wondered at that there should be a “God of Rain.” When there is a failure of this fructifying element, a whole tribe generally meets to invoke the deity. Quarrels are now forgotten or suspended. All go forth, men, women, and children, accompanied by the loudest music—the men shouting and capering madly in the circles—to seek the God of Showers at some old appointed tree or rock. While some

6

May every axe wear ruddy hue
As home we pant from victory's field
And while women, proud and true
Their stores of sweet refreshment yield
May neighbouring beauties seek our bowers
And yearn to mix their blood with ours

7.

Our war gained wealth let all behold
Brass vessels, herds and scented leaf,
And Maids present to parents old
The trophies of our struggle brief
And fowl and buffalo and sheep
Thy shrine in sacred blood shall steep

8

Oh Laha Pennh, God of war
Not new the favor now we crave
For thy fierce smile like lurid star
Oft led to strife our fathers brave
And we their sons when danger looms
Still hail their honored God and ours

keep up the dance without intermission, others strip and cook the victims, which are bullocks, sheep and hogs, and which are sacrificed with invocations by the priest 11—Next to rain, the chief dependence must be on springs Hence the "God of Fountains" is caressed with special favours, and sought with special offerings 12—As the fulness of streams and rivulets must depend on the copiousness of rain and fountains, though there is a "God of Rivers," who is often addressed he is not honoured with any peculiar rites 13—As the Khonds, for the purpose of irrigation carefully collect the waters of rills and brooks near their sources, by means of rude weak dams or bunds, there is a "God of Tanks" to whom they assiduously sacrifice sheep and fowls under the nearest tree, praying him to preserve their embankments 14—Last of all, there is the "Village God," who is the guardian deity of every hamlet,—the universal *genius loci* He is the special object of domestic and familiar worship The ruin or prosperity of villages is in his power To him are vows made and recorded in sickness, and in most undertakings his aid and patronage are implored

Second—The inferior, local, or partially acknowledged Deities Besides the ancient, indigenous, and universally acknowledged divinities now enumerated there are others of subordinate importance and limited sway These, for the most part, seem to be of local and accidental origin, and in many cases, obviously of modern growth As they are found chiefly in those districts that are most exposed to impressions from Hinduism, it can be little doubted that the greater part owe their real paternity to that source In what manner Hindu ideas might ultimately be imparted, and Hindu modes of worship incorporated with or engrafted on the simple stock of Khond traditions there is a recent illustrative example A moss-grown rock on the hill of Koladah, in Goomsur, which bore a rude natural resemblance to a man seated on a tiger had been, from the remotest antiquity an object of superstitious veneration The father of the late Rajah of Goomsur in compliment to the Jakso tribe, whose former territory included Koladah, built a temple near the spot, and placed within it the image of a man and tiger, of the best Hindu workmanship The gaudy idol remained entirely unnoticed while the Khonds continued to regard the rude natural image with unabated reverence In the year 1815, however, when a British force took possession of Koladah, a party of Sepoys chanced to bivouac in the temple Their camp fire was allowed to scorch the idol, and a Mussalman contemptuously pricked the nose of the tiger with his bayonet Blood, say the Khonds, flowed from the wound, and a pestilence wasted the English camp, which proved that their divinity had transferred his presence from his ancient hill to the new Hindu shrine Since then, the tiger rock has ceased to be in any degree an object of religious regard, though it would seem that, for the present, his worshippers have declined to follow him to his new abode

1—In some places, a rude stone, smeared with turmeric, is worshipped under a name which signifies "great Father god" In one village his symbol is enclosed within a small temple, in others, it is placed under a lofty forest tree where tradition generally records that a rift once marked his passage into, or emergence from, the earth To this imaginary being, are due two yearly offerings of goats, fowls, milk, rice, ghee, incense, and occasionally buffaloes—the one, at seed time, the other, at harvest 2—In the District of Nowsagur, a new deity has of late been adored, concerning whom the present Patriarch states, that he manifested himself in a material form, on the occasion of his own marriage The god was found in the large dish of rice, which, according to custom, his wife's mother at that ceremony placed upon his head Its material is declared to be neither gold, silver, wood, iron, stone, nor any other known substance. It is deposited in

a small building or shrine, under the guardianship of a Hindu priest, who is entertained for this service 3 —In two districts, the “conservative principle,” or rather that of the “statu quo” is worshipped on a lofty mountain. The blood of victims is annually poured out before an immense concourse of devotees, whose single aspiration is, “may we ever live as did our forefathers and may our children hereafter live like us” 4 —In another district, another power or influence is worshipped, which is said to have arisen from the earth in the form of a piece of iron, and which may be regarded as the “destructive principle” It is firmly believed that the tree, under which this deity is placed, must die—that the water in which he is laid must be dried up—that the priest in his service cannot expect to survive four years, while he cannot decline the fearful office 5 —Besides these, there are several other local and minor tutelary deities One of these is Bahman Pennu, apparently the Brahman god Indeed, most of these are obviously of Hindu origin Besides, they are found in those parts of the country that are most exposed to such inroads, and where, moreover, tradition records the former existence of a Hindu city founded by Rama on his return from Ceylon And of this there can be no doubt, that the goddess Káli, the Sakti or active energy and consort of Shiva, the destroyer or reproducer, who is worshipped by the Hindus of the surrounding portions of Orissa, has been very extensively added to the number of native Khond divinities,—though, every where, her worship is postponed, or held subordinate, to that of their own”*

Their Priesthood—It would appear, as indeed might be anticipated from former statements, that originally the chief civil and sacerdotal offices were united in the persons of the Abbayas. In some districts, this primitive union of offices is still perpetuated, in others, it has been wholly dissolved Where the Priesthood and Patriarchate are not combined, the Civil and the Religious heads of tribes generally act in concert for the maintenance of the national observances, as well as from a sense of private interest,—the former, desiring to strengthen their hands as temporal rulers by the aid of superstition, the latter, aiming at influence through alliance with the secular authority In all cases, however, the priesthood lays claim to divine institution Each deity is believed to have originally appointed ministers in every tribe by which he was recognized. The office is hereditary, descending usually but not necessarily to the eldest son But no absolutely exclusive privilege is transmitted by descent. The priestly office may be assumed by any one who chooses to assert a call to the service of a god—the mandate being

* “While the primitive race thus aspires to approach and to blend with the more civilized people, a union which has taken place through plain motives at a single point, betwixt their superstitions, is worthy of observation The Hindus, when they assumed the Khond soil, in some quarters, adopted the chief Khond Deity, or rather dual of deities as their *Gram-Devata*, or local Tutelary God under the name of *Khondini* and Brahmans have ever since officiated with Khonds at her shrine Her worship became partially confused with that of Durga but it is still discharged with regularity and pomp by this joint ministry”—*Macpherson's 2nd Report*

communicated in a dream or vision,—while the ministry of any divinity may, apparently, be laid aside at pleasure. Hence the Khond priesthood has no tendency to form a caste, endowed with inherent, incommunicable, or untransferrable qualities and attributes —

“ Every Khond village has its priest. From the rest of the community he is separated only in these two respects,—that he may not eat with laymen, nor partake of food prepared by their hands, though this rule does not extend to the liquor cup of which he freely partakes in common with others—and that he may not, in his own person, bear arms, though, in connection with warlike operations, he has many special duties to discharge. In accordance with the general spirit of Khond society, the members of the priesthood are perfectly equal in point of rank, although some degree of traditional precedence is necessarily enjoyed by the older priestly families. They have neither privileges of rank nor endowments in any form. Even their own inherited land is not tilled by the common labour as is the custom among other tribes. Their simple prerogative consists in having an honorable place at all public and private festivals, in receiving perquisites of some value at certain ceremonies, in occasional harvest offerings of good will when the deity to whom they minister has proved propitious.

It is, of course, their special vocation to perform the prescribed rites and ceremonies in honour of the deities, whose wrath it may be desired to deprecate or whose favour to win. But, besides such professional performances, on them devolves the discharge of many other miscellaneous functions. On the occasion of marriages, or births, or sickness, or deaths, or funerals, they have a part to act in the appointed ceremonies. Again, when the place of an Abbaya, whose race has become extinct, is to be supplied by popular election, the community is almost uniformly guided in its choice by the priest, who does not omit on such occasions to consult, with vigils and fasting, the will of the deity. And when, in the public council, a priest of venerable age and character demands, in language peculiarly modulated, “will not men listen to those to whom god listens?”—the appeal is rarely resisted. From all this, it is evident, that, in spite of the theory of equality, the influence of the Khond priests, viewed as a body of interpreters of the will of the deity, as mediators betwixt him and man, and as adepts in magical arts, must, in general, not only be very great but practically predominant.

In addition to the native priesthood, a class of Hindus, whose number is not considerable, is employed by the Khonds as co-adjutors in the service of the lesser divinities,—while the Khond priesthood conducts exclusively the worship of the Earth-goddess, and generally that of all the indigenous deities who are universally acknowledged.”

Their religious rites and ceremonies—human sacrifices—The traditional ritual of the Khonds is exceedingly varied and extensive—each divinity being worshipped, according to modes that are supposed to be suited to its peculiar nature, character, and predominant attribute. There are no temples or houses consecrated to worship. All ceremonies are performed in the open air, in the presence of assembled multitudes, or in solitary retired spots, such as groves and jungles. To recount all of these were alike endless and useless. Omitting all the rest, as

of inferior importance, we shall at once direct attention to the dreadful ceremonial by which the Earth-goddess is propitiated—a ceremonial which amply and awfully verifies the saying, that, where “we find a warlike ferocious race, delighting in cruelty and devastation, we may be assured that they will have deities delighting in slaughter, and rites polluted with blood.”

“The Earth-goddess being the principal divinity of the Khonds, her worship is that which engrosses the largest share of public attention. It is, moreover, that which, in itself, is most deeply fraught with tragic interest, inasmuch as its central point consists in the offering of human sacrifices. Of the origin of this sanguinary rite, the only recoverable tradition among the Khonds is the following—‘The Earth,’* say they, “was originally a crude and instable mass unfit for cultivation, and for the convenient habitation of man. Then, said the Earth-goddess, “Let human blood be spilt before me”—and a child was sacrificed. The soil became forthwith firm and productive, and the deity ordained that man should repeat the rite and live.” Thus the Khond enjoys the ordinary bounty of nature on the express condition of deprecating, by the ceaseless effusion of human blood, the malignity of the power by which its great functions are controlled. This may well be pronounced the most characteristic and fundamental doctrine or principle of his ancestral and national faith, and contribution to the support of the ceremonial in which it is embodied may be regarded as an indispensable condition of association in a Khond Tribe.

Human sacrifices to the Earth-goddess are either *public* or *private*. The considerations on which the performance of *public* sacrifice is offered by a tribe, or district, or village, are generally these. 1st—It is considered necessary that every farm should share the blood of a human victim at the time when each of its principal crops is laid down, while a harvest oblation is deemed scarcely less necessary than the spring sacrifice, and it is considered in the last degree desirable that several offerings, according to the promise of the year, should intervene betwixt them. 2—Should the health of society at large be affected in an extraordinary degree, or should its flocks or herds suffer from disease, or from the ravages of wild beasts, public expiations to the Earth goddess must be performed. 3—The fortunes of the Abbaya being regarded as the chief index of the disposition of the deity towards the portion of society over which he presides, the failure of his crops, the loss of his farm stock, and sickness or death in his household, are considered as tokens of coming wrath which cannot be too speedily averted by public atonement with human blood. The *private* performance of bloody sacrifice is deemed necessary, when any extraordinary calamity marks the anger of the deity towards a particular house, as, for example, when a child, watching a flock, perishes by a tiger—the form which is believed to be assumed by the Earth-goddess for purposes of wrath. On application to the priest, he of course refers the visitation to the neglected worship of the dread deity, and generally demands an immediate victim. If this requisition cannot be complied with, a goat is led to the place of sacrifice, where its ear is cut off

* The Rev Mr Brown favours us with another and slightly varying from of the tradition on this subject, but as all such traditions are merely legends of *posterior* fabrication, they may safely be rejected as utterly worthless.

and cast bleeding upon the earth—a pledge that must be redeemed by human blood, at whatever cost, within the year

From what has now been stated, it appears that the number of sacrifices in a Khond district depends upon circumstances, so numerous and so variable that it is scarcely possible to form a correct estimate in any case of their annual average. One thing is painfully certain, and that above the possibility of question, that the number is great beyond what any humane spirit can contemplate without a thrill of horror. In one small valley, two miles long and less than three quarters of a mile in breadth, our author discovered *seven* victims whose immolation was temporarily prevented by the vicinity of the British troops, but it was to take place immediately after their departure.

These unhappy victims are known, in the Khond language, under the designation of "*Merias*." They do not usually consist of native Khonds, but are provided by a class of Hindu procurers, called "*Panwas*," who purchase them without difficulty upon false pretences, or kidnap them from the poorer classes of Hindus in the low country, either to the order of the Abbayas, or priests, or upon speculation. When conveyed to the mountains, their price is determined by the demand, varying at from fifty to a hundred *lves*, i. e. of sheep, cows, fowls, pigs, &c. A few are always, if possible, kept in reserve in each district to meet sudden demands for atonement. Victims of either sex are equally acceptable to the Earth goddess—children, whose age precludes a knowledge of their situation, being, for convenience sake, preferred. Brahmans, who have assumed the sacred thread, being perhaps regarded as already consecrated to the deity, and Khonds are held to be not quite so acceptable, but the word of the procurer is the only guarantee of fitness in these respects which is required. But whatever be the real class, rank or nation of the victim, it is a highly characteristic feature of the system, pregnant with important consequences, that, in all cases, *it must be bought with a price*—an unbought life being an abomination to the deity.

The Meria is brought blind-folded to the village by the procurer, and is lodged in the house of the Abbaya—in fetters, if grown up, at perfect liberty, if a child. During life, he is regarded as a consecrated being, and if at large, is eagerly welcomed at every threshold. Victims are not unfrequently permitted to attain to years of maturity in total ignorance of their situation, although it is not easy to understand how this ignorance can be maintained. Should one, under such circumstances, form a temporary alliance with the wife or daughter of a Khond, thankfulness is expressed to the deity for the distinction. Generally, however, to a Meria youth, who thus grows up a wife of one of the Hindu castes upon the mountains is given farm stocks and land are presented to him, and should a family be the result, it is held to be born to the fearful condition of the sire. The sacrifice of lives bound to existence by these ties is often foregone, but should the dread divinity require atonement not easy to be afforded, the victim father, with all his children, is dragged without hesitation to the altar. It is a rule, however, that persons standing in the relation of direct descent shall not be immolated in the same district. This is, indeed, so rigidly observed that when a victim is thought in any degree to resemble a former mature sacrifice, he is always out of precaution resold or exchanged. By this means, also, the risk is avoided of sacrificing, according to the ideas of the Khonds, the same life twice to the divinity.

All arrangements connected with the ceremony of human sacrifice are conducted by the Patriarch in concert with the priest. The divine will is in every case declared by the latter, as it is communicated to him in visions.

and he may demand a victim at any time, even when no visible signs of divine displeasure appear. From the festivals of sacrifice no one is excluded, and at them, all feuds are forgotten. They are generally attended by a large concourse of people of both sexes. They continue for three days, which are passed in the indulgence of every form of gross and indescribable excess.

The *first* day and night are spent exclusively in drinking, feasting and obscene riot. Upon the *second* morning, the victim, which has fasted from the preceding evening, is carefully washed, dressed in a new garment, and led forth from the village in solemn procession with music* and dancing to the Mera grove. This consists of a clump of deep and shadowy forest trees, and usually stands at a short distance from the hamlet, by a rivulet.

* The following is one of the hymns of invocation usually sung on this occasion —

1

Goddess of Earth dread source of ill
Thy just revenge overwhelms us still
For rites unpaid
But Oh forgive our stores are small
Our lessened means uncertain all
Denied thine aid.

2

Goddess that taught mankind to feel
Poison in plants and Death in steel
A fearful lore
Forgive forgive and ne'er again
Shall we neglect thy shrine to stain
With human gore

3

Let plenty all our land o'erspread
Make green the ground with living bread
Our pastures fill
So close with cattle side by side
That no bare spot may be descried
From distant hill

4

And when unto the broad flat pool
Their thirst to quench, their sides to cool
Our herds are led,
So numerous make them that no form
Of fish or frog or toad or worm
Survive their tread.

5

So fill with sheep each ample fold
That he who digs man-deep the mould
Their compost rare
Meet not a stone May swine abound
Until their plough-like snouts the ground
For seed prepare

6

So fill our cots with childhood's din
The voice be rarely heard within,
And neer without
Each thatch with crowded poultry hide
Give jugs that bruise the fountain's side
With metal stout

7

Oh Bera Pennu. Once again
Protect us with the grove and plain,
From beasts of prey
Nor let sly snake or tiger bold
Fright children save in stories old
Of fathers grey

8

Oh make it each man's only care
Yearly to build a store room fair
For goods god-sent,
And wealthy rites we'll duly pay
Lo one bought victim now we slay
One life present

which is called the Meria stream. It is kept sacred from the axe and is studiously avoided by the Khond, as haunted ground. In its centre, an upright stake is fixed, at the foot of which the victim is seated, and bound back to it by the priest. He is then anointed with oil, ghee, and turmeric, and adorned with flowers, and a species of reverence, which it is not easy to distinguish from adoration, is paid to him throughout the day. There is now infinite contention to obtain the slightest relic of his person—a particle of the turmeric paste with which he is smeared, or a drop of his spittle being esteemed, especially by the women, of supreme virtue. In some districts, small rude images of beasts and birds in clay are made in great numbers and stuck on poles—of the origin or meaning of which there is no satisfactory explanation. On the *third* morning, the victim is refreshed with a little milk and palm sago, while the licentious feast, which has scarcely been intermitted during the night, is vociferously renewed. The acceptable place for the intended sacrifice has been discovered, during the previous night, by persons sent out for this purpose. The ground is probed in the dark with long sticks, and the first deep chink that is pierced is considered the spot indicated by the Earth-goddess. As the victim must not suffer bound, nor, on the other hand, exhibit any shew of resistance, the bones of his arms, and if necessary, those of his legs, are now broken in several places. The priest, assisted by the Abbaya and by one or two of the Elders of the village, then takes the branch of a green tree which is cleft a distance of several feet down the centre. They insert the Meria within the rift,—fitting it, in some districts, to his chest in others, to his throat. Cords are next twisted round the open extremity of the stake, which the priest, aided by his assistants, strives with his whole force to close. All preparations being now concluded, about noon, the priest gives the signal by slightly wounding the victim with his axe. Instantly, the promiscuous crowd, that ere while had issued forth with stunning shouts and pealing music, rush with maddening fury upon the sacrifice. Wildly exclaiming,—“We bought you with a price, and no sin rests on us”—they tear his flesh in pieces from the bones.—And thus the horrid rite is consummated.—Each man then bears away his bloody shreds to his fields, and from thence returns straight home. For three days after the sacrifice, the inhabitants of the village which afforded it remain dumb, communicating with each other only by signs and remaining unvisited by strangers. At the end of this period, a *buffaloe is slaughtered at the place of sacrifice, when all tongues are loosened.”

* While essential features remain the same there are, in different parts of the country considerable varieties of detail in the mode of offering the sacrifices. Of some of these varieties we have distinct accounts in our possession which had been furnished by Mr Arbuthnot, the Magistrate and Mr Stevenson, the Collector of Ganjam, by Lieut Hicks, Assistant Commissioner of Cuttack, by a rescued Meria and by a professional kidnapper. It would, however, answer no practical end to quote any of these at length here, as they are only varieties of horrid cruelty. The variety portrayed by Mr Stevenson appears to diverge most widely from the type described by Captain Macpherson. The conclusion is as follows.—“They proceed to dig a pit and having killed in sacrifice a hog the blood is allowed to flow into the pit. The victim who, if it has been found possible, has been made senseless from intoxication, is seized by five or six persons, thrown into the pit and his face kept pressed to the earth, till suffocated in the bloody mire. All cries, if any are drowned by the noises of instruments. When supposed to be dead the Jani (priest) cuts a piece of flesh from the body, and buries it with ceremony near the effigy (of a peacock formerly described) and village idol (represented by three stones) as an offering to the earth, all present then cut pieces of flesh and carry it to their own villages,—part being buried before the same idols, and morsels in the boundaries of the villages, or fields, to which it is carried in procession with music, &c. The head and face remain untouched, and when the bones are deprived of flesh, they are buried with the head in the pit.”

Having now given, in a condensed form, the substance of all the authentic information which we possess relative to the Khonds, it becomes an object of interesting and important inquiry, to ascertain, if possible, and approximately determine, *the position which they may be said to occupy on the great ethnographic chart or general map of human society*. On this particular subject, we were led some years ago, through the medium of another channel, to offer some observations. At that time very few indeed seemed to know or care any thing about so obscure and barbarous a race as the Khonds. Since then, however, the inquiries of private individuals, the occasional discussions which have arisen in the public journals, and the increasing efforts of Government to bring them within the pale of civilization, have all tended to create something like a general interest in their favour. And since the progress of further research during the last three or four years has in no way tended to impugn the substantial accuracy of the views we were led formerly to express on the social and religious condition of the Khonds, we may be pardoned, if we now endeavour to bring together, in a combined and connected form, the leading heads of our former remarks.

It requires only a glance at the previous statements to satisfy any ordinarily furnished and intelligent mind, that the Khonds cannot be classified either with the *perfectly savage* or the *averagely civilized*. What then is their position? Is it that of a *descent* from a higher and better?—or, that of an *ascent* from a lower and worse? Were the original ancestors of the Khond tribes *more* or *less* elevated in the scale of social refinement than their present successors and living representatives? The *former* of these alternatives we believe is that which most accurately pictures forth the *reality*. But why so? Because we at once repudiate the theory which long reigned supreme while Europe lay benumbed and still under the despotic sway of a cold philosophy—the theory, which delineated the *primeval state* of man as that of *the savage*, whose vacant idea-less hours were alternately spent in a precarious struggle for supplying the wants of mere animal nature, and in a melancholy warfare with raging elements or still more raging beasts of prey—the theory, which then proceeded by the method of subtleties and assumptions purely gratuitous, to account for the growth and development of the social principle, amid chance suggestions or arbitrary conventionalities, through diverse steps and stages, up to the towering pinnacles of loftiest civilization. The once favourite but now generally exploded theory we reject utterly. And why? Because it is as decidedly opposed to enlightened reason

as to Divine Revelation—as directly at variance with the promptings of true philosophy as the dictates of Heavenly Inspiration—as flatly contradictory to the testimonies of general history as to the authoritative statements of Sacred Scripture.

In like manner, and for similar reasons, do we wholly reject the *kindred* theory, that the *religious* condition of mankind was *originally* that of gross Polytheism, or even of total Atheism, whence, by the force of some happy intuitions, or the combination of some fortuitous circumstances, they *gradually rose* to the attainment of the notion of a presiding Deity. Indeed, apart altogether from the facts of history and the indubitable evidences that attest the divine authority of the Mosaic record, the gratuitous assumptions and self-evident contradictions of the upholders of such theories would constrain us to betake ourselves to the Sacred Oracles for *the only* statement, which, viewed even hypothetically, can satisfactorily account for the strange and otherwise inexplicable phenomena that crowd in the varied and fitful history of man. With that statement before us, all seems mournfully luminous.

Originally created in the Divine likeness, the progenitor of the race of man must have enjoyed a knowledge of the character and perfections of his Maker, that could be limited only by the disproportion between faculties that were finite and an object that was infinite. It was the season of the soul's freshest bloom—the season of its bridal love—the season of its joyous day-light. Jehovah shone upon it without a cloud. The bright rays of his attributes, natural and moral, were reflected from it as from a pure unsullied mirror. And as man's Theology was perfect, so was his Philosophy too. It could then be felt no desecration to turn away from the direct contemplation of Jehovah himself, to the indirect contemplation of Him in his marvellous handiworks. As the uncreated Wisdom was seen streaming forth, impressing resemblances of itself on the constitution and order and form of created objects,—these resemblances would be speedily caught up by the unclouded understanding of man. Before it, the origin and nature of things, and the laws or divine statutes for their government, would be spread open as revealed or manifested truths. The whole creation would be hailed as one grand assemblage of visible types and images that faintly, yet accurately, adumbrated the transcendent excellencies of Him, who is the Eternal Source and Spring-head of all being. And thus would a perfect Theology be the nurse and mother of a perfect Philosophy; and a perfect Philosophy, the daughter and nurseling of a perfect Theology.

But alas, this rosy and harmonious constitution of things did not last long Created holy and innocent, just and good,—

“Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall,—”

Man abused his freedom,—disobeyed his Maker,—broke the probationary command,—incurred the threatened penalty,—and contracted a sense of guilt. Instantly the hue and aspect of all things became changed. But the change was not in God, the Supreme object of knowledge,—it was in the soul of man, the subject or recipient of knowledge God, the grand object of true Theology, is without variableness or shadow or turning, and those signatures of His wisdom, and goodness, and power that were enstamped on Creation, the grand object of mere human Philosophy, remained comparatively uneffaced The strange revolution was in man himself In transgressing, his spiritual and corporeal frame experienced a shock. The harmony of his mental faculties became disturbed, and their lustre sadly dimmed, the bloom of his spiritual being faded and withered, his peace of conscience was broken, his ardour of love waxed cold As a fractured or discoloured mirror will be sure to distort the most perfect symmetry of form, and falsify the brightest hues of summer, so must the soul of man, shattered by its fall from primeval innocence and beclouded by the obscuration of contracted guilt, distort and misrepresent the most glorious manifestations of Deity—whether in the world of matter or the world of spirit

But, though the entire frame-work of humanity was thoroughly disorganized, it was not obliterated,—though totally depraved, it was not annihilated—by the fall There still remained certain lingering indications of its pristine nobility,—like the fragments of frieze and marble columns, that bespeak a melancholy tale, amid the ruins of some mouldering capital Certain lively notices of a Superior Power, stamp'd ineffaceably in the soul, tended to preserve the religious sentiment Certain notions of right and wrong, still cleaving to or springing from the inward monitor, served to perpetuate the sense of varied obligation Certain unquenchable thirstings after truth helped to prevent the total extinction of the light that feebly glimmered in the understanding Certain insatiable longings after some ulterior or supreme good contributed to rescue from oblivion the surviving traces of man's high original and god-like destiny And these notices and motions—these impressions and tendencies—indelibly imprinted on the soul of man—were implemented from age to age, by transmitted beams of primitive Revelation, or derivative rays of fresh illumination, from such

as were honoured with heaven's great commission to fallen man

Now one of the most distinguishing and most fatal characteristics of the revolution which the nature of man, considered individually, socially and nationally, underwent at the fall, has been the superinduction of a *confirmed tendency* to decay, degeneracy, dissolution and death, through every department of his *physical, intellectual, moral, and religious* being

First, then, with a view to determine the *social* position of the Khonds, let us look at man in his general social capacity

Previous to the fall, progression and amelioration were enstamped on his nature as the very law and condition of existence, subsequent to the fall, retrogression and deterioration became the fatal heritage. In the unfallen state, the predominant tendency was towards an indefinite *optimism*, in the fallen state, the paramount tendency was towards an indefinite *pessimism*. Look at Noah and his sons after the flood. Though sadly changed from the paradisiacal state, these doubtless were the depositories of all the arts and sciences, all the civilization and revelations, of the anti-diluvian world. While they kept close together, all these treasures and endowments would have been preserved in a state of comparative integrity. If there were no material advance, there could be no very perceptible or rapid recession. But when the necessities of a multiplying society pushed numbers forward into regions remote from the old seats of patriarchal wisdom and sage experience, the process of degeneracy would speedily manifest itself. In proportion to the distance and wideness of the dispersion would the process of decline in all kinds of knowledge, observances and institutions, social, civil and sacred, be accelerated,—till, in numberless instances, the downward career must, and actually did, terminate in all the ferocities of savage barbarism.

From this account, which, declaratively or deductively, or both, is clearly that of the Bible, it necessarily follows, that the *savage state*, far from being the *primeval condition* of man, is in every case the *mere degeneracy of one more cultivated*,—when, as has been well observed, “wanderers or exiles, few and helpless, driven aloof from their fellow-men, sunk, overpowered beneath the pressure of physical necessities, and lost all traces of their previous civilization.”* And do not the researches of true philosophy—an experimental knowledge of human nature—a faithful observation of historic facts—point emphatically to the same conclusion? The annals of colonization

* Hetherington, on the “Fulness of Time”

and especially of settlements on barren and uninhabited shores, where the arts and sciences of civilized life have generally perished amid the painful struggles to support mere bodily existence, furnish appalling proofs of the inherent tendency in fallen, depraved, debilitated humanity, to degenerate even into savagism. But where, in the records of all climes and of all ages, is there one clear and indisputable example of the *reverse* process?—of a savage community, unprompted and unsolicited, *beginning* the work of its own amelioration—of a savage community, *spontaneously originating* the measures of its own improvement—of a savage community springing up, by the *voluntary motion* of some *intrinsic* force, from the depths of social, mental, and moral elevation? No!—All history proclaims, with one consentient voice, that, in every instance, the *first* quickening and reforming impulse has, in point of fact, come from *abroad*. An *extrinsic* stimulus, whether direct from heaven above, or indirect from some quarter of the earth below, where that originally imparted had not wholly died out, has invariably *preceded* every upward or ascending movement. The arousing energy may come from Revelation, or it may be communicated by aggressive warfare patriotically resisted, or by the stirring activities of a newly opened commercial intercourse, or by the presentation of objects that awaken cravings, longings, tastes, convictions, sensibilities which may for ages have lain dormant. But, be the originally impellant cause or the channel of its conveyance what it may, come it always has *ab extra*, and not *ab intra*—from *without*, and not from *within*.

In this view of the subject, we are now prepared to ask, what is the present social position of the Khonds? Without hesitation we reply, that it may be regarded as *somewhat more than mid-way down* from the lofty table-land of the Noachic civilization to the dead level of savage barbarism. At this rather more than half-way station the further progress of *rapid* degeneracy seems to have been in some degree arrested,—whether, in consequence of favourableness of soil and climate, or the rivalries of neighbouring states, or the adhesiveness of primitive traditions in congenial circumstances, or any other cause, it were idle now to attempt to conjecture. As regards the knowledge and management of territorial property, the *earliest* post-diluvian state,—when the unpeopled world lay all before the yet nascent society, and there was no occasion for having territory strictly appropriated even by tribes,—has been fairly passed. So also the *secondary* state, when fields, whether in pasture or in tillage, began to be distinctly appropriated,

but not parcelled in lots, by out-spreading communities, and continue to be cultured or pastured by their several families in common, or in succession, agreeably to varying usage. The *third* state in the natural progress of settled industry and appropriation, when not violently impeded by a sudden relapse into utter barbarism, or that in which individuals acquire, cultivate, and transmit particular spots to their posterity, has long been reached. This circumstance would tend materially to ascertain and fix the *relative chronological* position of the Khonds among the dispersed of Noah's race. But, this circumstance *alone* would not enable us to determine whether, in other respects, their manners be more akin to those of barbarism or of civilization.

The mere fact of their having become hereditarily the possessors and cultivators of the soil, could not, of itself, settle the question of their barbarism or no-barbarism, either as to kind or degree, for this plain reason, that, in all parts of the world, barbarous races are really found to exist under the three leading conditions of hunters, shepherds, and agriculturists—or conditions, in which one or other of the vocations peculiar to these three modes of life, clearly predominates. Throughout the scattered islands of the Pacific Ocean the agricultural type of barbarous life is found to prevail in conjunction with perfect savagism or even cannibalism. The inquiry, therefore, as to the actual kind or degree of barbarism manifested among the Khonds could only be ascertained as the result of such *actual observations* as have been made and recorded by Captain Macpherson. And that result, as already stated, appears to mark the position of the Khonds, even in their best estate, as considerably more than half way down from the Noachic civilization to the lowest depths of the most ferocious type of barbarism.

Secondly, with a view to determine the *religious* position of the Khonds, let us look at man in his general religious capacity.

Of the Patriarchal faith, as professed in its greatest purity before the Flood, Noah and his family were the honored depositaries, even as they were the favoured depositories of the highest ante-diluvian civilization. And, as every state of subsequent barbarism was the mere degeneracy of one more cultivated, so, every state of subsequent polytheism or idolatry was the *mere corruption or oblivion of an earlier and a purer faith*. In neither case, however, was the transition from the best to the worst, or from the better to the worse, immediate or complete. In both cases, and in both alike, the downward progress, though often rapid, was never instantaneous. In some instances, it

proceeded by such slow and insensible degrees, as, within limited periods, to be almost imperceptible, in others, it was partially or wholly arrested by ordinary or extraordinary causes, long ere it had reached the zero of mental, spiritual, and physical debasement. In every instance, however, in which the progress of degeneracy advanced farthest, it is worthy of special note, that the gradual lapse into the extreme of barbarism, or the almost total loss of all traces of real humanity, and the gradual lapse into the extreme of false religion or the almost total loss of all traces of Divinity of any kind, have invariably kept pace, or ran parallel, with each other. And no wonder!—since the fatal root of both is one and the same—the loss of original knowledge and original righteousness. Indeed, so complete is the parallelism or synchronism between the two processes of degeneracy, civil and religious, that the skilful Ethnographer would inevitably infer the general character of the one from the general character of the other, at any marked stage of the downward movement. In other words,—given, in the case of a particular tribe or nation, the leading features, whether of its barbarism or civilization, and he will almost infallibly determine the leading features of its religious faith. Conversely,—given the leading features of its religious belief, and he will as certainly disclose the leading features of its barbarism or civilization.

It were quite beside the purpose of our present remarks to enter at any length on the immense theme of what may be properly designated the *Natural History* of the rise and progress of Pagan Idolatry—whether in its simpler or more complicated forms. The original source of all idolatry, as of all other human evil and woe, was doubtless the loss of primeval rectitude. But the causes which subsequently directed, controlled, or modified the degenerate tendency were not generically one, but specifically many. Hence the signal failure of all theories whatsoever, framed with the view of accounting for the origin and progress of Idolatry, by a reference to any *single* principle or leading event in the history of man. It were every whit as rational to attempt to refer every manifestation of dynamic power, from the motion of a planet to that of a steam-boat or pismire, to the single force of gravitation, as attempt to refer every modification of the idolatrous tendency to a single principle of thought, a single affection of the heart, a single object in nature, or a single event in history. Of the nature, variety, and operation of these modifying causes we have no detailed narration—no formal record. Nor, if we had, born as we have been under the full blaze of gospel light, could we adequately comprehend the more minute steps in the chain of sequence, by which beings, endowed with

reason and intelligence, could be led so madly to confound the creature with the great Creator. And this may help so far to account for the feeling of unsatisfactoriness, coupled with the want of sympathy, with which we are apt to pursue the most plausible and ingenious theory on such subjects. Habituated from infancy to know and acknowledge the one living and true God, we can form no proper conception of the feelings and views of a mind wholly destitute of such elevating knowledge. Consequently, such feelings and views, even if disclosed to us, might appear unnatural, or utterly irreconcilable with what we are prone to regard as the unvarying laws of the mental and moral constitution. A few of the more obvious points only, we may momentarily glance at, as these may enable us the better to discriminate the peculiar subject of our intended inquiry—the religious position of the Khonds.

Of all created objects “the host of heaven,” and of “the host of heaven” the sun, seems almost universally to have been the *first* to receive divine homage. Was it that man, blighted in his intellectual power, felt unable for the effort of abstraction in contemplating an invisible and incomprehensible Being? And, on this account, was he tempted to seek for and adopt some sensible emblem of the majesty and supremacy of Him who dwelt in light inaccessible to mortal vision? If so, what emblem more appropriate, or significant of the splendour of the High and Holy One that inhabiteth Eternity, than—

“The orb, that with surpassing glory crowned,
Looks from his sole dominion, like the God
Of this new world.”

Or, was it that man, smitten with the plague-spot of sin and conscious guilt, could no longer brook the presence of a God, whose holiness is “a consuming fire” to the workers of iniquity? And, unable to escape from the overwhelming impression of a Superior Power, did he, in order to lull the agonies of a scourging conscience, offer incense to the king of day—the noblest object of the visible creation—resolving to persuade himself that he was the King of heaven too, or at least the most fitting representative of the Invisible Creator?—Or, farther still, was the process so gradual as to be insensible in its advances? The Sun, so glorious in his form, and in all his apparent motions so regular, stately, and rapid, could not fail to be intensely admired. Was this intense admiration the germ, which, in the case of a people deceasing in knowledge and holiness, at length ripened into actual adoration?—The Sun too, how prodigal of bounties!—the exhaustless source of influences, sensible, varied and prolific—the regulator of time and the distributor of seasons

—the fountain, not of light merely that diffused beauty and gladness all around, but of life too, which, vivifying the sluggish earth, flung from its bosom a perpetual banquet for all animated being! *—And was the gratitude, supremely due to Him whose visible agent the Sun was, in dispensing such manifold blessings gradually transferred, in the growing ignorance of man, from the Great Monarch himself to the mere instrument of His royal bounties?—Be all this, however, as, it may, the fact seems indisputable that to the Sun, of all created objects, the *first* divine honours were usually ascribed

The gulph that separates the Infinite from the finite—the Creator from the creature—having been once crossed, every succeeding step in the downward progress became fatally facile and natural. In Eastern climes, where the inhabitants, spend so many of their nights under the serene, cloudless, and brilliant expanse of heaven, moon, planets, and stars would soon be greeted with Divine honours and taken into “co-partnership in worship.” The deification of sensible objects or of the powers that animate them, having proceeded so far, what could arrest its farther progression? Nothing—Descending, therefore, from the upper spheres, the mother-Earth, on account of her blessing with fruitfulness or blasting with barrenness, became a caressed or dreaded Divinity. And, as the Earth, so its principal constituent parts, and the great primary elements were soon honoured with separate and special rites of invocation or deprecation. Of course, in every country those elements, or those natural objects, from which the people had most to expect or most to fear, would naturally obtain the pre-eminence.

At this stage may be said to close the *first grand epoch* of the natural history of idolatry. Here, the degenerating tribe or people may be arrested in its descent, and, if one may be allowed the expression, from some peculiarity of circumstances, completely *stereotyped*. Or, the downward progress may be accelerated by dispersion over an ungenial soil, aggravated by inclement seasons. In this case, while the knowledge of arts and science usually disappears, the knowledge of religion dwindles away, abstractly, into nought but dim, perplexed, and undefined apprehensions of invisible agents, that are supposed to guide “all precarious events to which human foresight cannot extend”—and, practically, into nought but the childish imbecilities and absurdities of spells and charms, and fetishes

* Hence Julian the Apostate's oration to the sun —“Some forms, the sun perfects, others it effects; others it beautifies, others it excites, neither is there anything produced without his influences,” &c. The Egyptians also styled the Sun, the “Opificer or Framer of the Universe,” &c.

and witcheries. Or, the downward progress may be arrested without entailing fixed or rigid forms, whether of faith or of practice. In such cases, there is room not only for modifications and expansions of what is old, but for the introduction and addition of what is new. Stirring traditions of the past or exciting events of the present kindle the muse into fire. Before the mind of the Poet, all nature is animated and vocal. In his lively figures and glowing similitudes, sun, moon, and stars, hill, stream, and forest,—all, all stand forth personified. And, what he meant for entertaining fiction comes, in time, to be regarded as literal historic fact—Hence, a strange host of mythological personages emerge on the religious horizon, with attributes the most clearly marked, characteristics the most expressly defined, and actions the most minutely detailed! Again, the exploits of heroes or the founders of states came to be so exaggerated by fame, time, and distance, that, *if real*, the conclusion seemed inevitable that they must be those of Gods or Demi-gods in human form—Hence, a fresh assortment of Deities or Deified humanities for the extending pantheon of poor, fallen, degraded man! Moreover, when curiosity fairly roused men to inquire into the hidden causes of nature's phenomena and sequences, the physical principles or powers, supposed to animate or guide these, were often metamorphosed into spiritual principles or powers, and finally converted into mythological Beings or Divinities—Hence it was, that every branch of natural science contributed its quota to the swelling catalogue of false gods!—while continued observation of the processes of growth and production, in the animal and vegetable kingdoms, led, by low grovelling analogies, to the strangest and most grotesque conceits relative to the origin of the Gods, the world, and man—whence, a fresh brood of wild imaginations under the name of theogonies, cosmogonies, and androgonies, which, blending inextricably with the rest, helped to render the growing “confusion worse confounded!” Once more, in settled and powerful communities, the priesthood, in order to maintain their ascendancy over the popular mind, often wrapped up the knowledge of which they were the depositaries under the cloak of pictorial or sculptured representations of natural objects, such as plants, beasts, birds, fishes and creeping things. Hence, in the lapse of time, were these hieroglyphic symbols, from being shrouded in awful mystery, themselves converted into “vegetable and bestial gods!”—Surely the force of sinful degeneracy could no farther go!—Now, with these, and many other sources of idolatrous mythos

and fable, too tedious to be enumerated, were blended obscure traditions of Paradise with its Serpent-tempter, of the Deluge with the second Father of the human race, and his three Patriarch sons, and the stately Ark that safely carried them over the bounding billows. At length, the whole, jumbled and piled together, like Pelion on Ossa, and these overlaid by myriads more, constituted a mass of religious error and corruption, phantasies and lies, so vast, so complex, so heterogeneous, that to unravel it would be a task, compared with which the bridling of the Hellespont or the levelling of Mount Athos were but the playsome sport of children. Here closes the *second grand epoch* in the natural history of idolatry

When matters had advanced to this climax of stupifying confusion, if the tranquillity of society, or its public institutions, or the kindlings of literary ambition, or any other cause, proved favourable to the moods and attitudes of a contemplative spirit, there would arise individuals in whom natural reason, struggling through midnight gloom, would strive to vindicate and re-assert her sullied honours. Dissatisfied utterly, yea, almost horrified at the superincumbent mass of irrationalities under which the human mind had gone to sleep—dreaming amid visions as fantastical as those of the raving maniac,—what is awakened Reason to do? Where can she light her torch? Whither can she go for refuge? To whom can she appeal for help? How is she to effect her own emancipation and escape? In what direction is she to move, direct, and guide others? Whence breaks a friendly voice to greet and cheer her on, in her darksome woesome labours? Alas, alas, after moving backwards and forwards, to the right hand and to the left, downwards, and finding no bottom, upwards, and discovering no centre of repose, she is constrained to retire to her own chambers of imagery, and there weave some fresh theory of her own, which only gets quit of the entangled wilderness of error, by adroitly converting it into a smooth “slough of Despond!”

* “Divinity,” argues beclouded baffled Reason, “Divinity, has been successively ascribed to *every object* in heaven above, and in earth beneath, and in the waters under the earth. What, then, remains but that the *whole* should be pronounced *Divine*? The sun, the moon, the stars, and their shining abode, the circling firmament—the great elements, air, fire, and water,—isolated combinations of material substances, fountains and rivers, hills and forests, fowls of the air, beasts of the field, and fish of the sea;—together with the entire aggregate of elementary and composite parts, constituting the

solid earth itself,—all, all have been deified And are not *all*, parts of one stupendous *whole*? If so,—and if all the parts, viewed separately, have been pronounced divine,—must not the *universal whole* be pronounced *divine* too? Hail, then, *Pantheism*!—be thou, henceforward, the resolver of all my doubts—the unraveller of all my perplexities! Again, hail, thrice honoured Pantheism!—thou stateliest monument that has been reared by Reason, while blindly groping, benighted and fettered in quest of gladsome light and liberty!” Such, in very truth, has usually been the natural history of Pantheism! By the easiest and most natural transition imaginable, a universal and extravagant polytheism, on the part of the unthinking many, led irresistibly to as universal and extravagant a Pantheism, on the part of the contemplative few How fraught with signification the word of Inspiration—that “the world by *wisdom* knew not God”—and that its great men and pretenders to superior Reason “*professing themselves wise, became fools*!”—And thus terminates the *third grand epoch* in the natural history of religious degeneracy

After these remarks on the religious history of man generally, we are now better prepared to ask, what, in a religious point of view, is the ethnographical position of the Khonds, on the great chart of fallen, dispersed humanity? If to the test or criterion, which these remarks appear to furnish, we bring the portraiture of their religious system, as exhibited in the foregoing pages, we cannot hesitate in asserting that, chronologically, it must be referred to the conclusion of what we have termed the “*first epoch*.”

In other words, the system which has come down to us along the stream of ages, in a somewhat fixed and stereotyped form, is obviously the growth and representative of the period, which, in other lands, distinguished by farther progression or retrogression, preceded the era, when the symbolising spirit of the priests, and the personifying spirit of the poets, and the allegorizing spirit of the philosophers, multiplied divinities of every imaginable, and all but unimaginable, shape and form—divinities, whose minutely defined figures and lineaments could be faithfully represented by painters and sculptors—divinities, for whose painted and sculptured figures spacious caverns must be excavated and gorgeous temples reared. As regards the generally acknowledged and clearly aboriginal divinities, which chiefly consist of the principal powers and objects of visible nature, from whose operation and influence most was to be hoped or feared, there are not, with a single

slight exception, any emblems, or symbols, or images, or personified forms or temples. And even the single exception of the god of Arms is more apparent than real. He has neither image nor temple, but a piece of iron is said to be his symbol. Now, is not this, viewed as the *chief* instrument of destruction, rather the *object* over which he presides, than a symbol, in the ordinary hieroglyphic sense of that term?—just as a particular fountain is one of the special objects over which the god of Fountains presides, and not a hieroglyphic symbol—and so of the rest? As to the minor, local, or partially received deities, some of whom have symbols and rude shrines, there is the clearest internal evidence that they are not of ancient or aboriginal growth at all—but are wholly a modern encroachment and graft from the prolific stock of Hinduism. They are found only in those isolated localities that have been most exposed to the invasion of the latter system. They are in the custody chiefly of Hindu priests, while these have nothing to do with the guardianship of the principal Native deities. Some of them are of such recent incorporation as to belong to the present age. And what are those mysterious beings or principles, that seem to have so much puzzled our author, but counterparts or transmutations of Hindu deities? What is the “great Father God” but the “Pitamaha”—the “Great Father”—or Brahmá of Hindu Mythology?—What, the conservative principle, but “Vishnu,” the preserving or conservative power of the Hindu Triad? What, the destructive principle, but “Shiva,” the destroying power of the same?—Others might be similarly detected,—but the notice of these is sufficient for our present purpose. As to the future destiny of man, the Khonds simply but firmly cherish the belief that the soul is imperishable, and may animate an endless succession of human forms. But the *total absence* of any poetically embellished descriptions, resembling those of the classical Tartarus and Elysium, prove the *real antiquity* of their system.

That the position which we have assigned to the Khonds and their system is the right one, is confirmed by other internal marks. In his view of society in Europe, Gilbert Stuart remarks, that when the territory of a tribe or nation ceased to be its property, and individuals acquired particular spots or estates which they cultivated for their use, and transmitted to their posterity, it was a natural consequence of the old manners, that these advancements were often regarded, in the *first instance*, as the usurpations of the powerful on the weak, and historians assure us that it happened both in Greece and Italy, that the

land-marks which had been fixed to distinguish the boundaries of properties, were frequently removed or destroyed. It seemed at first like an encroachment on the rights of the people generally, that lands which, of old, pastured indifferently the cattle of successive occupiers, should be allotted to the use and convenience of private men. It was, accordingly, not merely necessary to make laws to prevent the violation of private rights, but, what is curious and worthy of special note, even the *termini* or *land-marks*, that they might *remain* unremoved for the preservation and separation of property, were exalted into *divinities*,—or a god of Limits was imagined to preside over them all. Now, as regards this particular subject, this is precisely the civil and religious condition of the Khonds at the present day. In the natural progress of primitive civil society they had reached the point where individual appropriation of territory became desirable and inevitable. In the natural progress of religious degeneracy they had, at the same time, reached the point at which every loved or dreaded object known to them was fancied to be a god, or animated, actuated, and presided over by a distinct divinity. From the coincidence of these two points, civil and religious, a god of Limits was the spontaneous growth. And, as the Khond system soon became fixed and stationary, we find the same earnest and devoted homage awarded to that deity now, which was rendered more than two thousand years ago.

Again, the religious condition of the Khonds admirably accords with the Scripture account of man's origin, fall, and departure from God. Hume in his *Essays*, declares that "polytheism" was the original faith—and that, however high we may mount up into antiquity, "no marks, no symptoms of any more perfect religion" are to be found. The Bible declares that "monotheism" was the original faith, and authentic history as well as the mythologies of all lands incontestibly prove that, the higher we mount up into antiquity, we find the clearer traces of a primitive belief in the *unity* and omnipotence of *One Supreme Being*. This has been proved with redundant evidence by Cudworth, in his great work on the *Intellectual System* of the Universe. And now, we may fetch an additional item of evidence from the creed of the Khonds, which, however polytheistic, distinctly admits and recognizes the *existence* of *One Supreme Being*—That this Being should be vague and undefined in his attributes is what we must have expected, for, having once turned away from Him and His worship, it was unavoidable that they should gradually cease to know who or what He

was Moreover, having turned away from Him with aversion, under the convictions of a guilty conscience—beholding Him only as an avenging God, ready to execute the retributions of inflexible justice, while they had lost the knowledge or sure guarantee of his readiness to pardon and restore,—was it not equally natural and unavoidable that they should, as is actually the case, be tempted, by their own corruptions and criminal fears, to regard the Supreme as a Being of essential malignity, and not, as he truly and gloriously is, a Being of essential Goodness? Mr Mill and others, unable to deny the fact so heedlessly set aside by Hume, and so solidly demonstrated by Cudworth, yet apparently unwilling to admit some of the consequences fairly, logically, and necessarily involved in it, inasmuch as these run counter to their own favorite theory of the rise and progress of natural religion, would fain attempt to account for it by an hypothesis of their own. Granting that such elevated expressions as “the Greatest,” “the Supreme,” “the One,” “the One Eternal God,” have, in point of fact, been in use among tribes sunk in barbarism, at the very time when they spoke of *many* gods, their counsels, operations and worship, in terms so incoherent, ridiculous and degrading, that, to borrow the language of Hume, they “resembled more the playsome whimsies of monkeys in human shape than the serious asseverations of a being who dignifies himself with the name of rational,”—freely granting all this, they would endeavour to account for the phenomenon, by saying, that the language of a people often out-runs their ideas—and that such high sounding epithets may be the *unmeaning* flatteries which rude and ignorant minds, quivering on the pinnacle of hope or reeling in a hurricane of terror, have learned to heap on the mysterious Being who is the Supreme Object of their terror or their hope. But, how much more accordant with the known constitution of the human mind, the indubitable facts of history, the authoritative record of Divine Truth, to say, that language, more stable than fleeting thought, has *often out-lived primitive ideas*—that, in losing sight of the character of the true God, mankind would still continue to invest the objects of their fancy and worship, with many of the attributes which really belonged to *Him alone*,—and that the terms and expressions, representative of these, ought to be viewed as the venerable relics of a language, which was once the vehicle of conceptions correspondent in sublimity, like antique caskets of rare workmanship that had once been the tenement of precious jewels now no more?

Once more, it is interesting to note the Khond tradition of a

primeval chaos, and the institution of the rite of sacrifice, as thoroughly accordant with the Mosaic history. Such facts and rites, and all other similar remains of heathen antiquity are but the "*disjecta membra*"—the severed, mangled, and scattered fragments—of primitive revelation and primitive institutions. That, in the course and progress of growing ignorance and degeneracy, divinely revealed facts and embodied truths and typical observances, should, in passing from one age or people to another, amid the varying tempers, dispositions, humours and designs of men, gradually assume such various disguises and exhibit such various alterations in regard to outward form, visage and complexion, as to leave but few marks and traces of their real original, is what every candid and thoughtful mind would at once anticipate. Even in countries where traditive facts and truths have not been couched under the veil of ingenious fables, or obscured by elaborate fiction, or distorted by the embellishments of allegory, or overlaid by the luxuriance of poetic drapery,—even there, such facts and truths must, from the very nature of things, become fainter and fainter by every transfusion from generation to generation. And revealed truths being once forgotten, either in part or as regards their essential integrity, human reason, far from being able to *discover* them when absolutely unknown, has ever shewn itself utterly insufficient to *recover* them, even when not wholly lost. From the first, the great truth, that "without shedding of blood there is no remission" was clearly made known. And expiation for sin by sacrifice was ordained to prefigure the Lamb of God, slain in decree and type from the foundation of the world, till such time as He, the great anti-type, came and did away sin and its typical expiations by the sacrifice of himself. The appointed memorial of the "great satisfaction" has, in its outward form, been preserved by the Khonds and almost all other people, though the internal import and significance of it have, in the course of ages, been obscured or lost. Yea, such has been the singular strength of the expectation of benefits likely to accrue from the shedding of blood, that the most precious oblations—those of human blood—have been, as among the Khonds, constantly and largely offered. But, as the sacrifice of the Divine Redeemer for the sins of men is, or ought to be, the end and scope of other sacrifices, and that by which alone they are ennobled and rendered worthy of Divine institution, it surely behoves us, who know the truth, to go forth unto every region, proclaiming with the intrepid forerunner of the great Messiah, "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world."

In now bringing our varied statements and remarks on the subject of the Khonds to a conclusion, we may, as on a former occasion, for the sake of the general reader and in order to render the matter still more intelligible, remind him of the state and condition of the German and Celtic tribes, as delineated by the masterly pen of Tacitus, since, between these ancient tribes, and the modern Khonds, there may be traced, in regard to certain leading features, a very striking parallelism.

When, however, the German and Celtic tribes are thus named collectively, it must be borne in remembrance, that, separately and in detail, these did exhibit, even at cotemporaneous periods, the most unequal degrees, whether of savagism or of demi-civilization. Both these extremes seem to find their types in the Fenni and the Chauci. The picture of the *former*, as portrayed by Tacitus, is substantially as follows —“ Their condition was that of unmitigated rudeness, to the most savage fierceness they had joined the most abject poverty, they had no arms, no horses, no religion, they clothed themselves in the skins of beasts, fed at times on herbage, and slept on the earth, their chief dependence was on their arrows, and having no iron, they pointed them with bones, the women accompanied the men to the chase, a covering, inwrought with boughs, was all the shelter which defended their infants from the rigour of the seasons and the ferocity of animals, these courses of barbarousness, this melancholy sadness they preferred to the fatigue of cultivating the earth and of building houses—to the agitations of hope and fear attendant on a care of their own fortunes, and on a connection with those of others, unapprehensive of any danger from men, and awed by no terror of the gods, they had reached a state which is nearly unattainable to all human endeavours—the being entirely without a wish ” Of the *latter*, or Chauci, the picture is well nigh the reverse —“ They were an improved and an illustrious nation, and supported their greatness by their probity, they not only possessed but appropriated and replenished an extensive territory, they were lovers of peace and quiet, and contemners of avarice and ambition, they provoked no wars, engaged in no incursions or robberies, what may be considered a certain proof of their power and valour, they preserved their superiority, without having recourse to injuries and oppressions, when called upon, however, by the exigency of their affairs, they were not slow to take arms and to levy armies, they were rich in men and in horses, and in war maintained their reputation.” Between the superior cultivation of the latter and the savage rudeness of the former,

the great majority of the Germanic tribes occupied a somewhat intermediate position. It is chiefly, though not exclusively, between these *middle* tribes and the Khonds that the parallelism obtains, as regards the more general lineaments and more distinguishing particulars that constitute their respective national idiosyncracies.

And if, in both, are to be found certain *natural* qualities that would not dishonour the life of civilization, why should any one be surprized? Men, not under the dominion of that grace which alone can truly regenerate and transform, are, *morally and spiritually*, every where *substantially the same*. They may, under the refining influences of arts and science, learn to veil, cloak, or varnish what is evil, but they cannot eradicate its root and principle in the heart. True religion, in the hands of the Almighty Spirit of God, can alone achieve this. And the civilization, which would result from such triumphs of omnipotent energy, could alone be styled *perfect*. Hitherto no perfect civilization has gladdened any region of earth. The civilization merely of arts and science may co-exist with the utmost extent of moral depravity. Even where partially aided, and it has never yet been more than partially aided, by true religion, it wears but a motley and checquered aspect. If it has its distinctive blessings, it has its distinctive evils too, if it has its peculiar virtues, it has also its peculiar vices, if it has its special advantages, it has its special disadvantages, if it has its great gains, it has its great drawbacks and losses, if it has its unrivalled triumphs, it has its no less signal defeats. Always and every where, in all nations, ages, and climes, in all stages and degrees of social progression or retrogression, and under every successive dispensation whether of Providence or of Grace,—the present system is a *mixed* one—a compound of varied abatements, deductions, and compensations—a pre-ordained scheme of reciprocal counterbalancings. It is only in heaven that we can expect good without any mixture of evil, only in hell, evil without any mixture of good.

Let us, then glance for a moment at some of the leading points in the parallel between the modern Khonds and the old Germanic and Celtic tribes.

Unpossessed of money, like the old Germans, and like them unpractised in commercial and other lucrative pursuits, the modern Khonds, uncontaminated by the base grovelling spirit of covetousness and mercenary accumulation, often exhibit a generosity of conduct, and a free, open hearty and even

romantic hospitality, in the entertainment whether of friends or of foes, which the cold calculating selfishness of refined luxurious manners may greatly modify or wholly banish the abodes of civilized society. Unacquainted, like the old Germans, with handicraft or operative professions, the modern Khonds are exempt from the temptation of resorting to the little arts and tricks of complaisance which are apt to diminish the sense of self-respect and generate the spirit of unmanly dependence.—Hence, probably, much of that unimpaired vigor of mind, that consciousness of self-importance, that stateliness of demeanour, which, disdaining the drudgery of any servile occupation, go to form the ingredients of *natural dignity*. Distinguished, like the old Germans, by the simplicity of their diet, expelling hunger without ostentation or any studied preparation of food, like them too, the modern Khonds are proportionally intemperate in satisfying their thirst.—The results also are seemingly the same,—the remark of Tacitus being alike true of both, viz. that “when supplied to their desire with intoxicating liquid, they are no less invincible in vice than in valour—and that, in the heat of their disputations and riot and disgraceful debauch, the dagger is often wont to deform with blood the meetings of friendship and business.” Endowed, like the old Germans, with the spirit of a dauntless personal bravery, like them too, the Khonds are ever prone to deceive and circumvent—ever prone to bring their courage into suspicion by the artifices of that cunning which is the wisdom of weakness, and of that system of stratagem and surprize which is the ordinary resource of cowardice. Punctilious, like the old Germans, in the administration of justice within the bounds of their own tribes, like them, the Khonds recognize no natural rights beyond their own frontiers,—those acts of theft and robbery, depredation and pillage, which, *within*, would be regarded as great crimes and punished with the utmost severity, being, if committed *without*, extolled as virtues that ensure greatness and renown.—Hence a grand obliquity in the sense of moral justice, and a grand confusion in the perception of the rights and privileges of our common humanity. Guided, like the old Germans, by the impulses of affection, appetite and passion, rather than by any rules of conventional *politesse*, or any systematised scheme or code of laws, the Khonds, as might *a priori* be expected, manifest the strangest and apparently the most contradictory qualities,—varying with every breath and breeze and gale of momentary feeling.—Hence their alternate acts of beneficence and horrid cruelty,

their bursts of magnanimity succeeded by despicable meanness, their fits of heroic honour and plottings of basest treachery, their gentleness under the domestic roof and their fierceness in the field, the graceful amenities of their friendship and the terrible ferocities of their enmity, the glowing ardours of their love and the deadly resentments of their hate. Accustomed, like the old Germans, to treat their women, for the most part, with consideration and respect, to regard them rather as equals and helpmates than as drudges and slaves, to consult them in their private and public affairs, and to admit them freely to feasts and general assemblies, the Khonds, at times, exhibit some of the gentler and kindlier amities of life, strangely efflorescing on the frame-work of a character, ordinarily sturdy and stern, often perfectly ferocious—as if in imitation of the beautiful flowerets that expand their gayest blossoms, and exhale their sweetest perfume, over the rough and rugged face of the steep-frowning precipices of their own native hills. Characterized like the old Germans, by their *equality* of social estate and their *identity* of professional employment, the Khonds are animated by a pervading sense of their own separate individual personal importance—Hence much of their towering pride, and loftiness of bearing, and wild passion for independence, hence one reason why personal qualities become the chief foundation of ordinary distinction, and the ground of election to the principal offices within the hereditary lines of the chieftainship or patriarchate, hence, too, their claim to unrestrained freedom of speech in the expression of sentiment—their prescriptive right to be regarded all alike as legislators and judges, to be present at the patriarchal councils, to take a share in the public assemblies, and so overrule every discussion that the Heads, Chiefs, or Abbayas, instead of controlling the popular will, ever feel constrained in reality to respect and bend to it. Habituated, like the old German and Celtic tribes, to be ever prepared to meet the most sudden call to the battle-field, the Khonds swiftly respond to the “patriarch’s arrow of summons” while it shoots athwart their wild mountain domain. And as, with winged speed, it flies from crag to crag and vale to vale, exciting stormy joys, and burning zeal for tribeship, and panting hopes of war’s red honours, how strikingly are we reminded of similar scenes in the land of our fathers, ere yet the gospel voice of peace on earth and good will to the children of men had taught its “savage clans and roving barbarians” to turn their swords into plough-shares and their spears into pruning-

hooks—to “hang the trumpet in the hall and study war no more!” Strange, indeed, that the description of the wonted gatherings of the Scottish clans at the signal of the fiery cross should, with a slight change of names of places and natural products, be alike applicable to the warlike gatherings of the Indian Khonds!—yet so it is!—

“ Not faster o’er thy heathery breeze,
 ———, speeds the midnight blaze,
 Rushing, in conflagration strong,
 The deep ravines and dells along,
 Wrapping thy cliffs in purple glow,
 And reddening the dark lakes below,
 Not faster speeds it, nor so far,
 As o’er thy heaths the noise of war
 Each valley, each sequestered glen,
 Mustered its little horde of men,
 That met, as torrents from the height
 In Highland dale their streams unite,
 Still gathering, as they pour along,
 A voice more loud, a tide more strong,
 Till at the rendezvous they stood
 By hundreds, prompt for blows and blood,
 Each trained to arms since life began,
 Owning no tie but to his clan,
 No oath, but by his Chieftain’s hand,
 No law, but ———’s command ”

Having, like all heathen nations, lost sight of the true God, the irrepressible sentiments of the soul must needs have an *outlet* and an *object* in the fabrication of some false deity or deities instead, but having, like the ancient Germans, been arrested, and, as it were, *stereotyped*, at the earliest and simplest stage of religious degeneracy, the Khonds, to this day, retain the grand lineaments of the primordial elemental worship, in the deification of the sun, the earth, and other sensible objects, or of the powers that are supposed to animate them—each tribe naturally giving pre-eminence to the sensible object or power from which it was led to believe it had most to hope for, or most to dread. Like the old Germans, and other branches of the great Celto-Scythic family, who had no temples and no *visible* images of their elemental gods, but were wont to retire, for the celebration of their horrid orgies and the immolation of the god-devoted captives taken in war, into the gloomiest recesses of the embowering forest, where “no sylvan deity ever resided, no bard ever sang, no beast ever slumbered, no gentle zephyr ever played, nor even the lightning could rend a pas-

sage,"*—the Khonds, even now, have no temples and no visible images of their elemental gods, but resort, in phrenzied multitudes, to the consecrated groves that are drenched with the blood of human sacrifice and haunted with the dreaded ghosts of miserable victims untimely slain!

But it is needless to pursue the parallelism any farther. Enough, we trust, has been said to create and deepen a general interest in behalf of the Khonds, as one of the most singular and important of all the remnants of our aboriginal Indian races. Indeed, we know not whether a more striking or remarkable type of our common humanity is any where else to be found among the wide-spread realms of barbarism. And then,—they are our own neighbours, yea, and many of them now our own fellow-subjects—subjects of the crown of Imperial Britain. This consideration alone ought greatly to enhance the feeling of interest in their favour, and to predispose every generous mind to hail with unmingled satisfaction the measures which have been proposed and adopted by the British Government with a view to bring them within the pale of civilization. The nature and success of these measures, so highly creditable, as regards the disinterested zeal which originated and the unwearied activity which has continued to prosecute them, we purpose in a future number largely to develop. And a pleasant task it will be to shew, how,—amid the crash of dynasties and the revolutions of empire, the horrors of war and the devastation of provinces,—the British Government has been silently pursuing towards a barbarous people, unnoticed and unknown, an ameliorative course of action whose distinguishing characteristics are those of benevolence and peace.

* The classical reader will not fail to recal to remembrance the striking description of the Massilian grove in Lucan's *Pharsalia*, B III

Lucus erat longo nunquam violatus ab ævo
Obscurum cingens connexis æera ramis
Hunc non ruricolæ Panes nemorumque potentes
Sylvani Numphæque tenent sed barbara ritu
Sacra Deum structæ sacris feralibus aræ
Omnis et humanis lustrata cruoribus arbor.
Illi et volucres metuunt insistere ramis
Et lustris recubare feræ nec ventus in illas
Incubuit alvas excussæque nubibus atris
Fulgura.

ART II—1 *Despatches of the Marquis of Wellesley Allen and Co* 1836

2 *Roebuck's Annals of the College* Calcutta, 1819

3 *Rules and Regulations of the College of Fort Wilham*, 1841

A SHORT time ago a sketch was attempted of the embryo civilian in the place where his English education is terminated,—the studies to which he was called, the use he made of them, and the dangers moral, intellectual, and physical, to which he was exposed. We would fain draw attention once more to the same individual, but in a sphere somewhat enlarged, as not wholly emancipated from the thralldom of pen and dictionary, but yet fairly ranked as a citizen of the world standing on the shore of the great ocean with the first act of his life concluded, but the serious business of the drama yet uncommenced

The consideration of this topic naturally leads us to that institution which forms the heading of our subject and it will hardly be deemed incongruous if we go back to unroll its *fasti* from the very first. The year which marked the commencement of the present century was also that of the final establishment of the College of Fort Wilham*, and its consolidation is inseparably linked with a name under whose auspices some of the highest triumphs of Indian battles and Indian statesmanship—of the pen and the sword—have been made matter of history. When we read of the *acts* of the Marquis of Wellesley, with a calm and unprejudiced view of the series of events which led him to enlarge our Indian empire, we are compelled to bow in admiration before the comprehensive grasp of that master mind, and to praise the skilful hand which guided the helm in the closet, or the council with equal boldness and dexterity. But when we read what the great statesman *wrote*, when we are let in to see the working of the great machinery, and the tangled skein of threads which, under that guiding hand, fell, as by a natural consequence, into the most lucid order and regularity, we then become for the first time aware of the vast range of subjects comprehended by the greatest Governor-General that India has yet known. Nothing seemed too great or too little for him—no topic so vast but that he mastered it, none so trivial as to escape him. Whilst his energies were concentrated in foiling the wiles of Tippoo, or counteracting the secret influence of his ambassadors at the Isle of France, his far-seeing glance

* The law for its foundation was dated the 4th of May 1800, the first anniversary of the reduction of Seringapatam

- ART IV —1 *Commentary on the Hindu System of Medicine*, by T A Wise, M D 8vo Calcutta, 1845
- 2 *An Essay on the Antiquity of Hindu Medicine*, by J Forbes Royle, M D F R and L S &c &c &c 8vo London, 1837
- 3 *Tracts, Historical and Statistical on India*, by Benjamin Heyne, M D, F L S &c &c &c 4to London, 1814
- 4 *A view of the History, Literature, and Mythology of the Hindus, including a Minute description of their Manners and Customs, and translations from their principal works*, by William Ward, of Serampore 8vo London, 1822
- 5 *Materia Indica, or some account of those articles which are employed by the Hindus, and other eastern nations, in their Medicine, Arts, and Agriculture, &c*, by Whitelaw Ainslie, M D M R A S 2 vols 8vo London, 1826
- 6 *Asiatic Researches, or Transactions of the Society instituted in Bengal, for enquiring into the History, the Antiquities, the Arts and Sciences and Literature of Asia* 18 vols 4to Calcutta The articles relating to Hindu Medicine
- 7 *Transactions of the Medical and Physical Society of Calcutta* 8 vols 8vo Calcutta Ditto
- 8 *The History of India, by the Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone*, 2 vols 8vo London, 1841 Vol 1, Chapter IV On Hindu Medicine
- 9 *The History of British India*, by James Mill, Esq, edited with notes and continuation by H H Wilson, Esq, M A, F R S 8vo London Book II, Cap 10, Vol 2d
- 10 *Essai d'une Histoire Pragmatique de la Medecine*, par Kurt Sprengel, traduit sur la deuxieme edition par C F Geiger 2 vols 8vo Paris 1809 Section III Vol 1, Medecine Indienne
- 11 *The History of Medicine, Surgery, and Anatomy, from the creation of the world to the commencement of the 19th Century*, by W Hamilton, M B 2 vols 12mo London, 1831 Cap 1 vol 1 History of Medicine from the time of Adam to the birth of Hippocrates

THERE are few, if any, countries in which the public generally take so great an interest in purely professional matters, as that manifested by European sojourners in India. The reason of this is obvious. The community generally is an educated one, and many of its members from the vicissitudes incidental to an Indian life, whether in its civil, military, or planting

capacities, are so often exposed to the influence of disease, to accidents from flood and field, and to various mishaps and mischances, far removed from medical aid and attendance, as to render a little knowledge of medicine and surgery not only a valuable but a tolerably general acquisition. Few Sportsmen and Indigo Planters are without their medical reminiscences, sometimes of a ludicrous, but far more frequently of a sad and melancholy character, and the time is not far removed when the military and medical charge of small detachments devolved upon the gallant Subaltern in command, aided by a compounder picked up for the nonce, and as ignorant of the rudiments as was the renowned Japhet himself, when first placed under the charge of the sagacious Cophagus, and in the companionship of the facetious Timothy.

The first contact with disease in a tropical form is well calculated to startle the novice. Its deadly grasp and giant strides—the ruddy health of the morning followed by the pallor and collapse of the evening—the rapid death of the victim of cholera, fever, and the other plagues and pestilences of the jungle and the marsh, enforce an attention not easily called into existence in the more favored regions of the fair earth.

An acute observer has remarked, that “every one desires to live as long as he can. Every one values health ‘above all gold and treasure.’ Every one knows that as far as his own individual good is concerned, protracted life and a frame of body sound and strong, free from the thousand pains which flesh is heir to, are unspeakably more important than all other [earthly] objects, because life and health must be secured before any possible result of any possible circumstance can be of consequence to him.”

Possessed then of this knowledge, and knowing the class of readers we are about to address, as well as being anxious that all departments of literature and science which appertain to the gorgeous East, should find a fitting place in the *Calcutta Review*, need we apologize for introducing to their notice and consideration the subject of “Hindu Medicine.”

The first question that demands attention in an examination of Hindu Medicine is its claim to a high degree of antiquity, for upon this must rest its chief recommendations to pre-eminence over other systems which have obtained celebrity, and led to the present advanced state of the art and science of medicine in modern Europe.

It would be difficult, if not impossible to decide with certainty the exact age in which the various Hindu medical

treatises were produced, and with every respect for the profound attainments and acute reasoning of the eminent oriental scholars, who have at various times attempted to unravel this tangled thread of mystery, we cannot regard the conclusions at which they have arrived in any other light than that of probable conjecture

Dr Wise has treated this portion of his subject with much candour and acumen in the introductory remarks prefixed to his Commentary, and appears carefully to have consulted all accessible authorities regarding it

It is now generally admitted that the three first Yugs or ages of Hindu Chronology are purely fanciful and fabulous, and that the present degenerate age or Kali-yug is the only one concerning which any really trustworthy information has been, or can be afforded. The Hindus themselves pretend, that this era began 3101 B C or 756 before the Deluge, and from the manner in which their calculations were conducted, as well as the basis upon which they rested, the proofs of the antiquity both of the nation and of its system of Astronomy were for some time supposed to be complete and perfect. It was adopted by the celebrated Bailly in his elegant history of Astronomy, accepted by the scientific circles of Paris at that time, and advocated in England by Playfair, Robertson, and other eminent authorities, but subsequent investigation has demonstrated, "that the series of Astronomical phenomena which Bailly regarded as affording decisive evidence of the extreme antiquity of the Hindu nation, in reality established the very reverse, for they have been shown not to have been taken from actual observation, but framed from calculating *backwards* on tables constructed during a period consistent with authentic history, and to contain, in consequence, several errors which the more accurate researches of later times have proved, are inconsistent with what must have occurred" *

Bentley has shown, in his paper on the "Hindu systems of Astronomy, and their connections with History in ancient and modern times,†" that there is no reason for believing the Kali-yug to have commenced at an earlier period than 1004 B C or rather more than two centuries and a half subsequent to the occurrence of the Argonautic expedition, and the conjectured existence of Æsculapius. This would render the existence of Hindu records, if we suppose them to have been produced during the present age, more recent by six centuries and a half, than

* Alison

• + Asiatic Researches, vol. viii

the first mention of Medicine and its followers in the Mosaic writings

Without, however, adopting the views of Bentley * as strictly correct, notwithstanding their general truthfulness having been endorsed by Laplace and Delambre, or coinciding to the full extent in his remark that no dependence is to be placed on Hindu opinions, "since when thoroughly sifted and examined, they are principally founded in vanity, ignorance, and credulity,"—there can be no valid reason advanced or solid proof adduced, to shew that the medicine of the Hindus is more ancient than that of the Egyptians and Hebrews—although it appears subsequently to have attained more of the dignity of a science, and to have been cultivated with a greater degree of assiduity and success

* 'The name of Mr Bentley will descend with great distinction to posterity for his intelligent criticism on the antiquity of the Brahmanical books and their astronomical computations. It was a bold undertaking to be the first to break the spell of credulity which was lulling Europe into such an unphilosophical lethargy but he will soon find himself rewarded by his success. We are satisfied that the venerated books of the Brahmins need only to be translated in order to enable every man who can read to discover their imposture but till these translations appear the researches of Mr Bentley and those of our Sanskrit students who follow his footsteps, will be wanted to undeceive such as have been hitherto deluded. Lieutenant Wilford, who is familiar with the Puranas and has personally experienced the frauds of the modern Brahmins has so far advanced in the progress to true criticism and common sense, as to tell us that with regard to history the Hindus really have nothing but romances. He says their works whether historical or geographical are most extravagant compositions in which little regard indeed is paid to truth. In their treatises on geography they seem to view the globe through a prism as if adorned with the liveliest colours, mountains are of solid gold, bright like ten thousand suns and others are of precious gems. Some of silver borrow the mild and dewy beams of the moon. There are rivers and seas of liquid amber clarified butter, milk curds and intoxicating liquors. Geographical truth is sacrificed to a symmetrical arrangement of countries, mountains, lakes and rivers, with which they are highly delighted. There are two geographical systems among the Hindus. The first and most ancient is according to the Puranas in which the earth is considered as a convex surface gradually sloping towards the borders and surrounded by the ocean. The second and modern system is that adopted by astronomers and certainly the worst of the two. The Puranics, considering the earth as a flat surface or nearly so their knowledge does not extend much beyond the old continent or the superior hemisphere but astronomers being acquainted with the globular shape of the earth and of course with an inferior hemisphere were under the necessity of borrowing largely from the superior part, in order to fill up the inferior one. Thus their astronomical knowledge, instead of being of service to geography has augmented the confusion, distorted and dislocated every part, every country in the old continent.

Even Mr H Colebrooke who still looks at these books with an eye of favour in his last Essay confesses that the mythology of the orthodox Hindus, their present chronology adapted to astronomical periods their legendary tales, their mystical allegories, are abundantly extravagant. —*Quarterly Review* Vol 1 p p 66 67

We do not believe that even the Vedas are nearly so old as the poems of Homer, and we are satisfied that some of the Puranas are very modern."—*Ibid* p 67

Dr Maskeleyne adds his testimony to the general correctness of Bentley's views, in the following terms

'I think Bentley right he has proved by his calculations that there was no real observation made at the beginning of the Kali yuga. Baily was a pleasing historical writer but he had more imagination than judgment and I know he was condemned by his friends La Lande and La Place, as a superficial astronomer, and a very indifferent calculator. These two gentlemen entertained the same opinion with myself with respect to the antiquity of Hindu astronomy and I think that Mr Bentley has made out satisfactorily the real antiquity of the *Surya Siddhanti*.'

To the Hindus must undoubtedly be assigned the merit of having been the first to practise dissection of the human body, as we shall have occasion to show hereafter, and to have possessed a complete series of treatises upon the different branches of medicine.

It is difficult to imagine how so learned and laborious a scholar as Sir Wm Jones could have fallen into so serious an error as to state, that there was no evidence to prove the existence in any language of Asia of any original treatise on medicine considered as science. The ignorance of the Brahmans concerning the Medical Shastras could scarcely have been so great as to render them unacquainted with their existence, although they might not have been conversant with their contents. However much the Mahomedan conquerors may have neglected and despised the medical science of the Hindus, such was not the case with the hereditary physicians of Hindustan, and although they may have been unwilling to part with, or make known the contents of their long transmitted and highly prized manuscripts, they would scarcely have denied or concealed the fact of their existence from their own countrymen.

The mistake of Mill is still greater, and cannot be excused, since a little more diligent examination of what was then known, would have dispelled the delusion under which he laboured. Without admitting their exaggerated pretensions to antiquity, or recognizing the absurdities of their fabulous chronology, he ought to have been better acquainted with the state in which the civilization, sciences, and institutions of the Hindus were found by Alexander in his Indian campaigns, as related by Arrian and Plutarch, and with the numerous well authenticated facts scattered through various modern writers, who had partially investigated the subject and published their remarks and observations prior to the appearance of the History of India.

Elphinstone mentions Charaka and Susruta as the earliest medical writers extant, but does not attempt to establish the date of either of them, further than specifying upon the authority of Royle, the commentary written upon the latter in Kashmir in the twelfth or thirteenth century—probably not the first that was called into existence by the text in question. In the preliminary observations prefixed to the second volume of Ainslie's *Materia Indica*, are collected together various arguments derived from different sources concerning the antiquity and nature of the scientific knowledge generally of the Hindus, and particularly of their medicine, but that writer has not succeeded in throwing any light upon the question of their exact age, and indeed acknowledges his inability to do so, while he

inclines to the belief of their being as old as, and not borrowed from, the sciences of the Egyptians "The Hindu medical treatises, we are told were all written many hundred years ago, but at what exact period it is next to impossible to ascertain, as dates are very rarely affixed to the manuscripts, and whatever questions are put touching particular eras to those Brahmans who might be supposed best able to reply to them, they are unvariably answered in an unsatisfactory manner" * — a result experienced by most others who have pursued the same path of enquiry, with the attempted aid of such inefficient and ignorant guides as the great majority of the present race of Pandits

By far the most elaborate and successful attempt to establish the antiquity of Hindu Medicine is that of Professor Royle, whose able and argumentative treatise has become the standard of reference of all systematic writers upon the subject. The learned and diligent author of the Botany of the Himalayas appears, during the period of his exile and servitude, to have devoted much of his time to the collection and investigation of various articles of the indigenous *Materia Medica* found in the bazars of India, and this led him to study and trace their history and properties with such aid as can be obtained in this country alone. Although the author is not a Sanskrit scholar, he certainly appears to us to have established by a train of ingenious and occasionally complete evidence, that the medicine of the Hindus was older than that of the Arabs and of the Greeks, that it was *probably original*, and not borrowed from any other nation, and that it contained much that was interesting and deserving of further research and enquiry.

The following extract from Royle's Essay will give our readers a fair idea of the nature and force of the reasoning brought to bear upon this difficult question —

Hindu works on Medicine having been proved to have existed prior to the Arabs little doubt can be entertained I conceive respecting their originality, as we know of no source from which they could have been borrowed, except from the Greeks and there is little probability of the Hindus having had access to any original or translated works at so early a period as must have been the case from their containing no traces of the Galenic doctrines so conspicuous in the writings of the Arabs. Some coincidences would appear rather to be that of observers of the same fact, than of borrowers from the same books. The description of some diseases which seem to have been first known in India, as well as the internal administration of metals they could not have borrowed from the Greeks. That there must have been independent observers in India at a very early age of the world, we have proofs in the commerce of their manufactures and of their medicines. Many of the latter may be found described in the works of the Greeks, but we see no trace of European medicines in those of the

* Ainslie Op cit

Hindus, and though knowledge may travel from north to south, tropical products can in our hemisphere only travel from south to north. Their employment therefore, in the latter, proves their previous investigation by a people resident in the countries of their growth. On such grounds therefore I conceive, we may infer the antiquity of Hindu medicine and while unable to get any positive dates for their works, we may yet, by circumstantial evidence obtain an approximation which will, I think prove its independent origin. We may, however, conceive it to be the remains of a still more ancient system, of which we have no records but of the existence of which there can be no doubt, as Herodotus relates, that in his time in Egypt, there were distinct physicians for different diseases, which were classed according to their seat in the human body, and from Diodorus Siculus we learn, that every physician was obliged to follow a written code. Hence it is more than probable that there was early in Egypt a distinct system of medicine and we have notices also in the works of the ancients of its being a subject much attended to by the Persian magi. Notwithstanding that the Greeks travelled to the East and to Egypt in quest of knowledge it has been said that Egyptian medicine consisted chiefly in incantation but this explanation is as likely to have been owing to the ignorance of the narrators as of the physicians for even in our own day we seldom see even well informed writers able to explain or to describe correctly facts of a scientific nature. In the same manner those who were unable to decypher their hieroglyphics, pronounced all the knowledge of the Egyptian priesthood to consist in magic.

The only direct testimony we have with respect to the date of the works of Charaka and of Susruta is that of Professor Wilson, who states that from their being mentioned in the Puranas the ninth or tenth century is the most modern limit of our conjecture while the style of the authors, as well as their having become the heroes of fable indicate a long anterior date. The Arabs must have become acquainted with the translations in the eighth or early in the ninth century as Harun al Rashid and Al Mamoon succeeded respectively in the years 786 and 813 to the Caliphate, when it stretched to the Indus the latter survived only twenty years. Geber is supposed to have lived in the seventh or eighth century and we have shown the probability of his having had access to the chemical knowledge of the Hindus. But for their merits to have been sufficiently established for their works to be translated at the same time with those of the principal Greek authors these Hindu physicians must certainly have lived and written long before to allow then fame to extend into foreign countries in an age when the communication of literature must have been at least as slow as it now is in the East.*

In addition to proving the priority of the Hindus to the Greeks and Arabs in the matters above mentioned, the Professor has traced in an extended though cursory chain of arguments, the commerce, science, arts, literature, and civilization of the Brahmans from the earliest period of their own authentic records, as well as from the testimony afforded by the literary remains of other nations, and by the application of this combined mass of evidence, has satisfactorily established the fact he intended to prove. In the validity, however, of some of his arguments we are not inclined to coincide, nor we do we think that he has

always been happy in tracing the identity between Greek and Arabic terms. There is no more fruitful source of error than the ambiguity of nomenclature in ages and among nations which had no fixed standards of comparison, and whose complete ignorance of the essential characters of plants and even of mineral bodies, renders it difficult, if not impossible, to identify the substance described and spoken of. In the writings of so comparatively recent an author as Dioscorides, whose works have been illustrated and annotated by "swarms of commentators," out of seven hundred plants contained in his *Materia Medica*, not more than four hundred have been correctly ascertained nor have Theophrastus,—the Father of Botany,—Pliny, and even Celsus fared much better. To enter into any detailed analysis of such minor points of objection, or indeed further to prolong our remarks upon this preliminary portion of our enquiry into the Hindu system of medicine, would be out of place in the necessarily narrow limits to which we must confine our article, were we even possessed of the leisure and eastern lore requisite for the prosecution of such a task. We cannot, however, quit a topic of which probably many of our readers are already heartily tired, without a passing reference to the paper of Horace Hayman Wilson, published in the *Oriental Magazine* for 1823, and quoted by Royle in the essay above referred to. Unlike most of the other writers upon this subject, Professor Wilson is universally acknowledged to be one of the most profound and accomplished Sanskrit scholars in existence, and his evidence, delivered with the modesty and caution of one well acquainted with the nature and extent of the materials at his command, is entitled to the highest consideration. We can only venture upon the following extracts from his paper —

There is reason to conclude from the imperfect opportunities of investigation we possess that in medicine as in astronomy and metaphysics the Hindus once kept pace with the most enlightened nations of the world, and that they attained as thorough a proficiency in medicine and surgery, as any people whose acquisitions are recorded, and as indeed was practicable before anatomy was made known to us, by the discoveries of modern inquirers.

The *Ayur Veda* as the medical writings of highest antiquity and authority are collectively called, is considered to be a portion of the fourth or *Atharva Veda*, and is consequently the work of BRAHMA—by him it was communicated to DASHA, the *Pragupati* and by him the two ASWINS or sons of SRYA the Sun were instructed in it and they then became the medical attendants of the gods—a genealogy, that cannot fail recalling to us the two sons of *Esculapius*, and their descent from *Apollo*. Now what were the duties of the ASWINS according to Hindu authorities?—the gods enjoying eternal youth and health, stood in no need of physicians, and consequently these held no such sinecure station. The wars between the

gods and demons, however, and the conflicts amongst the gods themselves, in which wounds might be suffered, although death was not inflicted, required churgical aid—and it was this accordingly, which the two Aswins rendered. They performed many extraordinary cures, as might have been expected, from their superhuman character.

The meaning of these legendary absurdities is clear enough, and is conformable to the tenor of all history. Man in the semi barbarous state if not more subject to external injuries than internal disease, was at least more likely to seek remedies for the former, which were obvious to his senses, than to imagine the means of relieving the latter, whose nature he could so little comprehend.

Surgical therefore, preceded medicinal skill, as Celsus has asserted, when commenting on Homer's account of Podalirius and Machaon, who were not consulted, he says, during the plague in the Grecian Camp, although regularly employed, to extract darts and heal wounds. The same position is maintained as we shall hereafter see, by the Hindu writers, in plain, as well as in legendary language.

According to some authorities, the Aswins instructed INDRA and INDRA was the preceptor of DHANWANTARI but others make ATREYA, BHARADWAJA, and CHARAKA, prior to the latter. CHARAKA's work which goes by his name is extant—DHANWANTARI is also styled KASIRAJA, prince of *Kan* or Benares. His disciple was SUSRUTA, the son of VISWAMITRA and consequently a contemporary of RAMA. His work also exists, and is our chief guide at present. It is unquestionably of some antiquity but it is not easy to form any conjecture of its real date, except that it cannot have the prodigious age, which Hindu fable assigns it—it is sufficient to know, that it is perhaps the oldest work on the subject excepting that of CHARAKA which the Hindus possess. One commentary on the text, made by UBHATTA, a Cashmerian, is probably as old as the twelfth or thirteenth century and his comment it is believed, was preceded by others. The work is divided into six portions—the *Sutra St'hana*, or CHIRURGICAL DEFINITIONS the *Nidana St'hana*, or section on SYMPTOMS, or DIAGNOSIS. *Saria St'hana* ANATOMY, *Chikitsa St'hana* the internal application of Medicines. *Kulpa St'hana* ANTIDOTES, *Uttara St'hana*, or a supplementary section on various local diseases or affections of the eye, ear, &c. In all these divisions however, surgery, and not general medicine, is the object of the *Susruta*.

The *Ayur Veda* which originally consisted of one hundred sections, of a thousand stanzas each, was adapted to the limited faculties and life of man, by its distribution into eight subdivisions the enumeration of which conveys to us an accurate idea of the objects of the *Ars medendi* amongst the Hindus. The divisions are thus enumerated—1 *Salya* 2 *Salakya* 3 *Kaya Chikitsa* 4 *Bhutavidya* 5 *Kaumarabhritya* 6 *Agada* 7 *Rasayana* and 8 *Baykarana*. They are explained as follows.

Salya is the art of extracting extraneous substances, whether of grass wood earth, metal, bone &c violently or accidentally introduced into the human body, with the treatment of the inflammation and suppuration thereby induced, and by analogy, the cure of all phlegmonoid tumours and abscesses. The word *Salya* means a dart or arrow, and points clearly to the origin of this branch of Hindu science. In like manner the *Iarpós*, or physician of the Greeks, was derived according to *Sextus Empiricus* from *Ios*, an arrow or dart.

2 *Salakya* is the treatment of external organic affections or diseases of the eyes, ears, nose, &c it is derived from *Salaka*, which means any thin and sharp instrument, and is either applicable in the same manner as *Salakya*, to the active causes of the morbid state, or it is borrowed from the

generic name of the slender probes and needles, used in operations on the parts affected

3 *Kaya Chikitsa* is as the name implies the application of the *Ars Medendi* (*Chikitsa*) to the body in general (*Kaya*), and forms what we mean by the Science of Medicine—the two preceding divisions constitute the Surgery of modern schools

4 *Bhutavndya* is the restoration of the faculties from a disorganised state, induced by Demoniactal possession This art has vanished before the diffusion of knowledge, but it formed a very important branch of medical practice, through all the schools, Greek Arabic, or European, and descended to days very near our own as a reference to *Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy* may prove to general readers

5 *Kaumara bhritya* means, the care of infancy comprehending not only the management of children from their birth, but the treatment of irregular lactic secretion and puerperal disorders in mothers and nurses—this holds with us also the place that its importance claims

6 *Agada* is the administration of antidotes—a subject which, as far as it rests upon scientific principles, is blended with our medicine and surgery

7 *Rasayana* is chemistry, or more correctly alchemy as the chief end of the chemical combinations it describes and which are mostly metallurgic is the discovery of the universal medicine—the elixir, that was to render health permanent and life perpetual

8 The last branch *Bajikarana*, professes to promote the increase of the human race—an illusory research, which as well as the preceding, is not without its parallel in ancient and modern times *

Before entering upon the detailed examination of the different departments of Hindu Medicine as developed in Wise's Commentary, it may not be uninteresting to the general reader to give a brief sketch of the Medicine of the Hebrews and of the Egyptians—so as to enable him to institute some degree of comparison between them

The sacred writings of the Jews, and the existence of authentic historical monuments, prove that Egypt was partially civilized at a period when the rest of the then known world was in a state of complete ignorance and barbarism The Hindus contest the palm of superior antiquity and civilization with the Egyptians, but upon uncertain and in many respects purely imaginary grounds, while few facts are now more completely established, than the high state of cultivation of the arts and sciences at a very remote period of the existence of ancient Egypt, whereas there are, on the other hand, few things more easy to disprove than the fabulous chronology of the Brahmins No people could have been more favorably situated for the early cultivation of science than the inhabitants of the fertile banks of the Nile, and none have left more magnificent monuments of their skill, civilization, and the wonderful degree of perfection they attained, when a more than

Cimmerian darkness enveloped the rest of the habitable globe, so far as we now are capable of judging

It would be out of place in any work not specially devoted to the history of Medicine, to attempt to trace its origin, or to speculate upon the nature of the various divinities to whom the ancients ascribed the virtue of healing. Upon these matters we have no more certain or trustworthy guides than fabulous traditions or crude conjectures, based upon an imperfect knowledge of the nature of man in a savage state, and of the particular wants to which he is supposed to be most liable in such a condition. It is in reality of no great consequence in the present advanced stage of the science, to ascertain whether the natural and inherent preservative instinct of man led him to distinguish alimentary from medicinal, and these from poisonous substances, or whether, as an ingenious author has attempted to prove, animals were the earliest physicians. It is sufficient for our purposes to know, that some knowledge of medicine must have been among the earliest of human arts, and most probably long before it attained the dignity of a science. There can be little doubt, also, that in the infancy of the great human family diseases must have been few and simple, and cured more by the *vis medicatrix naturæ* than by the efficacy of any drugs then known and used. This is abundantly evident and apparent in an examination of the earlier systems of medicine transmitted to us, in all of which diet and regimen, air and exercise, are constantly insisted upon as among the most efficacious means of removing disease and of restoring health. Many of the ancient medical philosophers appear to have been very much of the opinion of the modern poet, that

“ The first physicians by debauch were made,
Excess began and sloth sustains the trade
By chase our long liv'd fathers earn'd their food,
Toil strung the nerves, and purify'd the blood.
But we their sons, a pamper'd race of men,
Are dwindled down to threescore years and ten
Better to hunt in fields for health unbought,
Than fee the doctor for a nauseous draught.
The wise for cure on exercise depend
God never made his work for man to mend.”

Among the early Egyptians, as among many more modern nations, the practice of medicine was originally usurped by the Priesthood, who built their temples in healthy positions, and excited the imaginations of their patients by a variety of ceremonies and practices, compounds of magic and imposture, not altogether unknown in the more systematic and learned empiricism of recent times as exhibited in the wonders of Cagliostro, and the manipulations of sundry pretenders of the present day

The credit of all cures was assumed for the particular deities presiding over each temple, and the cause of all failures was adroitly ascribed to the anger of some offended divinity, whose wrath was not to be appeased by mortal means they consequently branded the unfortunate incurables as criminals under punishment for unpardonable sins! Something not far removed from this will be found in the medicine of the Hindus, and is recorded in the earliest writings of the Greek Poets. The classical reader will doubtless remember, that when at the siege of Troy the plague reigned and raged in the Grecian camp, Homer describes its progress, but is silent upon the human efforts made to arrest it and obviate its fatality. In fact his advice is, to let

——— "Some prophet or some sacred sage,
Explore the cause of great Apollo's rage,
Or learn the wasteful vengeance to remove
By mystic dreams, for dreams descend from Jove.
If broken vows this heavy curse have laid,
Let altars smoke, and hecatombs be paid.
So heav'n atoned, shall dying Greece restore,
And Phœbus dart his burning shafts no more."

The medical priesthood of Egypt consisted of an exclusive caste of considerable dignity, inasmuch as the rulers of the land were also then selected from the priestly faculty. They were haughty, reserved, austere, and never relaxed the fixed and melancholy appearance of their countenances in the presence of their patients. Their food consisted exclusively of vegetables and the sacrificial meats—the flesh of all other animals being carefully rejected as unwholesome, and as the cause of the forms of leprosy, ophthalmia, and other formidable diseases, which appear, even at that early period, to have been common in the land of the Pharaohs. Whether the drink of these aboriginal sons of *Æsculapius* was wine or water, has been a subject of much discussion. The balance of evidence is in favour of their having been worshippers of the rosy God.

Herodotus maintains that in his time Egypt was a species of medical paradise, and that every disease had its own special practitioner—a subdivision of duty that must have been marvellously inconvenient for those who laboured under complicated disorders.

The practice of the early physicians would seem to have been simple, the disease being in general left to the curative powers of nature, with the occasional exhibition of some evacuant remedy,—a literal verification of the modern definition of physic as 'the art of amusing the patient, while nature cures the disease.'

The surgical skill of the Egyptians has been called in ques-

tion in consequence of their having been unable to cure a simple sprain, or to reduce the dislocated ankle of Darius, the son of Hystaspes

The soothsayers prognosticated the changes and terminations of diseases, the cure of which was generally undertaken by the ordinary priests, and *they* could not treat any acute affection before the fourth day of its manifestation, except upon their personal responsibility

The two principal departments of medicine in which the claim of early distinction and proficiency has been made for the Egyptians, are Anatomy and Chemistry Their knowledge of the former was entirely confined to the art of embalming in the various forms in which it was practised, and entitles them to no such credit In this respect we shall find them infinitely inferior to the Hindus, and their writings contain the grossest anatomical blunders, even more absurd than the Chinese drawings of human dissections, in which the outline is filled up with the internal structures of various animals Their chemical skill and knowledge were undoubtedly in a much more advanced state, for they have left metallurgic and other results which are still enigmas for the most eminent of our modern chemical philosophers, and are far in advance of anything of the kind ever found in Hindustan

They practised periodical evacuations, treated rheumatism by friction* with crocodile's fat, employed fumigation, were acquainted with the uses of balsam, spices and myrrh, and appear also to have used alum, plasters, and various ointments, in the latter of which white lead and verdigris were occasionally ingredients The last mentioned fact has been called in question, and is supposed to be true only of the Egyptians at a much later period

The early medicine of the Hebrews, appears from the incidental remarks contained in the Bible, to have attained a considerable degree of perfection Their remedial agents were chiefly of a hygienic nature, and consisted of circumcision, strict attention to diet, separation, frequent ablution, and the combustion of infected garments Every Christian reader must be well acquainted with the minute directions and descriptions contained in the book of Leviticus, the cure of Naaman's leprosy, the odoriferous confections and ointments mentioned in the 30th chapter of Exodus, as compounded "after the art of the apothecary," the employment of music as a cure for melancholy, the use of antimony as a face paint, and the mention in various places of the *Fig, the Olive, Saffron, Myrrh, Bdellium, Galbanum, Cumin, Coriander,*

Balm of Gilead, Frankincense, Cassia, Cinnamon, the Pomegranate, Dill, and it is conjectured Colocynth and Castor Oil

In medicine and natural history the great lawgiver Moses not only surpassed his Egyptian masters, but possessed the secret of reducing gold to powder, as related in the 32nd chapter of Exodus—"And he took the calf which they had made, and burnt it in the fire, and ground it to powder, and strawed it upon the water, and made the children of Israel drink of it" He also sweetened the bitter waters of Marah, and has left a most accurate account of the various forms of leprosy

The wisdom of Solomon has since become a proverb

"And God gave Solomon wisdom and understanding exceeding much, and largeness of heart even as the sand that is on the sea shore

"And Solomon's wisdom exceeded the wisdom of all the children of the East country and all the wisdom of Egypt

'For he was wiser than all men * * * * * and his fame was in all nations round about

"And he spake three thousand proverbs and his songs were a thousand and five

"And he spake of trees, from the cedar tree that is in Lebanon even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall he spake also of beasts, and of fowl, and of creeping things, and of fishes *

Hartwell Horne,† who appears to have consulted and collated almost every existing authority upon the subject, in his section "*On the diseases mentioned in the Scriptures*," has the following passage upon the origin of medicine among the Hebrews, and the nature and duties of their physicians.

The Jews ascribed the *origin* of the healing art to God himself (Ecclus xxxviii 1, 2) and the Egyptians attributed their invention of it to their God Thaut or Hermes, or to Osiris or Isis

Antiently at Babylon, the sick, when they were first attacked by a disease, were left in the streets for the purpose of learning from those who might pass them what practices or what medicines had been of assistance to them, when afflicted with similar diseases The Egyptians carried their sick into the temple of Serapis, the Greeks carried theirs into those of Æsculapius In the temples of both these deities there were preserved written receipts of the means by which various cures had been effected With the aid of these

* I Kings, Cap 19

A modern writer, however, commenting on this fact, has the following remarks —
'Gold is so ductile that it is very difficult to grind it to powder, and it is still more difficult to dissolve it in water Here is an exploit which the greatest chemists of the present day could not do more than perform—a sufficient proof of the scientific skill of Moses, and consequently of the Egyptians, from whom he drew his knowledge But there seems no reason for believing that Moses possessed any chemical knowledge whatever He broke the calf in pieces, and reduced it to as small fragments as he could, these he threw into water, and made the Israelites drink of that liquid We are sure that the gold was not dissolved in the water, because gold, in a state of solution, is one of the most virulent of poisons, and could not, therefore, have been administered to the Israelites with impunity —*Ed Review, Vol L p 257*

† Horne's Introduction to the critical study and knowledge of the Holy Scriptures Vol. II. chapter ix. § 1 p 501 to 11

recorded remedies the art of healing assumed in the progress of time the aspect of a science. It assumed such a form first in Egypt, and at a much more recent period in Greece, but it was not long before those of the former were surpassed in excellence by the physicians of the latter country. That the Egyptians, however, had no little skill in medicine, may be gathered from what is said in the Pentateuch respecting the marks of leprosy. That some of the medicinal prescriptions should fail of bringing the expected relief is by no means strange, since Pliny himself mentions some which are far from producing the effects he ascribes to them.* Physicians are first mentioned in Gen 1 2 Exod xxi 19 Job xiii 4. Some acquaintance with chururgical operations is implied in the rite of circumcision† (Gen xvii 11 14). There is ample evidence that the Israelites had some acquaintance with the internal structure of the human system although it does not appear that dissections of the human body for medical purposes were made till as late as the time of Ptolemy †. That physicians sometimes underlook to exercise their skill, in removing diseases of an internal nature is evident from the circumstance of David's playing upon the harp to cure the melancholy of Saul (1 Sam xvi 16). The art of healing was committed among the Hebrews as well as among the Egyptians, to the priests who, indeed, were obliged by a law of the state to take cognizance of leprosy (Lev xiii, 1 14, 57 Deut xxiv 8, 9). Reference is made to physicians who were not priests, and to instances of sickness disease, healing, &c in various parts of the scriptures.

The diseases mentioned in the sacred writings § are cancers, consumption, dropsy, fevers, epilepsy, lunacy, leprosy in its

* This is by no means confined to Pliny and the ancients—our modern systems of *Materia Medica* abound and are overloaded with remedies to which supposititious virtues are ascribed, and contain many which are inert and useless or on the other hand positively mischievous. Few circumstances have operated so prejudicially upon the advance of the therapeutical department of medicine, as the ignorance, carelessness, and we fear occasionally the culpable and wilful misrepresentations which characterize a large proportion of the observations published on the actions and uses of medicinal agents.

† This however can only be admitted as evidence of the lowest possible degree of surgical skill. Circumcision and Nymphotomy an analogous operation, still continues to be practised among the Copts Egyptians Arabs Ethiopians and other eastern nations. They are performed by the most ignorant and lowest order of practitioners, demanding a very moderate amount of knowledge and skill. Buffon in alluding to the latter operation says—"d'après Niebuhr, cette opération se fait vers l'âge de dix ans sans cérémonie religieuse et en y attachant si peu d'importance qu'on ne la fait pratiquer que lorsque les femmes qui font ce métier passent accidentellement dans la rue" (Hist. Nat. Tom iv.) They are on a level in fact with the corn cutters and bone setters of modern Europe.

‡ ANATOMY does not appear to have been cultivated by the Hebrews, among whom the contact with a dead body rendered an individual unclean, even with purification for seven days as related in the 19th chapter of Numbers from the 11th verse, and also alluded to in the book of Leviticus.

Their knowledge of *PHYSIOLOGY* was exceedingly restricted. They regarded the bones as important organs, and as the seat of severe diseases and considered the umbilical region and epigastrium as exercising a great degree of influence over the health of the individual. But on these and other ordinary matters connected with the natural sciences and arts the Jews were left very much to their own resources. It never was the design of true *Revelation* to supersede the exercise of the human faculties in any department of knowledge to the cultivation of which these may be fully competent. On the contrary its general intent has been to brace, invigorate and expand all the powers and susceptibilities of the soul, and to encourage, under due regulation, the application of these to every pursuit calculated to enlarge the boundaries of useful knowledge or confer fresh benefits on the family of man.

various forms, as contagious or non-contagious—described with a degree of minuteness and accuracy to which it is scarcely possible for a modern observer to make a single addition from external examination alone, as may daily be seen in the streets of this city—elephantiasis with a species of which the patriarch Job is conjectured to have been afflicted, the disease of the Philistines, variously supposed to have been either dysentery, or hæmorrhoids, the disease of Saul, melancholia, the disease of Jehoram, King of Israel, dysentery, with ulceration and discharge of portions of intestine, the disease with which Hezekiah was afflicted, said to have been either a pleurisy, or the plague, elephantiasis, or a quinsy, but conjectured by most to have been fever terminating in abscess, and the hypochondriasis of Nebuchadnezzar

We do not refer to the diseases, remedies, and other medical matters mentioned in the New Testament, as they are of much more recent date, and can scarcely be taken to have any connection with the *antiquity* of Hebrew Medicine

Much of the learning of the ancient Israelites was probably derived from the Egyptians, in the frequent intercourse that took place in the time of Abraham and his descendants, as well as during the four centuries of bondage of the successors of Jacob. There is no doubt, however, that much more was peculiar to themselves, and like their faith and customs, handed down from the remotest periods

The claims of the Chinese will not bear investigation, either as to the extent or antiquity of their knowledge of medicine, when compared with the Hebrews, the Egyptians, or the Hindus

There can be equally little, or possibly even less, doubt concerning the more modern claims of the Arabs, who have not only been proved to have had access to and quoted from the Charaka and Susruta,—but to have been well acquainted with the writings of the Greek Fathers of Medicine. In fact the doctrines of Hippocrates and Galen were early taught in their schools, and no credit can be assigned to them of having been among the *earliest* cultivators of any of the arts and sciences. They belong altogether to a much more recent era, and were in the first instance chiefly indebted for their knowledge to the Hindus and Greeks

Although the Greeks cannot pretend to the antiquity in knowledge of the Hindus, the Egyptians, or the Hebrews—"it is neither in Egypt, nor in India, nor in Palestine, nor in Rome, that the first germs of the *systematic* study of science are to be found, but in Greece alone"

To the Hindus and to the Egyptians the modern world

owes nothing of its advance in science and civilization, but to Greece, the cradle of learning and liberty, the debt of gratitude in every department of literature and art is immense and universally acknowledged. Among them none have derived more positive benefit, or been more firmly impressed with the sterling stamp of wisdom than Medicine and the branches of human knowledge collaterally or immediately connected with it. With the single exception of Chemistry, in which the credit of a high degree of cultivation and success, subsequently reflected in the brilliant researches and discoveries of our own time, belongs undoubtedly to the Arabs, every other branch of European Medicine may be traced to a Grecian origin, and in many of them, the doctrines and practices of the old fathers of physic are still quoted with deference, and acknowledged with respect. The dogmatism of Hippocrates and his successors, the professed empiricism which reigned in the schools from the time of Serapion to the commencement of the Christian *Æra*, the methodism which partially commenced with Themison and continued until the reign of Marcus Aurelius, when it was firmly established by Galen, the physician and peripatetic, and the peripatetic dogmatism that prevailed from his time to the period when that strange compound of mountebank, quack, and philosopher Paracelsus, the cotemporary of Charles the V, appeared upon the stage, all had their influence upon the succeeding revolutions of medicine,—embracing the chemical dogmatism that ceased with the discovery of the circulation, by the immortal Harvey, in the reign of Charles I, the mechanical dogmatism that obtained possession of the schools to the period of Boerhave in the commencement of the 18th century, and then merged into the general dogmatism with its infinite varieties and off-shoots, including the learned empiricisms of Homæopathy, Hydropathy, and others of still more doubtful character, that still continue to occupy the learned, attract the vulgar, delude the ignorant, and mystify the multitude. All this, however, is foreign to our present purpose, and we must retrace our steps from the light of Greece to the obscurity of Hindustan.

To enable our readers to estimate correctly the value and extent of the addition contributed to the history of medicine by Wise's Commentary, a brief and rapid review of our previous knowledge of the subject, may not be deemed altogether uninteresting or out of place.

To the full and candid work of the learned LeClerc, we have not access at present,—but if our memory be not faulty, it contains little, if any, positive information upon the medicine of

the Hindus, except possibly a few incidental allusions borrowed from the writings of the Arabian physicians, who were not very profoundly acquainted with the matter themselves

The history of medicine from the time of Galen to the commencement of the 16th century, by Friend, is equally silent

Of Black's history of medicine and surgery published in 1782, it is sufficient to repeat the opinion entertained by a cotemporaneous writer, that it was—"prolix in ancient history, meagre in the middle ages, superficial in later times, and in the most modern completely uninformed"

The first of the works with which we have any acquaintance, that alludes directly to the Hindus as among the earliest of the successful cultivators of the healing art, is the 'infinitely important and valuable' *Essai d'une histoire pragmatique de la Medecine*, by Kurt Sprengel—a work to which we have been much indebted in the passing remarks upon Egyptian and Hebrew medicine

His chapter upon Indian Medicine is chiefly compiled from the Greek writers and the statements of modern travellers and authorities, but from having had no access to the original Sanskrit historians, of the existence even of most of which he appears to have been unacquainted, his information is necessarily meagre, and in some respects not very correct

Bostock, although a diligent reader and evidently acquainted with the writings of nearly every author of repute and trust connected with the origin and progress of physic, has not even mentioned the Hindus in his *History of Medicine*, evidently regarding the little information then extant as too scanty and fabulous to deserve notice

Dr Wm Hamilton is somewhat more explicit on the subject, and sums up his opinions in the following paragraph, which contains, indeed, the whole of the space devoted to the Hindus in his "*History of Medicine, Surgery, and Anatomy, from the creation of the world to the commencement of the nineteenth Century*"

"Notwithstanding the progress which recent researches, no less than ancient traditions inform us, was made by the inhabitants of Hindustan, at the most remote periods, in other branches of knowledge, and in the abstruse science of Astronomy more especially, their proficiency in the art of healing does not appear, from any evidence which either ancient history or modern discovery affords, to have equalled that of nations in other respects far less enlightened. Their chief dependence, in the cure of disease, consisted, as Strabo informs us, in a rigid attention to diet, and the external application of cataplasms, and other topical remedies. Medicine appears to have been practised chiefly, if not wholly, by persons who were termed *Zayavuos* or *Samanseans*, who exercised their calling by the special permission, and under the immediate superintendence, of the magistrates

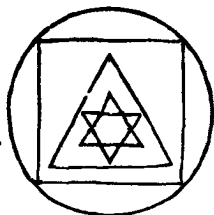
But their practice was encumbered with many difficulties, and the spirit of useful inquiry repressed by sanguinary, mistaken, and injudicious laws. The disclosure of a substance injurious to health, unaccompanied by its corresponding antidote was punished with the penalty of death, and the door of improvement closed at the hazard of a halter against him who should dare to enter imprudently. The most valuable remedies were proscribed, from the apprehension of mischief arising from their injudicious application and the courageous practitioner who had ventured to employ some of those active preparations which are in every day use among modern physicians would have endangered his neck had he been unable to point out the remedy for their noxious effects, when wielded by the hands of malice, of ignorance, or of presumption. The mere existence of such a law sufficiently marks the low ebb of medical knowledge among the people who framed it since it presupposes the fact, unconfirmed by any experience, of every poison having its appropriate and specific antidote, as every disease was believed, down almost to the present day, to possess its specific and peculiar remedy.

The eminent and excellent Missionary, William Ward, of Serampore, in his view of the 'History, Literature, and Mythology of the Hindus,' a work containing much valuable information, has devoted a section to the medical Shastras. He appears to coincide, with a little qualification, in the opinion of Sir Wm Jones that Eastern "physic is a mere empirical history of diseases and remedies," and gives a brief abstract of some of the Hindu notions concerning fever, dysentery, and other internal diseases, with an enumeration of the medical shastras still extant. The amount of information accumulated by him is scanty, imperfect, and not obtained from the most ancient or purest sources. The question of its probable antiquity is left untouched, and the impression produced by the perusal of the chapter, is certainly unfavorable to the science, information and method really possessed by the Hindu Physicians of a remote date.

In the "Tracts, Historical and Statistical on India," published in a handsome, illustrated 4to volume in 1814, by Dr Heyne, of the Madras medical department, are portions of a translation of some Hindu works on medicine. The author sets out by stating, that "it is common in India to hear the native physicians represented by some Europeans as a set of ignorant cheats, and extolled by others as miracles of knowledge and wisdom. The fact, however, is, that the great body of medical men in India consists of illiterate pretenders to knowledge, few being entitled to be considered as possessors of real knowledge. Most of them are quacks, possessors and vendors of nostrums. The medical works of the Hindus are neither to be regarded as miraculous productions of wisdom, nor as depositories of nonsense. Their practical principles, as far as I can judge, are very similar to our own, even their theories may be reconciled

with ours, if we make allowance for their ignorance of anatomy, and the imperfections of their physiological speculations ”

He furnishes a long and interesting list of medicinal plants most in use, with their Sanskrit, Telinga, and Linnæan names, to which are appended a few directions for keeping, gathering, compounding, and administering them. Some of these injunctions are simple and sensible, others ridiculous and childish. The middle of every medicine room was furnished with a sacred spot, consecrated by a mystical sign so very masonic in its form, that we are tempted to transfer it to our pages for the benefit of those among our readers, who may delight in researches upon symbols and signs, and have a firm belief in the antiquity and eastern origin of the mysteries of the masonic brotherhood.



This is followed by an abstract of an Indian treatise on medicine, containing—advice to physicians, a curious chapter on the pulse—Chinese in its childishness and prolixity, with an occasional glimmer of sense and correctness,—remarks on the diagnosis of the three principal diseases produced by *Wadum*, *Pitum*, and *Chestum*, or wind, bile, and slime, with a detail of the numerous diseases that result from these causes—a catalogue of nonsense and a medley of maladies strangely incongruous in their nature and relations. This is succeeded by remarks on the general causes of diseases, a section on diet, one on fever, another upon an unknown disorder termed *Sanny*, which seems to be a jumbling together of many of the worst symptoms of several diseases. The subject of prognosis meets with a due degree of attention, and a general summary of the whole concludes with the following curt and pithy sentences —

“ Thus have I finished the translation of this most extraordinary treatise, and I dare say my readers are by this time as fatigued as I am myself. It may be considered as a summary of all the medical knowledge of the Hindus. We see their absolute ignorance of anatomy, and every thing connected with the functions of the human body, that their system is entirely chimerical and connected with their religious opinions and the long fasts to which they subject their patients are probably by far the most efficacious of their remedies. I had originally added long notes upon this little treatise, exhibiting the various opinions of other medical writers upon the subject discussed in the text, but upon farther reflection I have been induced to withdraw them, conceiving that the treatise itself exhibited a banquet of absurdity sufficient to satisfy the most voracious guests, while different views of the same ridiculous opinions could not serve to add to the information of the most inquisitive reader ”

Dr. Whitelaw Ainslie, in his excellent and detailed work on the *Materia Medica of India*,—to which we shall probably

have occasion to refer again, when remarking upon the section of Dr Wise's commentary devoted to this department—has, in his preliminary observations, recorded a few remarks upon the subject of the probable antiquity of the medicine of the Hindus, and of its present claims to consideration, more especially as known and practised in Southern India. He has also published a list of Hindu and Mahomedan works on various departments of physic. He does not profess, however, to be learned in Eastern lore, and has evidently obtained the greater part of his information at second hand, from 'Tamul and Telingu practitioners, who were most probably themselves unacquainted with the original Sanskrit works,' of which, according to Heyne, the translations into the dialects of Southern India, are full of errors from the translators having been frequently unequal to their task.

The transactions of the Asiatic Society of Bengal are comparatively poor in the matter of contributions to our knowledge of Hindu Medicine, containing in eighteen parts or volumes scarcely as many separate papers on the subject, and of these not one that can lay claim to any degree of learning or research. In the first, a paper by *Goverdhan Caul*, on the Literature of the Hindus, their medical writings are dismissed in about a dozen lines of very general remarks.

The second is the well known passage from the last anniversary dissertation of the eminent and learned President of the Society, delivered in February, 1794, which as embodying the views of that gifted and discriminating scholar, we have no hesitation in quoting for the information of those who have not access to the Asiatic Researches—the early volumes of which are gradually becoming rare and scarce—or who may not be in possession of Lord Teignmouth's edition of the works of Sir Wm Jones —

"I have no evidence that in any language of Asia, there exists one original treatise on medicine, considered as science, physic, indeed, appears in these regions to have been from time immemorial, as we see it practised at this day by Hindus and Muselmans, a mere empirical history of diseases and remedies, useful, I admit, in a high degree, and worthy of attentive examination, but wholly foreign to the subject before us. Though the Arabs, however, have chiefly followed the Greeks in this branch of knowledge, and have themselves been implicitly followed by other Mohammedan writers, yet (not to mention the Chinese, of whose medical works I can at present say nothing with confidence) we still have access to a number of Sanscrit books on the old Indian practice of physic, from which, if the Hindus had a theoretical system, we might easily collect it. The *Ayurveda*, supposed to be the work of a celestial physician, is almost entirely lost, unfortunately, perhaps, for the curious European, but happily for the patient Hindu, since a revealed science precludes improvement from experience, to which that of medicine ought, above all others, to be left

perpetually open but I have myself met with curious fragments of that primeval work, and, in the *Veda* itself, I found with astonishment an entire *Upamshad* on the internal parts of the human body, with an enumeration of nerves, veins and arteries, a description of the heart, spleen, and liver, and various disquisitions on the formation and growth of the fœtus. From the laws, indeed, of MANU, which have lately appeared in our own language, we may perceive that the ancient Hindus were fond of reasoning, in their way, on the mysteries of animal generation, and on the comparative influence of the sexes in the production of perfect offspring, and we may collect from the authorities adduced in the learned *Essay on Egypt and the Nile*, that their physiological disputes led to violent schisms in religion, and even to bloody wars. On the whole, we cannot expect to acquire many valuable truths from an examination of eastern books on the science of medicine, but examine them we must, if we wish to complete the history of universal philosophy, and to supply the scholars of Europe with authentic materials for an account of the opinions anciently formed on this head by the philosophers of Asia. To know, indeed, with certainty, that so much and no more can be known on any branch of science, would in itself be very important and useful knowledge, if it had no other effect than to check the boundless curiosity of mankind, and to fix them in the straight path of attainable science especially of such as relates to their duties, and may conduce to their happiness.

The remaining papers are mere monographs upon various topics of interest connected with the practice of medicine in this country, and afford no information respecting its indigenous history, antiquity, doctrines, or authorities.

The "Transactions of the Calcutta Medical and Physical Society," a rich repository of valuable practical facts and opinions respecting the topography, diseases—endemic and epidemic—and some of the indigenous remedies of India, together with details of the most appropriate means of managing various tropical maladies, are singularly and unaccountably deficient in the investigation of the medical literature of the Hindus.

With the exception of two or three contributions of no great importance from the pen of Professor Wilson, the only reference to the subject that a cursory examination has enabled us to fall in with, is the following extract from the preface to the 1st volume of the Transactions, published in 1825 —

"The history of medicine is of more interest than utility. Disease may be alleviated or subdued without a knowledge of those stages, by which the skill that has been successfully exerted, is brought within the reach of its possessor. Neither can it be expected, that the imperfect science of the *Bards* or *Hakims* of India, shall offer any instructive lessons to their better educated brethren of Europe still, to liberal and cultivated minds, the progress and condition of science in all ages, and in all climes, must be objects of interest, and they will gladly welcome the light that may be thrown upon the past or present existence of Oriental medicine, by information gathered from authentic sources, or derived from actual observation.

The history of Mahomedan medicine, comprising the most flourishing periods of the schools of Bagdad and Cordova, has already been fully elucidated, but it stops with the decline of the power of the Caliphs a long subsequent period is, therefore, enveloped in obscurity in this branch of enquiry and the medical history of the Hindus is hitherto an utter blank. In these respects, therefore, there is ample scope for investigation novel at least, and interesting, and perhaps not wholly uninstrucative, which may be prosecuted with every advantage in the country in which we at present sojourn *

This is a matter much to be regretted when we consider the number of able and eminent Oriental scholars of which the Medical Department could boast, prior to the comparatively recent existence in its ranks of probably one of the most profound and learned of them all, Horace Hayman Wilson, who, with a solitary exception, has contributed more to our knowledge of Hindu Medicine than any other authority prior to the appearance of the commentary now under review

The paper of the late lamented pains-taking traveller and antiquary Csoma de Koros published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1835, exhibits a brief abstract of certain portions of one of the Hindu medical shastras which appears to have been translated into the Tibetan tongue it is an interesting fragment, but gives no detailed or connected view of the subject

The most minute and intrinsically valuable of all the various sketches with which we are acquainted, is undoubtedly the "Essay upon the antiquity of Hindu medicine," already noticed, of Dr Royle, who now occupies an important practical chair at the King's College of London, and has recently produced a systematic treatise upon the department of medicine which he is employed to teach. It is chiefly valuable on account of the careful industry and logical acumen with which the various steps of the difficult enquiry are successively conducted, and of probably all the then known authorities having been consulted and collated

The chapter on Hindu Medicine in Elphinstone's History of India is brief and chiefly taken from the essay of Royle, the work of Ward, and a paper by Mr Coates in the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, which we have been unable to consult. The following extract embodies the whole of the information which he has afforded upon the subject —

"Their acquaintance with medicines seems to have been very extensive. We are not surprised at their knowledge of simples, in which they gave early lessons to Europe, and more recently taught us the benefit of smoking datura in asthma, and the use of cowitch against worms their chemical skill is a fact more striking and more unexpected

* Medical and Physical Transactions, Vol 1 p, iv Preface

They knew how to prepare sulphuric and nitric acid, and muriatic acid, the oxide of copper, iron, lead (of which they had both the red oxide and litharge), tin, and zinc, the sulphuret of iron, copper, mercury, antimony, and arsenic, the sulphate of copper, zinc, and iron, and carbonates of lead and iron. Their modes of preparing those substances, seem, in some instances, if not in all, to have been peculiar to themselves.

Their use of these medicines seems to have been very bold. They were the first nation who employed minerals internally, and they not only gave mercury in that manner, but arsenic and arsenious acid, which were remedies in intermittents. They have long used cinnabar for fumigations, by which they produce a speedy and safe salivation.

Their surgery is as remarkable as their medicine, especially when we recollect their ignorance of anatomy. They cut for the stone, couched for the cataract, and extracted the fœtus from the womb, and in their early works enumerate no less than 127 sorts of surgical instruments. But their instruments were probably always rude. At present they are so much so, that, though very successful in cataract, their operations for the stone are often fatal.

They have long practised inoculation, but still many lives were lost from small pox, until the introduction of vaccination.

The Hindu physicians are attentive to the pulse and to the state of the skin, of the tongue, eyes, &c, and to the nature of the evacuations, and they are said to form correct prognostics from the observation of the symptoms. But their practice is all empirical, their theory only tending to mislead them. Nor are they always judicious in their treatment: in fevers, for instance, they shut up the patient in a room artificially heated, and deprive him, not only of food, but drink.

They call in astrology and magic to the aid of their medicine, applying their remedies at appropriate situations of the planets, and often accompanying them with mystical verses and charms.

Many of these defects probably belonged to the art in its best days, but the science has no doubt declined, chemists can conduct their preparations successfully without having the least knowledge of the principles by which the desired changes are effected, physicians follow the practice of their instructors without inquiry, and surgery is so far neglected, that bleeding is left to the barber, bone-setting to the herdsman, and every man is ready to administer a blister, which is done with the juice of the euphorbium, and still oftener with the actual cautery.*

We shall now proceed to examine and analyse briefly the commentary which forms the text of our remarks, and endeavour to investigate the claims that it affords from internal evidence, of the nature and extent of the practical and theoretical knowledge possessed by the Brahmanical sect of medical philosophers.

Dr Wise's work is divided into five books, the first treating of the History of Medicine, the second being devoted to the subject of Anatomy and Physiology, the third containing the department of Therapeutics, the fourth that of the Practice of Physic, and the last that of Midwifery, and the diseases of women and children. This is a convenient and simple arrangement

* Elphinstone's India, vol. 1, p. 279 81.

of the subject, and embodies in a condensed form a vast mass of matter, of which we can only hope in the space allotted to us, to present our readers with a brief review of the most prominent and salient points of interest

The first chapter contains, as might be expected, the Hindu notions of the origin and history of medicine, and belongs so exclusively to the regions of fable and fiction as to be deserving of little notice and less credit. Most nations in the early stages of their existence, have attributed all remarkable and incomprehensible occurrences to the influence of the deities worshipped in the forms of their various superstitions and idolatries, so that diseases and a multitude of natural phenomena have been ascribed by them to supernatural agency*. The Hindu Mythology out-herods all others in absurdity and extravagance, and in this particular is in no way inferior to the legends and traditions of the most uncivilized of savages. The four immortal Vedas are stated to have been produced in the first or golden age "during which mankind remained prosperous, virtuous, happy, and free from disease". Disease, misery, the shortening of life, and their attendant woes, appeared in the Treta Yuga, or second age† when "a third of mankind were reprobate". In the third age, half of the human race were depraved, and the climax of corruption characterises the present or Kali Yuga. Brahma, from sheer benevolence and compassion for a fallen race, produced the Upavédas, of which the Ayur-véda, already noticed, is regarded as the sacred medical record of the Hindus, besides being of the highest antiquity and authority. The Shastras ascribe the production of this veda to Shiva. A fragment only of the lac of slokas of which it originally consisted, has survived the

* "Morbos vero ad iram deorum immortalum relatos, et ab usdem opem posci solitam"—*Celsus*

† How unfavorably does the Hindu mystery and prolixity contrast with the simple, clear, and forcible exposition of the same subject contained in Horne's work.

"The diseases to which the human frame is subject would naturally lead one to try to alleviate or remove them hence sprang the ART OF MEDICINE. In the early ages of the world, indeed, there could not be much occasion for an art which is now so necessary to the health and happiness of mankind. The simplicity of their manners, the plainness of their diet, their temperance in meat and drink, and their active life, (being generally occupied in the field and in rural affairs,) would naturally tend to strengthen the body, and to afford a greater share of health than what we now enjoy. So long as our first parents continued in that state of righteousness in which they were created, there was a tree emphatically termed the tree of life, the fruit of which was divinely appointed for the preservation of health, but, after the fall, being expelled from Eden, and, consequently, banished for ever from that tree, they became liable to various diseases, which doubtless, they would endeavour to remove, or to mitigate in various ways. From the longevity of the Patriarchs, it is evident that diseases were not very frequent in the early ages of the world, and they seem to have enjoyed a sufficiently vigorous old age, except that the eyes became dim and the sight feeble"—*Horne, Op Cit Vol iii. p 502* .

ravages of time The medical shastras appear to have been very numerous, and of them the works of Charaka and Susruta are held in the highest repute for a brief summary of their contents, we must refer the curious to the commentary

The second chapter is devoted to the discussion of the rank of practitioners and duties of teachers. It commences with the fabulous birth of the first of the Vaidya or medical caste, from whom the hereditary physicians of the present time are descended, and declares that "Brahmans learn the medical shastras for their advantage, Khetriyas for the benefit of their health, and Vaidyas for their subsistence." Other castes may study medicine, "when they are learned, honest, and men of good descent."

The old race of professors appear to have been peripatetic practitioners, who wandered from place to place in search of knowledge, general and professional, attended by their train of pupils, lectured in the open air, and taught by means of prelections which were carefully noted by their scholars

The present generation of Vaidyas take a few house pupils whom they educate either with or without reward, the gratuitous being the most honorable course of instruction, "procuring renown in this world, and the highest benefits in a future state" in some instances, however, they are pensioners of the wealthy

The qualifications of a good teacher are such as might find a place in the most unexceptionable code of modern medical ethics —

"A good teacher is like rain falling upon the germinating seed, and should possess the following qualifications — A perfect knowledge of the Shastras, joined to extensive practical knowledge and skill He should be kind and humble to every one, he should have no defects of body, and should always be ready to expose the good rather than the bad qualities of others, he should be clean and neat in his person, and possess and exhibit to his pupils all kinds of medicines and instruments He should always be increasing his knowledge of books, and should neither be angry at the improprieties of others, nor fatigued by their importunities He should be kind and considerate to his pupils and be able to explain the most complicated statements, in the simplest and most perspicuous language Such a person as this, who instructs a pupil, when of good parentage, is like the seasonable cloud and rain upon the corn field, which quickly matures its valuable produce"*

Bad teachers are denounced, and the class of physicians generally are painted in very favourable colors, as being often more learned and less proud than the Brahmans, as well as usually poets, grammarians, rhetoricians, and moralists, and esteemed as the most virtuous and amiable of the Hindus

Although not occupying the same elevated position as the medical hierarchy of Egypt and Israel, the Hindu physician held a respectable and useful office, and was generally esteemed in proportion to his individual deserts. The Hindus appear in fact to have been fully aware, that "an enlightened physician and a skilful surgeon, are in the daily habit of administering to their fellow-men more real and unquestionable good, than is communicated, or communicable by any other class of human beings"

With some few exceptions, however, the modern race of Vaidyas do not appear to be so learned, or so much looked up to as their predecessors were, and we doubt much whether the Hindus of our own time are of opinion, that

"A wise physician skill d our wounds to heal,
Is more than armies to the public weal."

The estimation in which the professors of medicine were held by the ancient Greeks is well known to every classical student, from the divine honors paid to *Æsculapius* and the history of his sons *Podalirius* and *Machaon*, down to the celebrated saying of *Cicero*, "*Neque enim ullâ aliâ re homines proprius ad deos accedunt, quam salutem hominibus dando*"

The duties and character of pupils are laid down with a considerable degree of minuteness, and not a little attention to the superstitious observances which disfigure the Hindu systems of education. He is to commence his studies on a lucky day, not to cut his beard or nails during the prosecution of his professional acquirements, not to read the medical shastras "on unlucky days, or when the sun is obscured by clouds, on the first two days of a new moon, when it thunders, at unseasonable times, at the morning dawn or the evening twilight. He must not study on holidays, on the day on which he meets a corpse, on which the governor of the province is sick, when fighting occurs, or when war approaches." "When at his lesson care must be taken not to allow any one to pass between the pupil and teacher, as it will interrupt the supposed passage of good qualities from the latter to the former" "If the student seek for long life, he should eat with his face to the east, if for exalted fame, to the south, if for prosperity, to the west, if for truth and its reward, to the north."—(*Manu*, p 28, cap 2, 52)

As a set-off against these absurdities, he is strictly enjoined the practice of industry, perseverance, sobriety, chastity, humility, and most of the other qualities that tend to produce a good scholar and a learned man

The chapter upon the duties of the physician, of his attendants, and of the patient, exhibits a ludicrous admixture of truth and error, light and darkness, sobriety and extravagance, sound practical wisdom and empty puerilities. The person, character, acquirements, and observances of the practitioner are minutely detailed, and occasionally with a remarkable degree of truth and acuteness, as in the following description of an ignorant physician —

“ Without such a knowledge of books he will be confused like a soldier afraid in the time of action, will be a great sinner, and should be capitally punished by the Rajah. On the other hand, a want of practical knowledge will impede his advancement, and his senses will be bewildered when called on to treat acute diseases. Such a physician will not be esteemed by the great, as he cannot practice with success when only instructed in half his duty. Such a person is the murderer of his species, and the medicines prescribed by him may be compared to poison or lightning—such ignorance prevents all the good effects of remedies. As the two wheels of a chariot or the two wings of a bird, assist in their progress, so will the knowledge of the shastras and of practice lead the physician to proceed with safety and success in the treatment of the diseased, but should the physician want either of these essential qualifications, his progress will be impeded, as one wing or one wheel will impede the progress of the bird or the chariot.

Such persons flatter the patient's friends, are diligent, take reduced fees, are hesitating and doubtful in performing difficult operations, and pretend that their bad success is caused by the bad attendants, &c

Still some patients will be saved under the care of such a physician, as a worm in destroying the sacred shastras will sometimes leave in its depredations, the wise representations of some of the sacred letters. A bad physician may cure one patient by which he endeavours to establish his fame, without considering the thousands he has killed, such a person is like a boat in a storm without a pilot, or a blind man in the performance of any work, and is to be looked upon as the angel of death.”

A quaint old writer has somewhere denominated medicine a “ meditation upon death,” and a more recent authority has defined it to be “ the art of amusing the patient, while nature cures the disease.” The Hindus knew better, and declared that in skilful hands “ medicine becomes like the water of immortality (*Amrita*)” Their characteristics of a good physician embody almost every human and divine perfection, “ such as,” says the Commentator, “ is rarely to be found even in heaven.” Among other professional distinctions he should “ carry an umbrella and stick in his hand,” rather a remote and respectable origin for the gold-headed cane, so well known in Europe during the last century. The indications which are supposed to qualify for success and eminence, are, “ an agreeable voice, a small tongue, eyes and nose straight, with thin lips, short teeth which do not expose the gums, and thick hair which retains its vigour.” This may

be contrasted with the more modern qualities considered necessary for a complete surgeon, "the eye of an eagle, the heart of a lion, and the hand of a lady"

Among the observances enjoined are many of the most childish and absurd nature, with an enumeration of good and bad omens of which not a few are embodied in the popular superstitions of the middle ages, and still continue current among the ignorant and credulous of our own times. The subject of fees is not forgotten, and as usual the Brahmans derive the chief benefit of the physician's gratuitous labours. There is much more concerning these matters contained in the Commentary which will repay the trouble of perusal, and quite enough to prove that the medical ethics of the Hindus, in spite of their numerous conceits and crudities, were by no means of a low and contemptible order, and occasionally exhibit evidences of sound reasoning and practical good sense quite as applicable to the practice of the profession at the present day, as they were at the time of their production

The second book plunges 'in medias res,' and introduces us to the Anatomy and Physiology of the Hindus. They regarded the body as a species of Microcosm with divisions corresponding to those of the globe, possessing its mountains, its frigid, temperate, and torrid regions, with its oceans and fluids under astral influence, all composed of the five elements which form the body corporate of our planet, viz earth, water, air, fire, and ether. Each of these communicates its special influence to the structure in which it preponderates, and after digestion, by an inherent property, joins its fellow in the frame. Skin, vessels, bone, hair, and flesh are conjectured to be chiefly compounded of earth, the excretions, some of the secreted matters, blood, and phlegm, of water, hunger, thirst, and insensibility are attributed to fire, movement, conscience, termination of a work, and retaining happiness fall to the lot of air, while desire, revenge, stupidity, fear, and shame emanate from ether, all connected with an active or warm, and a passive or cold principle, which are increased and strengthened by the rays of the sun and moon. To all living bodies thus compounded, the element producing life or action is superadded

This sol-lunar and elemental theory, the offspring of fancy and imagination, is not a whit inferior in absurdity to the doctrines taught and maintained by the most profound and eminent of the philosophers of ancient Greece, nor was any substantial advance made in the matter, until chemistry had

descended from its golden dreams* to the level of common sense, and by increasing the number of true elements, diminished the amount of error pervading all the older theories concerning the composition of both inorganic and organic bodies—the latter department of the interesting and wonderful science which has nearly revolutionized the face of nature and exercised the most extraordinary influence upon the arts, sciences, and civilization of the universe, being still comparatively in its infancy.

The subjects of generation and the growth of the body which are not only unsuited for discussion in our pages, but are of the same fanciful and incomprehensible character as the wildest flights of imagination of the alchemists or the most unmeaning mysteries of their peculiar jargon, are next detailed, and those who are curious in the matter, will find abundant means for its gratification in the pages of the commentary, and in the learned work of Professor Webb, entitled "*Pathologia Indica*," to which we hope hereafter to have a more fitting opportunity of referring, in connection with the origin and progress of the Medical College of Bengal, of which Institution that gentleman is by no means the least distinguished ornament.

The physiology of the Hindus is of an extremely imperfect character, as might have been expected, and consists chiefly of crude speculation and absurd hypotheses, of which the following account of the important process of digestion is an adequate and striking example

"Six varieties of the digested part of food or chyle are known. When the food is astringent, sour, moist, &c the chyle will become of the same nature. When digestion is accomplished, the respective elements unite with those which had entered into the formation of the body, the earth unites with the earth, the water with water, &c, and they, acting on the inherent qualities of each of the five elements, mix and increase those in the body, smell is the property of earth, with that of the body, taste with water, touch with air, and noise with ether (*akasa*). The juice thus separated from its impurities is called chyle (*rasa*) which nourishes, strengthens, and gives color to the body.

Some imagine twenty-four hours, others six days, and a third set a month to be necessary for the complete performance of the function of assimilation!

The strength or vital principle (*oja* or *tej*) is supposed to be situated in the centre of the chest, and to be the result of "a mixture of the pure fluid, in the same manner as a bee sucks the juice from different flowers, and produces honey."

* Chemistry was defined by Suidas, who lived in the tenth century and published a *Lexicon*, to be "*the art of making gold and silver*"

The stomach again is compared to "a cooking pot containing water and food, which is boiled by the heat of the bile beneath it"

Under the head of structural anatomy, it appears that the body consists of humours, and essential parts with their appendages. The humours are air (vāyu), bile (pitta), and phlegm (kōfa), the three pillars or supports of the system. "As the moon sheds moisture, and abstracts the sun's rays, which dry up and bestow energy upon the earth, and the air moves from place to place, so phlegm bestows moisture, bile withdraws it by its heat, and air wafts it about in the microcosm or animal body," say the Hindu physicians, to which the learned Commentator appends the following note —

"This ingenious theory which has been so frequently renewed, and was for so many ages universally believed, seems to have been derived from the Hindus from whom it was adopted by the Egyptian and Grecian priesthood. It is defective, however, in excluding the blood which notwithstanding has been stated as one of the fundamental parts of the body

We are not altogether prepared to coincide in this view, and incline rather to the opinion expressed by Sir Wm Jones in regard to the identity between the divisions of the zodiac in the Astronomy of India and of Greece, viz that both received it from an older nation, 'from whom the Greeks and the Hindus, as their similarity in language and religion fully evinces, had a common descent'

The humours are described in detail, and with an occasional gleam of sense in the general gloom pervading the theories regarding them. Among other points of interest, it is said, that "the pure part of digested food is of a milky color, and is conveyed to the heart by means of the domonic vessels, where it is mixed with the blood. Charaka calls these vessels the chyle carrying vessels (rasyani)." Are we to believe from this that the Hindu Physiologists were acquainted with the existence of the lacteals, as well as of the thoracic duct? The existence of the latter may possibly have been known to them, but we doubt much whether any satisfactory evidence concerning their knowledge of the former can be adduced. Has Charaka given any account of the vessels such as would at once enable us to determine the point? Upon this, and many similar topics, Dr Wise's commentary does not furnish us with the exact kind of information that would have been most satisfactory and desirable—viz detailed translations of the passages relating to them contained in the works from which the abstracts of their opinions have been derived. Should the commentary ever come to a second edition, and we regard it as far too valuable a contribution to the history of medicine

to disappear from the list of permanent authorities upon the subject, we trust that the author will supply this important desideratum, either in the form of notes, or incorporated in the text in such manner as to be easily distinguished from it

The essential parts or the supporters of the body consist of "the hard and soft parts, and fluids," seven in number, comprising "chyle, blood, flesh, fat, bone, marrow, and semen"—all of which attracted the attention of Hindu physiologists, and were described by them with a considerable degree of ingenuity. Some of their qualities were as correctly ascertained as could have, under any circumstances, been accomplished without the aid of modern science and means of investigation, while, as usual, the fanciful and speculative predominated over the sober and rational in the theories concerning their production and uses.

The Sanskrit authors enumerated 300 as the number of bones belonging to the body, which Dr. Wise seems to regard as the true number according to modern anatomists—and among them we are surprised to find him place the cartilages of the larynx and trachea, of the external ear, and of the ribs, &c. Surely there must be some error in this, for we are not aware of the existence of any modern anatomical authority by whom bones and cartilages are regarded as identical structures, and classed accordingly. That the one may pass into the other, and that bones are originally of a cartilaginous structure in which osseous matter is subsequently deposited is well known, but unless the trachea and costal cartilages become ossified from age or disease, they can scarcely be considered as belonging to the osseous system properly so called.

The excretions are regarded as the impurities of the seven essential parts, and their nature was by no means correctly known or understood. Among them, for example, is placed the milk, which is certainly not an effete matter, nor is the blood, which according to Manu, was ranked among the twelve impurities of the frame.

Joints were divided into the movable and immovable, and among them were classed the teeth, sockets of the teeth, and the "connection of vessels with the heart and organ of thirst, eighteen in number," showing that with some truth, much error and invention were mixed. They counted eight varieties comprising in all 210 joints.

The ligaments, with which the nerves are confounded, consisted of four varieties, and were no less than 900 in number, concerning which, beyond a bare enumeration, the commentary supplies us with no information.

The muscles are supposed to serve the purpose of covering, strengthening, and retaining in their places vessels, tendons, bones, and joints, and amount up to five hundred in the male, and five hundred and twenty in the female. Concerning the action of muscles nothing is said, and we suppose, therefore, that nothing was known.

The Hindu notions concerning the vascular system were of the most fantastic nature, and evidently more the result of fancy than of actual observation. They considered the umbilicus as the origin of all the vessels, and the principal seat of life (pran) the vessels themselves were regarded as conduits of blood, bile, air, and phlegm, and consisted of forty principal trunks, ten for each, subdivided into 175 branches, making in all 700 branches. With the exception of a few correct ideas concerning the blood, their knowledge was of the most superficial and incorrect nature. The arteries were regarded as air vessels, doubtless from being found empty after death, although we do not find the fact mentioned.

The sections concerning the canals, cellular tissue, fasciæ, receptacles, and orifices of the body, contain little that is striking or valuable, yet they serve to evince the care and diligence with which the study of Anatomy must have been pursued.

The skin was divided into seven layers which were likened to the pellicle formed on the surface of milk when boiled, and were evidently produced by the manner of dissecting macerated bodies with brushes made of reeds or bamboo bark.

The subject of dissection is one of so much interest in the history of medicine, and of such vital importance in its proper pursuit and practice, that we are tempted to quote the whole of the short section regarding it —

“All the Rishis are said to have recommended the dissection of the human body, as proper and necessary. Manu, the great legislator, and the one most respected by the Hindu sages, says (85) “one who has touched a corpse, is made pure by bathing” and again (77) “should a Brahman touch a fresh human bone he is purified by bathing, and if it be dry by stroking a Cow, or by looking at the sun, having sprinkled his mouth duly with water.”

Charaka, one of the Munis and Physicians, says that a practitioner should know all the parts of the body, both external and internal, and their relative positions with regard to each other. Without such knowledge he can not be a proper practitioner.

Susruta, a Rishi of the highest rank, says that a Jogi (a holy man) should dissect, in order that he may know the different parts of the human body, and a surgeon and physician should not only know the external appearances, but internal structure of the body, in order to possess an intimate knowledge of the diseases to which it is liable, and to perform surgical operations so as to avoid the vital parts. It is by combining a knowledge of books with practical dissection, that the practitioner will alone attain an intimate knowledge of the subject of his profession.

The body which is to be examined by dissection should be that of a person who had neither been destroyed by poison, nor had died of a long disease, as the structure of the body will be altered by the deleterious substance taken, or destroyed by the ravages of disease. In like manner the person should not have been very old, and all the members should be in a perfect state.

When a proper body for the purpose has been selected, the dejections are to be removed, the body washed, and placed in a frame work of wood, properly secured by means of grass hemp, or the like. The body is then to be placed in still water, in a situation in which it will not be destroyed by birds, fishes, or animals. It is to remain for seven days in the water, when it will have become putrid. It is then to be removed to a convenient situation, and with a brush, made of reeds hair, or bamboo bark, the body is to be rubbed so as by degrees, to exhibit, the skin, flesh, &c, which are each in their turn to be observed before being removed. In this manner the different corporeal parts of the body already enumerated will be exhibited, but the life of the body is too ethereal to be distinguished by this process, and its properties must therefore be learned with the assistance of the explanations of holy medical practitioners, and prayers offered up to God, by which, conjoined with the exercise of the reasoning and understanding faculties, conviction will be certain. *

We have already seen that the mere touch of a corpse was prohibited among the Jews as a pollution, and that the Egyptian knowledge of anatomy was principally confined to the low and wretched outcasts employed to embalm and disembowel the bodies of the dead, who were so much the type of every thing that was low, polluted, and degraded among the Egyptians, that no corpse of a royal or beautiful female was ever handed over to the embalmers until unequivocal indications of decay and decomposition had been exhibited. Among the earlier Greeks the study of anatomy was neglected by the Asclepiades, and the laws of Athens were so strict respecting the prompt burial of all bodies, that it was considered a sacred duty, and its neglect punished with such severity that six officers of rank were condemned to death, notwithstanding their having gained a brilliant victory, for not having taken sufficient pains to recover the bodies of the slain warriors which had fallen into the sea.† During the siege of Troy hostilities were intermitted at Priam's request to permit of the burning of the dead, and after each action the first duty of the victors was to bury the bodies of such of their foes as were left dead upon the field. The fear of the fate of the victors of Arginussa, prevented Chabrias from following up his victory near Naxos, until he had provided for the sepulture of the slain.‡ The anatomical knowledge of Empedocles, Alcmeon, Democritus, and Hippocrates was exclusively

* Wise, *Op. Cit.* pp. 66-69

+ Xenophon, *Hist. Græc.* lib. 1

‡ Diodor, lib. xv. c. 25

derived from the dissection of animals, and so also would that of Aristotle appear to have been, since although in his works he often institutes comparisons between the structure of the bodies of animals and of man, the most diligent and learned enquirers are unable to adduce substantial proof of his having practised human anatomy. The two immediate successors of Ptolemy Soter were the first to permit and encourage by their own example, the dissection of the human body, as Celsus relates in his preface, and Herophilus and Erasistratus were the two first and most celebrated of the Greek anatomists, they flourished in the third century preceding the Christian Era. It is well known that the prejudices of the vulgar in Europe to the pursuit of anatomy have extended even to our own times in the middle ages so rare were the opportunities afforded of dissection, that in the 14th century Mundinus, Professor at Bologna, astonished the world by the public dissection of two human bodies, and in the 17th century, Cortesius, Professor of anatomy at the same place, and subsequently of medicine at Messina, 'had long begun a treatise on practical anatomy which he had an earnest desire to finish, but so great was the difficulty of prosecuting the study even in Italy, that in twenty-four years he could only twice procure an opportunity of dissecting a human body, and even then with difficulty and in a hurry'. The melancholy history of the eminent anatomist Vesalius is well known, but what will our readers say to the following exhibition of a barbarism worthy of the worst days of the dark ages, which occurred in Edinburgh, the 'Modern Athens', on Sunday, the 29th of June, 1823 —

"A coach containing an empty coffin and two men was observed proceeding along the south bridge. The people suspecting that it was to convey a body taken from some church yard, seized the coach. It was with difficulty that the police protected the men from the assaults of the populace, the coach they had no power to preserve. The horses were taken from it, and together with the coffin, after having been trundled a mile and a half through the streets of the city, it was deliberately projected over the steep side of the Mound, and smashed into a thousand pieces. The people following it to the bottom, kindled a fire with its fragments and surrounded it like the savages in Robinson Crusoe, till it was entirely consumed. In this case there was no foundation for their suspicions. The coffin was intended to have conveyed to his house in Edinburgh, the body of a physician who that morning had died in a cottage in the neighbourhood *.

In the winter session of 1822-3, a body was discovered on its way to the lecture-room of an anatomist in Glasgow, and in spite of the exertions of the police, aided by those of the military, this gentlemen's pre-

mises and their contents, which were valuable, were entirely destroyed by the mob. For some time after this achievement, it was necessary to station a military guard at the house of all the medical professors in that city *

Lizars, an eminent professor of anatomy in Edinburgh, who published a few years since a well-known system of anatomical plates, says in the preface to the second part —

“ In place of living in a civilized and enlightened period, we appear as if we had been thrown back some centuries into the dark ages of ignorance, bigotry, and superstition. Prejudices, worthy only of the multitude, have been conjured up and appealed to, in order to call forth popular indignation against those whose business it is to exhibit demonstratively the structure of the human body, and the functions of its different organs. The public journals, from a vicious propensity to pander to the vulgar appetite for excitement, have raked up and industriously circulated stories of the exhumation of dead bodies, tending to exasperate and influence the passions of the mob, and persons, who by their own showing, are friendly to the interests of science, have, in the excess of their zeal that bodies should remain undisturbed in their progress to decomposition, laboured to destroy in this country, that art, whose province it is to free living bodies from the consequences inseparable from accident and disease

It is true that these prejudices were directed more towards the revolting practice of exhumation and its attendant horrors, than against the mere dissection of the human body, yet it brought public odium upon anatomy and its professors, to an extent which nearly extinguished its scientific prosecution in Great Britain. Nor were the prejudice and violence confined to Scotland. We ourselves, not sixteen years since, have seen the door of a large London Hospital besieged by a mob of violent and demented Irishmen, who threatened to hang the house surgeon on the nearest lamp-post, for having made a post mortem examination of the body of a deceased bricklayer who died from the effects of a fall from a lofty scaffolding, and there is no doubt they would have executed their threats, had they succeeded in obtaining possession of his person.

Knowing all this then, we find it impossible to award too high a degree of praise to the sound and philosophical views entertained by the old race of Hindu philosophers respecting the ‘uses of the dead to the living,’ and we think it scarcely possible to withhold from them the immortal credit of being the first scientific and successful cultivators of the most important and most essential of all the departments of medical knowledge.

The description of the vital parts of the body and the consequences of their being wounded, ‘afford,’ as Dr. Wise properly remarks, ‘a convincing proof of the great practical

experience of the Hindu writers'—a knowledge and experience only to be acquired by frequent and careful dissection. 'In Susruta the dangerous parts are all named and described, [and the necessity of avoiding them in operations pointed out. The consequences of wounds near the great toe in causing tetanus, in the palm of the hand, in producing such a degree of hæmorrhage as will require amputation of the arm, of the effects of wounds of the testicle and groin, and of fractured bones of the head and breast, which are to be raised or removed &c. are all stated in this practical work.*

The vital parts of the body are by them supposed to be one hundred and seven in number

Life, according to the Hindus, consists in the 'combination of the soul, the mind, the five senses, and the three qualities of goodness, passion, and inertness† which however incorrect, is a more just and rational view of the subject than the Pythagorean doctrine or those of Heracitus, Plato, and the Stoics, with all of whom heat or fire in some form or other was supposed to be the origin and chief constituent of the vital principle

The *Soul* which plays an important part both in the cosmogony and the metaphysics of the Hindus, is represented to be 'a shadow or emanation from God the Eternal, who is without beginning or end, is invisible, immortal, and is only known by reflection —when it bedews the five elements it produces the living body, and becomes by its actions evident. It is liable to decrease, and is influenced by medicine. There is no difference between the human soul and the soul of the world, this being only the exterior and condescending manifestation of God, while the human soul is its reflection into itself, and its elevation above itself is the Divine soul"‡

The Soul is supposed to be the animating principle of the body, to communicate knowledge, judgment, and happiness, to preside over sleeping and waking, always to be pure in itself, but not to act usefully without the mind 'and the female energy (*prakṛiti*)'. It is equally the source of the knowledge and ignorance, happiness and misery, goodness and wickedness, and other spiritual qualities of the individual. It is represented by some of their medical writers to exist also in 'beasts, animals, and demigods according to its conduct in former states of existence'—and when it has bedewed the body with its twenty-four qualities, it performs all the functions of the body generally, as well as of the organs of special sense.

United with the mind, in addition to being the motive agent in the production of the mental and moral qualities, it produces

* *Wise, Op. Cit.* p. 69

† *Ibid.* p. 74

‡ *Ibid.* p. 75

inspiration and expiration, the opening and closing of the eyelids, &c.

The *mind* (*mana*) according to most of the authorities is 'a quality or power of the soul by which a person reasons and thinks'—is incomprehensible, and known only through the operation of the senses, is chiefly seated in the head between the eyebrows, but by some conjectured to be lodged in the heart, and 'resembles the light of a lamp by which the person hears, sees, tastes, and knows' 'Some Pandits says that the soul and the mind are the same essence, as there can be no soul without mind, nor mind without the soul'

The five elements are represented as forming the five organs of sense, the five objects of sense, and the five perceptive judgments, over which the mind presides, and through which its operations become manifest Too much or too little exercise injures, while a moderate amount of use maintains them in health

The Commentator concludes this section with the observation that 'from these remarks it appears that the soul, the emanation from the deity, united with the mind and senses, performs all the vital actions of the body,' and that 'the body, mind, and soul are considered, therefore, as the three great pillars which support the system'

We much regret that in addition to his own condensed abstract, Dr Wise should not have given us more copious specimens of the exact mode and style of reasoning adopted in the Hindu Medical Shastras upon this interesting and difficult subject of enquiry Their opinions, so far as we are able to judge from the scanty evidence before us, although tinged with some of the peculiarities inseparable from eastern philosophy and speculation, are upon the whole more sound and elevated than those of most of even the highest order of Grecian Metaphysicians, and far superior to the doctrines of any other coteremporaneous nations with which we are acquainted To enable our readers to form a comparative estimate, we have subjoined in a note a very brief abstract of the views of some of the most eminent physicians and philosophers of ancient Greece concerning the soul and life *

* The assertion that the soul consists of two parts, the one intellectual *φρένες* and the other non intellectual, *θυμος* and that the former is seated in the brain, and the latter in the heart, is attributed to PYTHAGORAS.—According to the same authority, the senses are, so to speak, drops of the intellectual soul, which is seated in the brain and immortal.

EMPEDOCLEAS at a later period thought that every thing in nature is animated, or full of divinities, in consequence of which human souls are not only identical with Gods, but likewise with the souls of animals, because they are all emanations from the great soul of the world.

The chapter on Temperaments is a curious specimen of the intimate and inseparable conjunction of sense and nonsense,

ANAXAGORAS not only maintained that the soul was of an igneous or ethereal nature, but according to Aristotle, was the first who regarded it as immortal. He likewise professed the opinion of all nature being animated, and of the human soul, as well as the soul of animals and of plants being nothing more than emanations from the general soul of the world. He also considered that the hands were the most characteristic distinction between man and animals, and contained the principle of the superior intelligence of the former.

DEMOCRITUS regarded the soul as the motive power, and supposed it to be of a spherical form, of an igneous and ethereal nature, and indivisible, thought, motion and sensation, he, therefore, conjectured to be the result of the activity of one and the same substance—His principle was essentially a distinct form of materialism, which he was the first to promulgate.

HERACLITUS, whose system exercised a marked influence over subsequent medical theories in Greece, regarded all bodies as owing their origin to the condensation and rarefaction of fire, by the condensation of fire, according to him, air was produced, by the condensation of air, water, and by the condensation of water, earth. According to these notions the most subtle principles always entered first into the formation of bodies, the soul, therefore, as the first cause of all motion, was attributed to the evaporation of fire. The human soul, being still regarded as an emanation from the soul of the world, was intellectual in proportion to its participation in its igneous nature.

Without attempting to enter into an analysis of the Platonic system of Psychology, it may be mentioned that PLATO taught the doctrine of the creation of sublunary beings after the model of Divine Natures, and also the creation of a class of spirits or sub divinities, to whom was assigned the task of creating all natural objects. These spirits revolving round the world like the sun, the moon, and the stars, were occupied, among other duties, in creating animals, with the bodies or souls of which they incorporated themselves and which in consequence partook more or less of their own nature, it was thus that every human soul had a divine, intelligent constituent part, and a corporeal constituent part, destitute of intelligence. From its participation in the celestial nature, the soul prior to its creation was placed in the upper regions of light and truth, in the happy abode of spirits, where it participated in the divine nature of the creator, it was afterwards joined to the body of an animal, which served as a prison until its deliverance by death occurred.

The divine spirit first constituted our bodies in accordance with the wise intentions of the supreme intelligence, with extremely minute and slender figures, resembling the triangular form of flame to which, after the addition of the special matter mixing the body and soul together God adds the soul, placing it chiefly in the brain, of which the form is spherical &c. Life consists of fire and spirit, the former of which is maintained by the heat of the blood. The soul from its divine nature is the most noble part of man, and the head, from being the seat of the intelligent soul, is the most noble part of the body. The soul destitute of intelligence which is the cause of anger love hope &c., was placed in the chest, and in order that the intelligent soul might not be disturbed or incommoded by the passions, the neck, which is long and bony, was interposed between them.

By the expression *soul ψυχη*, the followers of HIPPOCRATES, like HERACLITUS, concur in the idea of a subtle matter ethereal or igneous, produced by the admixture of the elements, but chiefly by the union of fire and water. The humid part of the fire and the dry part of the water by their union constitute the intelligence of the soul. It is upon the igneous element that the soul the mind extension, growth, motion, decrease, change, sleeping, and waking depend. This is the reason of the intelligent principle being located in the left ventricle of the heart, whence it rules over the rest of the soul.

The STOICS also lodged the soul in the heart, and assigned the most absurd and contradictory reasons for its being so placed. They imagined it to be nothing more than a vapour or exhalation from all bodies, that the igneous nature of the soul was refreshed and restored by respiration, and by contact with atmospheric air, and that the human soul was a vapour exhaled from the blood.

ARISTOTLE believed the soul to be the form of matter, and the principle of primary movement in natural bodies, to be susceptible of vivification and animation, and to contain the principle of the vital functions. Although he maintained the immaterial nature of the soul, he was unable entirely to divest himself of the

reason and absurdity which pervade the opinions of the Hindus upon most speculative subjects. The predominance of one or more of the humours with the mental and moral qualities of the individual, stamped the type of the temperament, and in the more delicate shades of character and constitution frequently observed, the dispositions of Gods, sages, demons, birds, beasts, fishes and even trees,* were called in to assist in the coloring and completion of the picture. There were seven temperaments acknowledged, "one produced by an excess of air, another of bile, and a third of phlegm, a fourth, fifth and sixth from an excess of two of these humours, and a seventh temperament is produced by an excess of three humours, air, bile, and phlegm"

"1 When air is in excess, the person is not inclined to sleep, or to be come warm. His disposition is bad and he becomes a thief, is proud and has no honour, is always singing and dancing his hands and feet split, his hair and nails are dry, and he is always angry and boisterous. He speaks untruths, he is always grinding his teeth and biting his nails, he is always impatient, is not a firm friend, is changeable and forgets good actions. His body is slender and dry, he always walks fast, is always in motion, and his eyes are always rolling. He dreams that he is flying about the air, friends are few, and his riches of little value. Such persons as have an excess of air have the disposition of the goat, jackall, hare, camel, dog, vulture, crow, and ass.

We suspect that few of our readers were previously aware of the important and multifarious character assumed by an 'excess of air' in their constitutions, should it exist, or that it could produce so zoological a disposition as to range between the frisking propensities of 'odorate capricorn' and the patient endurance of that horrid emblem of wisdom, the ass.

2nd A person with an excess of bile perpires much, and he has a bad smell. His skin is of a yellowish color, his flesh is soft his nails, eyes,

notion, that like all bodies, it could only act through the agency of an intervening medium, this medium he mentions under the various denominations, used indiscriminately, of *fire, spirit, air or ether*. He regarded the brain as primarily cold in its nature, in consequence of which the heart, at that time supposed to be the source of the blood, was considered the seat of the soul.

PRAXAGORAS, who was the first to establish the difference between the arteries and veins, and who imagined the former from their constant emptiness after death to be air vessels, assumed that the air contained in them was thick and vaporous, because he also partook of the general opinion of the time, that the vital power or soul was an evaporation or exhalation from the blood.

The celebrated peripatetic STRATO of Lampascus, who lived at Alexandria and was attached to the court of the Ptolemies, regarded the soul as the resultant of the operation of the senses, or the union of all sensation, the seat of which he supposed to be between the eyebrows.—KURT SPRENGEL *Op. Cit. passim*.

* "Men having the disposition of trees always wish to remain in one place, are always eating, will not work"—not a very incorrect portraiture of many Bengalis, whose lazy and anti-locomotive propensities are essentially of the arboraceous type.

palate, tongue, lips, and the palm of his hands and soles of his feet are of a copper colour, his fortune is bad and his hair soon becomes gray the upper part of his head bald and his skin wrinkled as if by age. He eats much, and dislikes warm articles of food, is soon angry and is as soon pacified, is of moderate strength and does not live long. His memory is good, he is a good man of business and speaks accurately and to the purpose. His appearance is fine, and in company he excels in speaking. He dreams of gold and yellow flowers fire lightning and falling meteors, dislikes saluting a person and is angry at others not doing so is never content &c. His disposition resembles serpents owls, cats, monkeys, tigers, and bears.

The bilious temperament is, therefore, responsible for more than most modern physiologists have attributed to it, and includes in its circle many and anomalous characters from the alchemist to the orator —

‘3rd Phlegm in excess produces a light greenish or blue colour of the body. The person’s fortune is propitious, he is pleasant to look on and handsome likes sweet things, is grateful, constant just and forgiving and is not covetous, is strong and understands with difficulty, and is an implacable enemy. His eyes are white his hair is fine, black, and waving. He is wealthy and his voice is strong and loud. He dreams of lilies geese, and large fine tanks. The angles of his eyes are red his color pleasing, and his members are well formed. His regard is mild his disposition is very good, and he is charitable. He is active honors respectable persons and is kind to them and knows the sciences. He retains his friend and health remains constant he is careful but gives much. He is of the nature of Brahma, Indra Shiva and Varuna of lions horses, elephants, cows, and bulls, and of the bud upon which Vishnu rides,

which the learned Commentator states to be ‘something between a man and a goose’, by no means an apt image of such a novel species of Calibin, as a phlegmatic Hindu, painted by one of his own sages. Our remark need not, however, be taken in the disparaging sense attached by Europeans to the Goose, since, according to Wilkins, this much injured bird is adopted as the emblem of elegance and eloquence by the Hindu poets—and who is not acquainted with the historical celebrity of the Roman geese?

The Hindus divide the life of man into three ages, viz 1st *childhood*, subdivided into three periods, (a) the period of suckling to the 1st year, (b) when milk and rice are the food, extending to the second year, and (c) when the food is rice, extending from the 3rd to the 15th year, when phlegm is in excess 2nd *manhood*, extending from the 16th to the 70th year, and embracing four stages, (a) *Vriddhi* or growth from 16 to 20, (b) *Jauvana* from 20 to 30, (c) *Sumpurnatá* from 30 to 40, when all is in perfection and complete development, and (d) *Hám* from 40 to 70, when all the powers of life are gradually diminishing, and bile is in excess 3rd *Decrepitude*, from 70 until death closes the scene, the ‘age that melts in unperceived decay,’ and in

which the body "resembles an old house in the rainy season with many props," when air is in excess and nervous diseases prevail —when,

"Time hovers o'er, impatient to destroy,
And closes all the avenues of joy
In vain their gifts the bounteous seasons pour,
The fruit autumnal and the vernal shower,
With listless eyes the dotard views the store,
He views and wonders that they please no more
Now pall the tasteless meats and joyless wines,
And luxury with sighs her slave resigns

until man reaches the last stage of his strange eventful history —and then,

"In life's last scene what prodigies surprise"
Tears of the brave and follies of the wise

The male is supposed to attain maturity at 25, and the female at 16—a just and important observation which the modern Hindus have neglected and lost sight of, to the deterioration of their race by early marriages and still earlier vices. The age of the individual had its influence upon the general nature of the treatment to which he was subjected, being so far in accordance with the views entertained by the Greek physicians, and followed to a still greater extent in the modern practice of physic.

The eight subdivisions of life observed by the Hindu sages, forcibly remind us of the 'seven ages' of Shakspeare, which although so well known and often quoted as to have become familiar as a thrice told tale, we are tempted to repeat

"At first, the infant,
Mewling and puking in the nurse's arms,
And then, the whining school boy, with his satchell,
And shining morning face, creeping like snail
Unwillingly to school. And then the lover,
Sighing like furnace, with a woeful ballad
Made to his mistress eye-brow. Then a soldier,
Full of strange oaths and bearded like the pard,
Jealous in honor, sudden and quick in quarrel,
Seeking the bubble reputation
Even in the cannon's mouth. And then, the justice
In fair round belly, with good capon lined,
With eyes severe and beard of formal cut,
Full of wise saws and modern instances
And so he plays his part. The sixth age shifts
Into the lean and slipper'd pantaloon,
With spectacles on nose and pouch on side,
His youthful hose well sav'd, a world too wide
For his shrunk shank and his big manly voice,
Turning again toward childish treble, pipes
And whistles in his sound. Last scene of all
That ends this strange eventful history,
Is second childishness, and mere oblivion,
Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans every thing."

Human nature is the same every where, and were proof wanting of the accuracy of observation and faithfulness of

record of the Hindus, in matters wherein they are neither trammelled by superstition nor fettered by prejudice, it may be found in their correct division of the stages of life, the modern physiology of the same matter differing but little in essentials from those above detailed, by observers so far removed from and dissimilar to each other in every sense

The chapter on Death contains many sound and just remarks, and is characterized generally by a degree of poetic truth and accuracy worthy of a higher and a purer faith than that of the followers of Manu. Death is defined to be 'the separation of the soul from the body,' and is supposed to occur in one hundred and one ways, of which one only is natural, the remainder being accidental. What can be more correct and philosophical than the following reflections concerning it —

"Death is always near, and when it occurs nothing but the sins and virtuous actions accompany the soul

A mansion infested by age and sorrow, the seat of maladies, harassed with pains, haunted by the qualities of darkness, and incapable of standing long such a mansion of the vital soul let its occupier always cheerfully quit *

When a person leaves his corpse, like a log or a lump of clay, on the ground his kindred retire with averted faces, but his virtue accompanies his soul, continually, therefore, let him collect virtue, for the sake of securing an inseparable companion with which he may traverse a gloom, how hard to be traversed! For, in his passage to the next world neither his father, nor his mother, nor his wife, nor his son, nor his kinsmen, will remain in his company his virtue alone will adhere to him. Single is each man born, single he dies, single he receives the reward of his good, and single the punishment of his evil deeds †

All are said to die alike, and the holy to be the least afraid of dissolution as being the best prepared for the change. The body after death is likened to a house without a tenant, and is burnt, that its elements may be purified to join the mass of the same elements of which the earth is composed —

"What then dies? not the body, for it only changes its form, and certainly not the soul, why then regret the death of relations and friends if they have passed through life with propriety! Such grief is indeed natural, for it is universal, but it is the offspring of our ignorance and of our selfishness

As the body is continually changing in its progress through life, so death is merely one of these changes. The body is frail, but the soul is incorruptible. The body is alone destroyed not the soul, as it only changes its position, like a person who casts off his worn out garments. Cutting instruments may wound him, and air may dry him up, but the soul remains always the same. Those who are born must die, and whoever dies must be born again, and as the elements were invisible and separated

before the formation of the body, in like manner they are again separated and dispersed upon its dissolution *

* It is pleasing to compare and contrast some of these sentiments, with similar thoughts expressed in analogous terms by many of the poets and philosophers of ancient Greece and Rome. A very few familiar examples will exhibit the direct parallelism between writers and observers who could have had no intercommunication or knowledge of each other's works —

HINDU

"The wise and foolish, the great in rank, the low in condition, all die in the same way

"Death is always near"

"Those who are born must die

"As the body is continually changing in its progress through life, so death is but one of these changes

"There are a hundred and one ways in which a man may die

"Death is the separation of the soul from the body"

Innumerable other passages to the same effect might readily be collected had we the library or the leisure requisite for the task

The sublime references to Death contained in the sacred writings we have purposely refrained from referring to, for reasons which will suggest themselves to most of our readers. In majesty, beauty, and truth they are unapproachable

Whether the doctrines of *Metempsychosis* or the transmigration of the soul, taught and illustrated by Plato and Pythagoras was borrowed from the Egyptian Priesthood and originated with the latter can scarcely now be determined, yet it is curious that it is contained in the oldest of the Hindu medical records

At the moment of death the material elements of the body separate and the vital soul, which has an invisible body resembles the forms of the body it had inhabited, and retains the organs of sense and of action. On separating from one it joins itself to another, and according to the actions the person had performed in his former state of existence, so will be its future condition *

' Pallida mors æquo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas

Regumque turres

' Prima quæ vitam dedit hora carpsit
Nascentes morimur finisque ab origine pendet.

" Nam nox nulla diem neque noctem aurora secuta est

Quæ non audierit mistos vagitibus ægris
Ploratus mortis comites et funeris atrî "

" Crudeles ubique
Luctus, ubique pavor et plurimæ mortis imago

" Mors et fugacem persequitur virum,
Nec paucit imbellis juvenatæ
Pophubus timidoque teigo

Ille licet ferro cantis se condant et ære,
Mors tamen inclusum protrahit inde caput.

Omnia sub leges mors vocat atra suas

" Sed rigidum jus est, et inevitabile mortis "

Jam mihi deterior canis aspergitur setas,

Jamque meos vultus ruga senilis arat,
Jam vigor et quasso languent in corpore vires,

Nec juveni lusus qui placere juvant,
Nec me si subito videas agnoscere possis,
Etatis facta est tanta ruinæ meæ
Confiteor facere hos annos

" Mille modis morimur mortales, nascimur uno,

Una vita est, moriendi mille figure

" Tum vita per auras,
Concessit mæsta, ad manes corpusque reliquit.

Some of these expressions may almost be compared in beauty, simplicity, and truthfulness, to the affecting images by which the Jews were wont to characterize death, as a journey or departure, a sleep and rest when the toils of life are over, or a gathering of the deceased to his fathers, or to his people!

The third book is occupied with the therapeutical department, which is discussed under the appropriate heads of Hygeology, Materia Medica, Pharmacy, and Surgery, the practice of Physic having a book to itself, probably from its great extent and the difficulty of bringing it under the head of Therapeutics alone

Diseases are declared to one their origin 1stly, to sins committed in a former state of existence, to which—as among the Egyptians—the Hindu physicians knowingly assigned their incurable cases, as it placed them beyond the opprobrium of medicine, and absolved practitioners from the reflections that might have been attached to the imperfections of their art or to their own want of skill 2ndly, to derangements of the humours, the only diseases that yielded to remedial measures, and 3dly, to a combination of the two, which also came under the incurable category, and gave an additional means of escape to the unwary practitioner who might have, in his diagnosis, pronounced a *humoral* judgment upon an affection which would not get well in spite of his efforts, and in which, when medicine had done its best (or worst) he called in the aid of prayer, penance, and sacrifice to place it beyond the reach of his drugs and simples. The ingenuity and craft of such a system appear in some measure to have been adopted by certain manipulators of our own times, with the modern refinement of attributing failure, to a want of '*rapport*' between the magnetizer and his subject, or to the adverse influence of perverse currents of air, slight febrile disturbances, unusual noises, and similarly profound agents in the disturbance of the rebellious or intractable system

The Hygeology, or Hygeine as it is more commonly called, of the Hindus was of a very detailed description, and descended to minutiae and trifles unthought of in the systems of other nations, but not always of minor and secondary importance in a tropical country, where the causes of disease are so numerous and active in their operation, as to demand the aid of religion to assist in saving mankind from the ravages that would be caused by neglect or inattention to them Without a regular system of medical police the Hindus paid

great and deserved attention to the prevention of diseases, were acute observers of the changes of season and climate, and well aware of the influence of soil and vegetation in the maintenance or deterioration of health. Their meteorology was necessarily of the most rude and imperfect nature, yet much in advance of anything that has reached us from cotemporaneous nations.

The following remarks from the pen of the Commentator will be read with interest concerning the seasons and people of Bengal —

“There are three prevailing seasons in Bengal, the hot, cold, and rainy seasons. From the end of February, and during March and a part of April may be considered as spring months, and are the most agreeable of any of the year. Towards the end of March and during the months of April, May, and a part of June the weather is very hot, and in the northern and more inland provinces a violent hot wind blows from the west, loaded with almost imperceptible particles of sand. In this season the weather is so oppressive as to confine the inhabitants to their houses during the great heat of the day. Vegetation is destroyed and these provinces are reduced to a burning tract of sand, while the air of the neighbouring mountains remains cool and pleasant, during these hot months.

In the Upper Provinces the rains begin in April and May, but in the plains they do not commence till the beginning of June and continue to fall till the end of July. The rain disperses the accumulated heat, which would otherwise be insupportable. During the months of August and Sept the rain falls less frequently and copiously and the long day and high altitude of the sun with an atmosphere loaded with moisture, render the weather excessively oppressive and sultry, particularly when the air is calm which is of frequent occurrence, as the Monsoon changes at this time. The cold season commences in the month of October, when dews are heavy the cold increases, and during the months of November, December, and January it is often intense in Bengal and Behar. In these provinces the cold has generally a damp disagreeable feel, whereas, in the northern and western provinces snow and ice are common on the Mountains, and the air is dry and bracing.

From such an extensive country, and variety of soil and climate, the vegetable and animal productions are of the most varied description in the different latitudes, heights, and exposures, and man himself affords great varieties in his physical and mental powers in the different situations and climates in which he resides. In the Northern Provinces of Hindustan, the men are all strong and active, and are distinguished by their courage and mental qualities as we advance to the more sultry and moist climate of Bengal, the inhabitants become of lower stature, possess greater agility and are capable of enduring great fatigue, have little courage or mental aptitude, but great cunning and retentiveness. They are generally of a fair olive colour, handsome in their youth, and in after life in proportion to their rank, and healthy and guarded occupation, but become of a dark olive colour and plain exterior, in proportion as they inhabit low and damp houses, live on unhealthy food, and are much exposed to labour, and to the inclemency of the weather. In general the head and face of the Hindu are small and oval, the nose and lips prominent and well formed, the eyes black, and the

eyebrows regular and full * The females are distinguished for the gracefulness of their forms, the softness of their skins, their long and black hair, dark eyes, and delicate persons These peculiarities are marked in youth, but rapidly fade The fairness of the skin also differs—depending on that of the parents, and on the occupation and exposure of the individual to the sun, &c †

The personal duties, including all operations connected with the toilet and dress, as well as the subject of dietetics generally appear to have been carefully inculcated and enjoined, in many respects in a clear and sensible manner, admirably adapted to the moral and social circumstances of the people Habits of cleanliness and the frequent use of baths and anointing were among the religious duties of all respectable individuals, and correctly deemed essential for the preservation of health

In the olden times neither wine nor animal food of proper quality and in moderate quantity were interdicted, which are regarded, and we think justly, as ‘one reason of the superiority of the ancient Brahmans over their more degenerate descendants, who are small in stature, and incapable of those mental and corporeal exertions which raise a people in the rank of nations.’ As among the Jews and Egyptians the flesh of certain animals of unclean habits, or which were known to have an injurious effect upon the frame were interdicted, but during the three first ages, even the flesh of the cow and of the buffaloe were ranked among the wholesome and invigorating articles of diet, and were freely partaken of, with many varieties of the finny and feathery tribes, and a goodly allowance of condiments, fruits, and vegetables All nature has been bountiful to the inhabitants of Hindustan—man himself in these favored regions has been his own chief and greatest enemy The whole of this part of the commentary is replete with interest to every reader, and to the European medical practitioner will suggest many valuable hints for the prevention and cure of disease, and attention to the habits suited to the climate and seasons, which our countrymen are, to their cost, too much in the habit of treating with neglect and derision.—How many of the fevers, liver complaints, and other scourges of a tropical region may be traced to the persistence in habits

* “The intelligence of the Bengalis is much more marked in the higher classes than among the lower In the former, the brisk and intelligent boy, that receives instruction readily, is fickle and restless, and from the short period he attends school, from the enervating nature of the climate, and the vitiating influence of Hindu society, is too often transformed into the stupid and sensual man.”

† Wise, Op Cit. pp 91-92

and indulgences scarcely practised with impunity even in a cold climate, and which are heavily laden with disease and destruction on this side of the equator. Were it not foreign to our present purpose, we could write a longer lecture on this topic than most of our readers would be willing to read or profit by should opportunity offer and the very limited leisure at our disposal admit of it, we may take a future occasion of directing attention to the modification of European habits most required in India, and best adapted to enable the exile to return to his hearth and home, with health and strength to enjoy their peculiar blessings and benefits.

The MATERIA MEDICA of the Hindus is an extended and complex branch of their Medicine, embracing the collection, preparation, uses, doses, combinations, and effects of an immense variety of agents chiefly derived from the vegetable kingdom, including also a small number of inorganic and animal substances. Their pharmacy appears to have comprised most of the forms in which medicines are compounded according to modern pharmacopeias, but their processes were uncertain, variable, and in many important particulars incorrect. The proper time for gathering vegetable medicines was strictly attended to, and most pharmaceutical processes were preluded with particular forms of prayers, to drive away devils or secure divine aid to increase the efficacy of their remedies—Polypharmacy was their great and besetting sin, and although simples were known and studied by them, they do not appear to have placed so much faith in them, as in their heterogeneous and in the majority of instances inert and nauseating mixtures and potions. They used preparations of mercury, gold, silver, zinc, antimony, iron and arsenic, with a degree of boldness that would have delighted the soul of Philippus Theophrastus Bombastus Paracelsus, and have fairly distanced the ‘*currus triumphalis antimonii*’ of Basil Valentine. As their measure of time commenced with fifteen winks of the eye, so their apothecaries’ weight began with ‘four of the particles of dust which are seen floating in the sun’s rays as it enters a dark room’!

They were Allopathists, and therefore anti-homœopathic in their practice, since they declare that ‘medicines given in too small doses will be like throwing a little water upon a large fire that rather increases than diminishes it!’ The doses of medicines were carefully and properly regulated by the age, sex, and temperament of the patient, as well as the stage of the disease, and their administration of remedies was guided by precise and minute rules often bordering on the childish and

ridiculous for example, one kind was to be taken *with* each morsel of food, another sort *after* each morsel of food, and in all cases the patient was prohibited from making faces when he takes a medicine, as this is like Brahma and Shiva, and it is sinful so to act'

The Charaka directs the exhibition of simple medicines in the form of decoction, and arranges them under forty-five distinct heads, beginning with *Jwaniya* or that form which gives longevity, and concluding with *Badanāsthāpana*, those which remove pains produced by external causes, as injuries, &c.

Susruta divides them into two classes, the evacuant, of bad humours from the body, and those which diminish the exalted action of the humours and restore them to the healthy state

Other authors arrange them according to their supposed virtues in curing air, bile, or phlegm, or according to their action on certain organs Dr Wise has given a list of the chief simples so arranged, with their Sanskrit and Latin names The actions of medicines are classed under the heads of *diaphoretics, emetics, purgatives, salines, stimulants, emmenagogues, diuretics, parturifacients, salogognes* and *alteratives* which are pervaded with all the errors of their humoral pathology, but contain indigenous remedies that may be found worthy of examination by European practitioners, a subject which has not yet been well or properly investigated The department of special pharmacology has not been entered upon, probably from its complication and extent, nor would it have admitted of analysis in the limits at our disposal

The Hindus had a notion that every disease has its appropriate remedy if we could only discover it, hence probably the immense number of inert and dangerous substances introduced into their *Materia Medica*.

SURGERY, although more simple, obvious, and early in its adoption by most nations than Medicine, does not appear to have been cultivated to the same extent by the Hindus, if we are to judge from the limited space devoted to its consideration in the Commentary, and the comparatively small number of capital operations performed, when we reflect upon the zeal and industry with which the all essential pursuit of anatomy and dissection was prosecuted Bold and delicate operations were, however, performed, such as cutting for stone, extraction of the dead fœtus, &c. 'which distinguished their ancient surgeons, and form such a remarkable contrast to the present

ignorant and timorous surgeons of Bengal' As in modern surgery, inflammation and its varieties, with their effects and consequences comprised a great portion of the surgical practice of the Hindus, and although their erroneous humoral pathology rendered their doctrines and theories valueless, their remedial measures were sometimes of a simple, sensible, and successful nature

The form of their surgical instruments has not been handed down in delineations, but has been supplied in a series of ingenious diagrams by Dr Wise Amputations and operations upon vessels are not mentioned among the eight kinds of manual means adopted Bandages were commonly and apparently appropriately applied, venesection was resorted to as a depleting agent in fitting situations and to a judicious extent scarification, cupping with a smooth cut horn, and leeching were known and practised, while styptics and cauteries, both potential and actual, were enjoined in many cases for arresting hæmorrhages, removing internal diseases, suppressing discharges and similar purposes Cold and ice were used to stop bleeding The nature and treatment of burns and scalds are briefly indicated, and the directions for performing surgical operations minutely detailed. Sacrifices were to be offered up, propitious times selected, the entrance of devils into the wound prevented by burning sweet-scented substances in the room, appropriate forms of prayer repeated, the patient and the operator to be placed in particular positions, the knife to be held in a peculiar manner, and the subsequent treatment of the patient to be carefully attended to Wounds, their varieties and treatment, together with the restoration of damaged ears and noses, and the management of fractures and dislocations complete the surgical section of the commentary Although it contains nothing very profound or striking, it is on the whole creditable to the dexterity, skill, and anatomical knowledge and boldness of the early Hindu Surgeons, affords evidence of careful observation, is less beset with the superstitious influences of their faith than other departments of their medicine, and is undoubtedly much in advance of the state of information upon the subject which prevailed in other countries for several centuries subsequent to the production of the older Shastras The gross ignorance and contemptible cowardice of the present indigenous race of Hindu Surgeons stand out in strange relief to the intellectual superiority of their more gifted and manly-minded predecessors—whose mantle appears, however, to have descended upon the shoulders of some of the Sub-assistant Surgeons educated in

the Medical College of Bengal, as we shall take a future, and if possible, an early opportunity of pointing out.

The PRACTICE of PHYSIC occupies by far the largest book of the Commentary, and is treated with a degree of minuteness and care proportioned to its extent and interest

The **ÆTIOLOGY** and **NOSOLOGY** of the Hindus, from being inseparably connected with their religious belief and dependent upon their erroneous doctrines regarding the elements, were crude, imperfect, and not founded upon any firm or philosophical basis. Prominent symptoms, acute and chronic, primitive and consecutive, external and internal, local and general, hereditary and acquired, contagious and non-contagious, derangement of one or more elements, and similar principles were the chief characteristics and foundations of their arrangements—the peculiarities of the symptoms and their combinations, influenced and modified by the structure and functions of organs, entered not into their calculations. Thirst, appetite, sleep, and death were regarded as *natural diseases* which give pain to the soul, and the ‘abuse of Deities or Brahmans, the contempt of spiritual instructions, with other similarly heinous offences were boldly declared to be the existing cause of loathsome and incurable disorders.’ The latter, very properly, were deemed to require for their alleviation serious and prolonged penance, mysterious performances, and liberality to those banes of Hindu society and improvement yclept the “Sacred brahmans”

A kind of numerical method is found in some of the older writings, and three appears to be the critical number thus *Charaka* states that there are three general causes of diseases, three sorts of medicine—one that cleanses internally, another that purifies externally, and a third, to embrace surgical means, three objects of enquiry in this world—the first and chief being the means of preserving health, the second, the means of acquiring wealth, and the last the procuration of happiness in the next world—an expanded interpretation of the familiar phrase, ‘to be healthy, wealthy, and wise, —with three means of preserving life, ‘proper food, sleep, and the proper government of the senses and passions.’ Sin is the ‘fons et origo’ of a form of disease which ‘is to be suspected, when a disease is not cured by the means pointed out by the *Shastras*’—which is to be removed by good actions, prayers, penances, &c. and for which **MANU** prescribes a course of Flying-Dutchman or Wandering-Jew treatment. “If a disease is incurable let the patient advance in a straight path, towards the invisible

North-eastern point, feeding on air and water, till his mortal frame totally decay, and his soul becomes linked with the Supreme Being"—(MANU, Cap. 6, § 31)

Diagnosis among the Hindus was founded upon the common sense method of personal examination, and the nature of the disease ascertained by the appearance of the organs of sense, by the feeling, temperature, &c. of the body, and by ascertaining the age, sex, temperament, country, and history of the individual and his disorder. The senses were all employed in the task, and *hearing* was the method resorted to of 'distinguishing the state of the lungs, by the peculiar noise of the breathing'—an early adoption of auscultation as a means of diagnosis. The pulse is stated to have been little regarded by Charaka and Susruta, but to have risen subsequently into great repute in the recognition and treatment of disease. This modern knowledge exhibits every evidence of being borrowed, probably from the Chinese, and most likely was introduced more for the purpose of *intra-purdah* examinations, than from any well founded conviction of its real value.

The Hindus were partial to prognostics, and recorded correctly many minute and apparently unimportant particulars connected with various diseases. This they mixed up with more than the usual amount of superstition, placing unlimited faith in all sorts of extraordinary omens, down even to the walking of a goose and the scratching of the patient's back!

There was a good deal of what is now popularly known under the slang designation of 'artful dodging,' in these omens—the practitioners taking care to protect themselves from being disturbed at noon day or at midnight, when at their toilet or their meals, when asleep or when otherwise unwilling to be interrupted, by declaring them all to be 'unfavorable omens' as to the event of the disease they were called upon to treat.

The diseases of the humors, and fevers with their origin, varieties, progress, termination, and treatment are next referred to, and exhibit the usual amount of sense and nonsense, accuracy of description of symptoms and incorrectness of causes to which they are assigned, with many serious errors of practice in their management. Small pox and measles appear to have been known to the Hindus long before they travelled into Europe and were described by the Arabian physicians of the sixth century. There is no doubt that the former malady was also known to the Chinese, its history being among the most curious of the records of scourges that have afflicted mankind, and for which the Western was certainly indebted to the

Eastern Hemisphere, as it has been more recently for another pestilence of equally fatal and formidable character—the Asiatic Cholera.

Rheumatism, swellings, obesity, emaciation, burning sensations of the body and feet, nervous diseases, in which are included all affections of the tendinous structures, the various forms of leprosy, urticaria, epilepsy, boils, pustules, and hæmorrhages were all known to and described by the Hindu physicians.

The diseases of the mind were reckoned to be swooning, epilepsy, six varieties of insanity, and devil-madness,—the last a curious compound of fancy and absurdity.

Eleven varieties of headache, twenty diseases of the ear, thirty-one of the nose, seventy-six of the eye, sixty-five of the mouth and its appendages, and a large number of disorders of the throat, are briefly referred to in Dr Wise's work as contained in the Hindu Medical Shastras

Among diseases of the chest, consumption, usually supposed to be infrequent in warm climates, is stated to be both frequent and fatal, and to have had a fabulous origin, to wit, that the 'moon married seven sisters, but attaching himself to one, the others complained to their father, who punished the moon, by declaring that he should be afflicted with consumption'!!

Many other morbid conditions of particular systems and regions of the body will be found to have been common in various parts of Hindustan, and testify the minuteness and extent of the professional knowledge of its physicians employed in their investigation and treatment they do not, however, admit of analysis, and for the most part possess little or no interest for the general reader

The low standard of moral principle pervading Hindu society, the facility of commission and difficulty of detection of crimes unattended with marks of personal violence, together with the unrelenting atrocity and cold-blooded calculation that accompanied the feelings of interest, enmity and revenge, rendered POISONING an early and frequent means of murder—hence the department of Toxicology, including poisons and their antidotes, attracted a large amount of attention

Like most other branches, poisoning commenced in mystery and fable, but chiefly obtained notice because the "enemies of the Rajah, bad women, and ungrateful servants, sometimes mix poisons with food On this account the cook should be of a good family, virtuous, faithful, and not covetous, not subject to anger, pride, or laziness He should also be cleanly and skilful in his business." The doctor's duty began where

the Sanskrit medical authorities referred to, and to have had portions translated by competent Sanskrit scholars, who kindly offered us their services upon the occasion, for the purpose of testing the general accuracy of the commentary. Various circumstances have combined to prevent the realization of our design, and we must leave the task to others, who with a larger amount of leisure, combine a greater degree of fitness to execute it with the care, attention, and accuracy requisite.

Another defect of the commentary which has struck us forcibly as somewhat diminishing its value, has been the difficulty of ascertaining in all places whether the remarks referred to the older or more recent medical writers, for we hold the modern medicine of the Hindus to be of a very low order, and are of opinion that any features of excellence it may possess, were derived from their Mahomedan conquerors, whose works embodied almost all that was valuable in the medicine of the Greeks, in addition to their own discoveries in chemistry and other departments. An occasional foot note would readily have remedied this imperfection.

The commentary also abounds in typographical errors, for which the author must have been indebted to the kind but careless or incompetent friend, who brought the pages through the press during his absence from Calcutta.

In spite of all these imperfections, which we trust will disappear in a second and enlarged edition, we hold the Commentary to be a valuable addition to the history of medicine, to contain much that ought to be known to all who study and practice the treatment of tropical diseases, and to be creditable, in every sense, to the learning and ability of its accomplished author.

ART V—1 *Le Bas's life of the Right Rev Thos Fanshawe Middleton, D D*

2 *Proceedings on the formation of a Diocesan Committee for the Archdeaconry of Calcutta for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1825*

It is our design in these pages, as has been ere now stated again and again, to admit of no restriction in our range of subjects but that which is geographical. Whatever bears directly, or not very remotely, on the interests of India, belongs to us. Instead therefore of offering an apology for introducing our present subject to the attention of our readers, we feel that if an apology is required at all, it is for having so long delayed to take notice of an institution so important in itself, and fitted to tell so directly on the most important interests of India's people, as that whose name forms the title of the present article. In briefly treating of its merits and demerits we can most conscientiously declare that we have no object whatever but, to the amount of our ability, to render it some service, and stir up those to whom is committed the high responsibility of its management, to exert themselves for encreasing its efficiency and remedying its defects. We esteem them far too highly for their work's sake, to suppose that they will for a moment imagine that any thing we may have to say of the defects in the working of the Institution is connected with the slightest feeling of hostility to the Institution itself, or to that branch of the Christian Church with which it is connected for, in this work, we never have advocated, and never shall advocate the peculiarities of any church or denomination of Christians, but have been, and shall be, always ready to commend whatever in their several operations may be really useful and praiseworthy—pointing out at the same time any *errors of administration* which may be found to impair their efficiency. Conscious of the sincerity of our intentions, we hesitate not to declare that whatever appears in the following pages has arisen from a strong and earnest desire that the “Bishop's Mission College” may be what its pious founder designed it to be, ‘a monument of gratitude to the Almighty,’ and a rich treasury from which the natives of India might receive the imperishable blessings of the gospel.

The first Missionary Institution upon record is that which was established in Jericho not long after it had been rebuilt by Hiel the Bethelite. Here, the sons of the pro-

Peshawur, as it is in Jessore, no one has dreamt of threatening him with a Parliamentary enquiry. His measures have been characterised by so much justice and moderation as well as vigor, that although they have resulted in an extension of territory and influence which Lord Ellenborough himself might have envied, he has not roused the outcry of party hostility. He has reduced the numerical strength of the army without weakening our means of defence, and he delivers the empire to his successor with an excess of income over expenditure, and in a state of such tranquillity as to inspire the hope of large resources for the future triumphs of peace.

Before his departure Lord Hardinge must also have received the reports of the speeches made at the parting dinner given by the Court of Directors to Lord Dalhousie, and in them had an earnest of the greeting that awaits him in England. On the occasion referred to, the Premier of England, addressing the Governor-General elect, expressed his conviction "that he will show, as his immediate predecessor, Lord Hardinge, has shown, that resolution in administering justice, forbearance towards all neighbours and foreign Powers, attention to the arts of peace, and sedulous care for the improvement of the internal condition of India, which are compatible with the utmost spirit, the utmost courage in repelling any aggression that may be made—meeting and conquering those who choose to constitute themselves the foes of the British empire in India."

The Chairman of the Court of Directors, himself a distinguished member of the Bengal Civil Service, at the same dinner, when proposing the health of Lord Hardinge, eulogized him no less than Lord John Russell had done.

Thus, amid the plaudits of the people whom he had ruled and already stamped by the approbation of the home authorities, has closed the administration of Lord Hardinge.

We bid adieu to his Lordship with every hearty good wish. He found India held by a discontented Army, threatened by invasion, and almost bankrupt. He has, in all senses, righted the vessel, restored confidence to our Ranks, to our Allies and our Dependants, replenished the public purse, tranquilized the Frontier, and brought peace and security to the long distracted Punjab. He has already been rewarded, but a Viscounty and a Pension is a small portion of his recompence. His best reward is in the conviction of his own noble heart that he has honestly and bravely done his duty, that he leaves behind him more than a hundred millions whom he has largely blessed by enlightened and just measures, and that returning to his Native land, he is regretted by those he leaves behind and warmly welcomed by men of every shade of opinion, as the pacific Warrior, the happy Statesman, the man who in reality "brought Peace to Asia!"

ART VII.—1 *Manners and Customs of the Hindus*, by the Revd T Acland, late Chaplain at Cuttack, Midnapore, &c, (*Murray's Home and Colonial Library*) London, J Murray, 1847

2 *Five years in the East*, by R N Hutton, 2 vols London, Longman and Co, 1847

3 *Poems*, by George Powell Thomas, Captain, Bengal Army, Author of "*Views of Simla*" London, Smith, Elder and Co, 1847

4 *Real Life in India* London, Houlston and Stoneman, 1847

If the supply of new books relating to India be not in excess of the demand, we may congratulate ourselves on a growing desire among our brethren at home for information regarding the affairs of the Eastern world. In our last publication, we reviewed a batch of new works, principally illustrative of military life and military adventure, and we have now before us several volumes, which have appeared since the issue of the September number of our journal, and which demand from us, as Indian Reviewers, at least a passing notice of their contents. These are books of a lighter class. But the English press has recently sent forth works of higher pretensions, more solid character, and more enduring interest,* whilst from the opposite extreme of ephemerality we are deluged with an almost incessant stream of fugitive pamphlets on the passing topics of the day. If, we say, the supply of such works be not in excess of the demand, we may congratulate ourselves, not unreasonably, on the interest felt by the present generation in the affairs, great and small, of our Indian Empire.

Of the works whose names we have placed at the head of this article, the first is written by an English clergyman, a chaplain on the establishment, who came out to India, a few years ago, accompanied by his wife, but leaving his elder children in England. To these children he addressed a number of letters, which since the death of the reverend gentleman—for he died after a brief sojourn amongst us—have been collected and placed at the disposal of the editor or publisher of *Murray's Home and Colonial Library*. They form the last number which has reached us, of that valuable publication, and not the least interesting of the *fifty* which have appeared.

In the month of July, 1842, Mr Acland, after an eventless voy-

* Among these are the lives of Bishop Corrie and Dr Yates, which we purpose ere long to consider.

age, found himself comfortably located in Calcutta. The Archdeacon invited the new arrival to take up his residence with him, "but having already accepted the offer of the bishop," he "was of course compelled to decline this invitation. He remained about a month in the City of Palaces and then started for Midnapore, having been appointed to the ministerial charge of our southernmost Bengal stations. Of Calcutta Society he says nothing, his book is one long illustration of life at an out-station. And it is not the worse for that. Every touch-and-go voyager has something more or less preposterous to say about life at the presidency. Mr Acland's letters have a spice of originality in them, because they are devoted to minute descriptions of Mofussil life and Mofussil Society, with all their components of bad dinners and good feeling, jungle-shooting, cigar-smoking, snakes and brandy and water.

There is, indeed, nothing better in Mr Acland's book than the sporting anecdotes, which are scattered thickly over his letters and told with a gusto which shows this reverend gentleman to have been a keen sportsman. Thirty or forty years ago, when the Church Establishment in India was a bug-bear to European politicians, it was alleged as a reproach to our Christian ministers, that they were in the habit of going out to shoot monkeys, and sometimes excited thereby the indignation of the natives.* Mr Acland, it appears, had a taste for monkey-shooting and every other description of sport. Tigers and buffaloes—birds and bears—nothing came amiss to him. With a gun in his hand and a solah hat on his head, he appears to have been perfectly contented. His achievements in the jungle he narrates with spirit, but with something less than the usual amount of vain-glorious self-satisfaction. We could almost wish that he had not narrated them at all.

The Indian sporting world has too efficient an organ of its own to render it necessary that we should meddle with this part of Mr Acland's book. We would direct our attention to other

* "It is not," wrote Mr (afterwards Archdeacon and Bishop) Corrie, to Mr Sargent, in 1813, "that the evangelization of India is a hopeless project, or that to attempt it is attended with political danger, for the story General Kyd produced in the house of House of Commons, to shew the danger of interfering with the natives is both erroneously stated and ridiculously applied. The idea of grave ministers of religion going out to shoot monkeys, would not have been entertained in any other connexion but as supplying an objection to missions. But the young men were not destroyed by the natives, the elephant on which they rode took fright at the clamour of lamentation and displeasure raised by the people on the monkey being killed, and plunged into a deep place of the river Jumna, when the howdah on which they sat getting loose from the elephant's back, the young men were drowned. General Kyd would perhaps say he had seen chaplains in India shooting monkeys, and he should at the same time have the candour to state that none of that description made themselves obnoxious to the natives by their religion, and consequently there is nothing to fear from an establishment of that kind."

incidental topics—not following any particular order or arrangement, or endeavouring to give any connected account of our author's brief Indian career. There is no novel information, and there are no profound reflexions in Mr Acland's series of letters. It would be unreasonable to look for either in such a book,—but it is not without suggestiveness. We have here the first impressions of a man of mature understanding—one who evidently writes in good faith—who is hampered by no foregone conclusions—who is bent neither on manufacturing a book nor on making out a case in obedience to the claims of publisher or party.

That he is very often mistaken—that he sometimes is betrayed into very ridiculous blunders, writing as he does without investigation and arriving *per saltum* at unwarrantable conclusions—we must in honesty admit, but we cannot question the sincerity of the writer nor severely reprehend his errors. The Editor of the *Colonial Library* may not be equally blameless. There are passages in Mr Acland's letters which ought to have been expunged or published only under protest.

Here is a passage of this description. Writing of his brief sojourn at Madras, Mr Acland observes —

“When you meet in the street with a native who is at all acquainted with you or who wishes to express his thanks for anything, instead of merely saying, ‘Thank you,’ or ‘How do you do?’ he presses his hands *upon his eyes* and says, ‘Salaam sahib. Some English persons, on going out for a walk, may be seen to carry a whip, with which, *if the natives are at all troublesome, they lash them* but this is a cruel practice. Ladies are prevented by the heat from walking abroad here and gentlemen seldom do so, but go about in what are called palanquins which I will describe hereafter. When we ride out, however swiftly we go a man called a coolie runs by the side of the carriage. We are obliged to get up here at about half past five in the morning, and then we go out for a drive, or in the palanquin at half past seven the sun is too powerful even for that exercise we then return home take a cold bath, and breakfast. At half past six in the evening we are enabled to go out again a little. In the middle of the day we take a nap.”

The English reader will not improbably infer from this that the European residents of Madras go abroad with whips in their hands to chastise the natives walking in the streets. An English clergyman says so, and it must be true. Mr Acland has a becoming sense of the cowardly wickedness of beating one's native servants but we are inclined to think that he somewhat exaggerates the extent to which the unseemly practise is carried by our English officers. At least we would fain hope that the following story, if not absolutely untrue, is at all events somewhat highly colored —

“I think I have told you how cruelly some of the people here beat their servants. I was standing with an officer in the porch of his house when I

was last at Midnapore, when his syce, or groom, brought his horse to the door Captain L. turned to me, and said, "I have not given that fellow a thrashing for a long time, and he'll forget what it feels like, and grow lazy. Now the fact was, the man was so attentive and industrious that Captain L. could not possibly find any fault with him. However, he went down the steps, and on the pretence that the man did not hold his horse properly gave him several violent blows on the face and head, kicked him three or four times with all his force, and struck him on the back with a two-foot rule with such violence that the man was obliged to have his back plastered and bandaged up, and all this without the slightest fault on the part of the servant.

Much as has been said about slavery, I do not believe that any of the slaves in Jamaica were ever worse treated than are the servants of some of our officers here. The excuse is, that it is impossible to manage the Hindus without the whip, but I never use it, and I am certainly quite as well served by all excepting two. With these I am going to part, for they have been spoiled by living with a very violent man. I will give you an instance of the punishments I employ.

My sirdar always goes home to his supper at nine o'clock. The other evening after he was gone I found that he had neglected to get the night-lamp ready, so I was obliged to do it myself. The following morning instead of thrashing him, I made no observation whatever on the subject, but at nine o'clock in the evening when he came to ask whether he might go home, I said "You did not bring the night-lamp last night, I may want something else that is not ready, so for the next week you will not go till eleven. This was a great punishment to him, and yet it did not degrade either the man or myself as a beating would do. At the same time I fully admit that the natives, by their slowness and inactivity, are sometimes very provoking, but surely that is no excuse to the Christian who gives way to angry feelings."

It is impossible to read, without pain, such a passage as this, in a work written by an English clergyman, and published in a series of volumes professing to be, and in reality being, "cheap literature for all classes. A book written by such a writer and published by such a publisher has a stamp of genuine currency upon it and is sure to obtain extensive circulation. The passage, moreover, is precisely calculated to arrest the attention of English Reviewers, and we are not surprised, therefore, to find that it has been largely quoted in the critical journals of the mother country. Our cheeks tingle with shame as we see this humiliating story adduced as an evidence of the overbearing insolence and cruelty of the European in India towards his native dependants. The anecdote may be strictly true. Mr Acland speaks of what he actually saw, and we are constrained therefore to believe either that *he* has deliberately recorded a calumnious falsehood, or that Captain L. committed an act which would have been justly visited by the loss of his commission. We hope, for the sake of Mr Acland's reputation, that the Captain L. thus honorably mentioned is not the same Captain L. with whom he subsequently appears (see pp 90-91) to have been on terms of intimacy and friendship. We hope too, that we are not to presume, because the circumstance is not recorded in its proper place, that the Christian minister did not

severely rebuke the man who had been guilty, in very wantonness, of an act so unmanly and so un-Christian

As a companion to this story of cruelty to native dependants we give the following illustrative of the insolent hauteur with which, according to Mr Acland, the British functionaries in Orissa, are wont to treat the independent princes of the neighbouring states —

"And now I must mention some circumstances which to me rendered our expedition to Neilghur very unpleasant, they relate to the manner in which our party treated the Rajah. On the morning of our arrival, after our descent from the hills he came with a party of horsemen to call upon us. We were just sitting down to breakfast, when I observed the cavalcade approaching. I mentioned it, and proposed that, according to Indian politeness, we should go into the verandah of our tent to receive them. But the principal man of our party said, 'Oh, bother the fellow, we can't see him now' and he sent a servant out to tell him so.

In the afternoon the Rajah sent his man, corresponding to our chief gamekeeper in England, to ask when we should like the coolies to beat the jungle, and to say that he would join us in the hunt. We named the time and started accordingly, found the coolies in readiness, and saw the Rajah and his brother coming upon elephants.

Our party began to move on, when I asked, "Will you not wait for the Rajah?" "I should think not," was the reply, "we don't want the beastly niggers with us." And yet these civilized men were glad enough to make use of these beastly niggers coolies and elephants. I stayed behind and had some talk with them.

The next day the two Rajahs called at the tent, they entered as gentlemen and made the usual Indian salutation. With the exception of myself, I do not think one of our party even rose from his chair. In the course of conversation we spoke of the badness of the water we got. The Rajah immediately offered to send a man six miles into the hills to fetch some from a mountain stream. In little more than an hour afterwards, one of our party, feeling thirsty, sent a servant to ask the Rajah whether he had not that water yet. In India, in speaking to a servant, you use the word "toom," which signifies "you." In speaking to a gentleman you say "ah," which means "your honour." One or two of our party made a point of saying "toom" to the Rajah, which was in fact a great insult. The younger brother called upon us. The chief of our party spoke to him on the subject of the disturbances, although it had all been settled by the Commissioner, and gave him a regular blowing up. And now remember that all this was to a gentleman—an Indian it is true, but still a gentleman, with a fine estate, and about 6000*l* a-year, from whom we were receiving every kindness, and on whose land we were hunting. Can it be wondered at that the natives do not like us so well as might otherwise be expected?

The Rajah, I suppose, finding me more civil than the others, gave me a great mark of honour. He took me on his own elephant, while he acted as mahout, and whenever any roughness occurred on the ground he turned to warn me of it. I own that I did not enjoy the honour much. The elephant was covered with a crimson cloth, so that there were no ropes to hold by. The only way in which I could manage was to sit astride. It was really most painful, and I almost doubted whether I should ever be able to get my legs together again. I had two brace of pistols with me. The Rajah appeared very much pleased with them, and, to make up for the rudeness of

our party, I gave him one of the pairs. He was delighted, and I was sadly laughed at for giving anything to a nigger. His palace is a fine white building on the side of one of the hills.'

Such a story as this needs no comment. There is an unfortunate circumstantiality about it which precludes us from questioning its truth.

It would be well if Mr. Acland had only written of what he actually saw in his excursions about Midnapore and Cuttack. When he travels beyond the pale of his own experiences, he sometimes loses his way and flounders into a quagmire of error. Here, for example, is something about the Salt-tax, which is not likely to do much good at the present time. The passage, which we have printed in italics, is worthy of Mr. Aylwin himself —

Cuttack, July 4, 1844

"I have mentioned the manner in which Europeans are apt to alienate the affections of the natives, I will now give you an instance of the way in which the Government seek to conciliate them. It must be remembered that salt is a Government monopoly, that is, no person is allowed to prepare or sell it except by the appointment of Government. The cost to them is about eight annas or one shilling, per maund of eighty pounds, they sell it for four rupees, or eight shillings, for the same quantity, and yet so necessary is it to the natives *that if any man does not buy the usual quantity of Government, which is, I believe, about half a seer, or one pound, a-month, for each individual, he is brought by the police before a magistrate and sent to gaol, on the presumption that, as he does not purchase salt, he must smuggle it.*

Now the salt-manufacturers receive a portion of their pay beforehand, and the remainder when the salt is ready. They belong mostly to the poorest classes, and their mode of working is very simple, merely collecting the seawater, and then suffering it to evaporate in the sun. When they receive the first portion of their pay, they are told how much they will receive per maund, for the price varies slightly in different years. Last year they were promised a certain sum, I am not exactly sure how much, but say eight annas per maund, and when they came to the salt agent for their money, they found that an order had arrived from Government reducing the promised pay to six and a half annas per maund. Of course they were excessively angry and utterly astonished, for one strong idea with the natives is, that an Englishman will never tell an untruth. I happened to be present at the time, it occurred at Pooree, in the neighbourhood of which are some of the principal salt-works, if I may use so dignified a term.

The proper course for these poor people to have taken would have been, to have brought an action against Government for breach of contract, but this they could not possibly afford. However, the magistrates of Pooree sent a strong remonstrance to Government, and the consequence was, that they authorized the salt-agent this year to renew the contracts at the higher price much to the delight of the poor salt-manufacturers, who still lost a part of the promised price of last year, yet it is scarcely to be credited that, before the time for the second payment arrived, another order was sent down, reducing the price as they did last year, and thus again defrauding the poor wretches of part of their small pittance, for defrauding it is in the truest sense of the word. All these things are managed by four or five men, who

compose what is called the Salt Board * I may mention that the salt-workers have been sadly disturbed this year by the number of tigers. The natives sometimes keep the claws of those which they are so fortunate as to kill, to make charms to keep off mischief.

There is a passage of another class, which is equally surprising. The *griffinism* it betrays is intense —

“ When a man in India, I mean a European gentleman wants a wife, he says to his friend “ I should like to get married ” “ Well, says he, “ why don't you ” and forthwith he applies for leave of absence for a month. A month consists of thirty days, of which say five are occupied in his journey to Calcutta, and another five on his journey back, leaving him just twenty days in which to make his selection, get introduced, make himself agreeable, propose court, and be married. A nice prospect he has for future happiness. But there is one curious result in this sort of marriage, and a result, too, which spreads among other people also. After a few years the wife loses her health and is ordered to England. The husband cannot afford to go with her, but he allows her about half his salary. At the end of two or three years, or whatever time may have been fixed, he writes to his wife to make arrangements for her return to India, and I have known two instances in which the husband was obliged to stop the allowance in order to compel the wife to return.

People certainly do tell the funniest stories about Indian marriages ! It would seem as though no book on Anglo Indian Society could be complete, without one or more prodigious versions of the manner in which we take to ourselves wives in this land of enterprise and exile. We shall touch again upon this subject when we come to notice Mr Hutton's book, but we have already, in former numbers of this journal, so fully exposed the absurdities which have been written on this fertile topic of the “ Marriage-mart, that it would seem to be almost superfluous to revert to these exploded traditions of a by-gone age.

Another surprising statement made by Mr Acland is to the effect that he could obtain no books at Cuttack. His health had suffered—not improbably from the effects of too great exposure to the climate. A treacherous liver betrayed him more than once to the brink of death, and at length brought him to the grave. After one of these attacks he applied to his “ favorite doctor for advice, and the medical gentleman said to him “ employ your mind and stint your body. “ Any amusement, writes Mr Acland, “ anything that could interest, excite or rouse, he recommended, but to avoid all unnatural stimulants as much as possible (I mean wine and spirits) and take plenty of exercise. If I do this, he says, I may leave all physic in the bottles and the leeches in the ponds. In accordance with this advice I am

* We can scarcely imagine that the Supreme Government would lend itself to such a transaction, we think it far more likely that it occurred through the culpability or negligence of some of the inferior agents who may have misrepresented the case to Government. [This would seem to be a note by the Editor of Murray's Library.]

occupying myself in various ways *Books it is impossible to procure, so I have been training a horse for my wife* A curious statement this under any circumstances—*very* curious when made by a Christian minister at a station so near to Calcutta. It does not appear that Mr Acland found it “impossible to procure from the Presidency, beer, wine and other creature comforts.” He was not long either in joining a mutton-club. If Cuttack had no book-club, it must have been almost the only station in India which was thus destitute. We would not have the English reader suppose that books are not procurable at our out stations—that our cantonments are in such a state of literary destitution that a clergyman, for want of intellectual employment, is compelled to become a horse breaker. There is *one* book, at all events, to which we may presume that he had access. With that one book in his possession a Christian minister need never be utterly at a loss for the means of “employing his mind.” But we will undertake to say, that without sending to Calcutta for books, Mr Acland might at any time, had he taken the trouble, have collected, on loan, a very tolerable library. Our Chaplains, we are bound to add, for the most part have very fair collections of their own.

We make these observations not without pain, Mr Acland is beyond the reach of the censure they may be thought to imply. He is not responsible for the publication of his letters, and we are inclined to think that had he lived, no considerations would have induced him to publish them in their present form. The truth is not to be disguised that the friends of Mr Acland have acted with very little judgment and discretion, with very little regard for the memory of the deceased, in identifying him with the present publication. It is not a work on the title page of which we would wish to see the name of a Christian minister. And this is the editor's fault, rather than Mr Acland's. In the preface, it is stated with reference to the original letters, that “one distinguishing feature may be observed in the whole, viz, ‘a fervent spirit of devotion, which breathes through every page of the manuscript.’ Such passages the editor has thought it better to omit, as the advice from a father to his children, clothed in the simple language he considered it best to employ, though beautiful and touching in itself, would scarcely appear interesting to the general reader. Probably not,—but the

* Yesterday morning Capt. W sent to ask me whether I would go out into the jungle with him and try to get some hares. I did not feel much inclined, as my yearly supply of stores, such as wine, beer, candles, vinegar, &c &c. had just arrived from Calcutta.—Page 99.

result of the omission is very injurious to Mr Acland. Something of a more serious character is required as a set-off to the levity of the greater part of the correspondence. As the letters stand they convey an impression—not improbably a false one—that the mind of the reverend writer was set upon trifles—that the duties of his holy calling occupied little of his time and little of his attention—that hunting and shooting were the occupations in which he principally delighted, and that exposure to the climate in pursuit of this description of pleasure, ultimately brought him to the grave. We say that this is the impression which the perusal of Mr Acland's letters will make upon the mind of the ordinary reader. For this the editor is accountable. We speak of the book simply as we find it, and it may be—we hope it is—a very incorrect exponent of the character and way of life of the reverend writer. And sorry indeed should we be if it were to be thought in England that the volume before us fitly represents the habits of our Indian chaplains, as a body—that body which has numbered among its members, a Thomason, a Martyn, and a Corrie.

Of the literary attractions of Mr Acland's book it is right that we should afford a sample. There are many passages of lively descriptive writing scattered throughout the letters—but none better than the following, illustrative of a bivouac in the jungle after a day's shooting. It is a clever piece of wood-painting—

"At six o'clock in the evening the sun was just setting as we three sahibs returned from our day's shooting. The magistrate is just washing his hands in a chillumchee, or brass basin, at the door of the tent. In the front ground, on two chairs, are seated the doctor and myself, the former is having his long leather gaiters or overalls pulled off. I have one foot in a chillumchee of warm water, the other resting on the black knee of one of my servants, who is shampooing and cracking each joint of the toes. Now he has done that, wiped the foot dry, put on the shoe, and is squeezing or kneading each muscle in the calf of the leg. No one but those who have experienced it can have any idea what a luxury this is when you are very tired!"

Behind us stands a long-bearded turbaned khitmutgar with sherry and glasses. Our guns are leaning against the side of the tent, our horses are picketed to a tree close by, and the grooms are busily rubbing them down. A hundred or a hundred and fifty black natives are separating into groups according to their castes, and are lighting fires all around in order to cook their dinners. Behind the servant's tent is a fire of charcoal over which a black man is turning a hare, some partridges, a peacock, and several other results of our day's sport. Close by is another fire of wood crackling and sparkling, on which are stewpans with salmon, oysters, &c &c, which have come from England.

It grows late—the moon rises over the hills, the fires blaze up in all directions, I see the swartthy natives moving around them, and hear them chattering or singing their low monotonous song, everything looks wild, I

begin to indulge in all sorts of reveries—when a man approaches with his hands clasped together, and, bending low before me, says “Canā meg” (dinner table) The peacock takes the place of the reverie, visions of the partridges and oysters flit across my mind, and I run to help in demolishing a most substantial and well-earned meal I then go to my palkee The howling of the jackals does not awake me I am too well used to it, but at last, about two o'clock in the morning, I was aroused by a sort of snuffing and a scratch at the door I guessed at once what it was, and debated for an instant whether I should open it a little and try the effect of my pistols, or call out so as to rouse my companions or lie still and leave him to himself I determined on the latter, as, supposing I had not killed him my visitor might have come into my palanquin and killed me before I could get assistance I therefore lay quietly with a pistol in my hand, and I felt much happier when I heard the bear at last trot off

It will be gathered from this extract that Mr Acland's Hindustani is none of the best The editor, it is true, may have made matters worse, but nothing can be more intolerable than the spelling of all the Indian names of things and places used throughout the present volume Many of our old friends are scarcely recognisable in their new dress others are so disfigured that it is not without some difficulty we satisfy ourselves of their identity This is discreditable alike to editor and to publisher We should have thought that the excellent tact and sound discretion of Mr Murray would have rescued him from an error, which publishers of less note freely commit—the error of entrusting the revision of books on Indian subjects to parties who know no more about India than about the regions of the moon We have detected no less than seven gross misprints in a single page *

We now turn to Mr Hutton's volumes They are very handsomely bound and neatly printed Mr Acland's book has one great merit—it costs only half a crown Mr Hutton's costs *eight* half crowns, and is not worth as much as Mr Acland's We know not how to describe it better than by saying it is the sublime of common place All that relates to India—the voyage thither round the Cape and the voyage home by the “Overland route has not only been described fifty times before—but fifty times better One might almost imagine that the table of

* We may here mention that a book of reference, which will be of the greatest possible use to the publishers of works relating to India, is now going through the press. It is entitled the *Oriental Interpreter*, and is the work of Mr Stoequeler It is a lexicon of Indian words phrases and proper names both of places and individuals—and may be said to combine the advantages of the *Gazeteer* with those of the *Indian Vocabulary* A few sheets of the *Interpreter* have reached us, and as far as we are able to base an opinion upon an examination of so small a portion of a laborious work, we may say that it appears to have been compiled with great care and that it will materially assist the studies of the English readers of Indian works, and should never be absent from the publisher's parlour

Contents was borrowed from some "Voyage to the East Indies" written half-a-century ago. Thus we have "CHAPTER I, New Acquaintances—Getting under weigh—Going down channel—Last of the English land—Bay of Biscay and its consequences—Dinner under difficulties—Occupation of Time at sea—Porpoises—Boneta—Method of Fishing. Then, "CHAPTER II, A funeral at sea—Sailor's superstitions—Raising the wind—Nautical time—Lascar charm against sickness—The Fore castle ghost—Sunday at sea—Sea life in the tropics—Falling stars—Yarns in the middle watch—A calm—Exchange signals with Jupiter—Crossing the line, &c &c. All this, it must be confessed, is very promising—very likely to stimulate the curiosity of a reader in the year 1847! And when it is added that the filling up is altogether worthy of the outline, the most sceptical student will not harbour a doubt of the profound originality of the volumes.

Mr Hutton's book is entitled *Five years in the East*, but we gather from the very first page of his narrative that he commenced his voyage in July 1844. How the interval between the summer of 1844 and the summer of 1847 can be made to comprise five years, it would puzzle that great authority COCKER to determine. Mr Hutton, however, is aware of this, and in compassion for our weak brains offers us a solution of the mystery. In helping us out of this dilemma he kindly enables us, at the same time, to surmount another difficulty over which we should otherwise have stumbled. We could not conceive what manner of ship it was in which the adventurous author had taken his passage, until we turned back to his preface. Such an eccentric course as that taken by the *Worcester*, on her outward-bound voyage, was quite beyond the pale of our experience. The vessel according to Mr Hutton touched at Ascension, St Helena, at the Cape, and at Johanna,—what she was doing at some of these places would have remained a mystery to the end of our days but for the writer's charitable explanations—"It may perhaps," he says, "be remarked that the title is contradicted by the commencement of the book, in as much as the date of the departure from England is fixed in July 1844, and that consequently the *five years* are reduced to a little more than *three*, some explanation is, therefore, necessary upon this point, as also to account for the circuitous route pursued by our vessel and the number of places visited without any apparent purpose. In the first place then as regards the misapplication of title. The time actually occupied in performing the tour was upwards of five years, but as the various places were visited on different voyages, it would have

' been necessary to have gone over the same ground two or three times, or else to have omitted some portions. In order, therefore, to give some slight description of every part, and at the same time avoid useless repetition, I have assumed a somewhat unusual course, and have thrown the whole into one voyage, which has thus been made to comprise, not only a greater number of ports, than a vessel would ever touch at in one passage but also the events of others extending over upwards of five years. This is, at all events, a *naïve* confession. Mr Hutton's *Five years in the East* is, after all, then, a work of fiction. We have little to say against this, except that not being fettered by the demands of truth, he might have made his book a little more amusing. For an imaginary voyage this is the dullest we have ever read.

- But we must glean from it an extract or two—and here at starting is one, which we take rather for its suggestiveness than for any other characteristic. It relates to "Sunday on board-ship." The passage is in no wise remarkable in itself. The same observations have been made in nearly the same words, by a score or two of *modern* writers. Thirty or forty years ago the history of a board ship sabbath was told in very different terms —

"It is often said and moreover is doubtless believed by many of the would be good people on shore, that there is little or no religion to be found at sea, and they imagine that a Sunday is only distinguished from the rest of the week by being only a day of idleness and sleep. To endeavour to rectify this error, we will give a slight sketch of the manner in which a Sunday is passed on board ship. At six o'clock in the morning the operation of holy stoning commences and lasts for about an hour much to the annoyance of unfortunate passengers who are lying below, and are thus disturbed without there being the slightest possibility of dropping off to sleep again. This being finished the deck is washed down and carefully swept, so that no particles of sand are left behind, the heat of the sun in warm climates renders it perfectly dry in a very short time and the ropes are then coiled neatly down in fanciful devices suggested by the ingenuity of the men who take great pride in the neatness of that part of the vessel to which they belong. At eight they go to breakfast, and immediately afterwards commence cleaning themselves which with many is no slight operation. By ten o'clock, however it is generally over and little knots assemble in the waist or on the fore-castle, to wile away the time till five bells (half past ten,) meanwhile the carpenter and his mates are occupied in arranging benches upon the quarter deck, and covering a small table on the capstan, with a Union Jack to serve for a pulpit, which process in technical language is termed 'rigging the church.' At half past ten the bell is tolled for a few minutes, and all the ship's company assemble "aft" taking their places upon the various seats appointed for them. The service is then read by the commander, with the surgeon for clerk, and so far from their being that want of attention which some people falsely suppose is exhibited, Bishop Heber

remarks in his journal that he never remembered having performed the service with so much satisfaction to himself, or to so attentive a congregation as he did from the rude pulpit on board the ship in which he went out to Calcutta. The remainder of the day is spent by the greater part in reading, and by others in basking in the sun, which, if not a profitable mode of employing the time is to say the least of it harmless, and renders them happy and contented for the time, which is at any rate better, than the manner in which the Sunday afternoon and evening are often spent on shore by those whose education should have taught them better.

There may still be room for improvement, and on board some ships we are afraid that there is a good deal. The manner in which, outwardly, the Sabbath is observed at sea mainly depends upon the personal character of the captain. Among the commanders of our passenger-ships there are many men of high religious principle, and on the whole we have reason to rejoice that the Sabbath on boardship is so well observed in these times. When we think that forty years ago Henry Martyn recorded in bitterness of soul, the sufferings to which he was subjected on his voyage to India by the worse than indifference—the open scoffing irreligion of his fellow passengers, who made mock of his ministrations, and blasphemed the word of God, we cannot but feel thankful that now, we are even so far advanced towards a better state of feeling and conduct. The entries in Martyn's Journal during the passage out are very painful to contemplate. "On board his own ship, says the biographer of this holy man, 'he regularly read prayers, preached once every Sabbath, lamenting that the captain would not permit the performance of more than one service. This being the case, his usefulness in the ship depended much, he conceived, on his private ministrations. Scarcely a day therefore passed, without his going between the decks where after assembling all who were willing to attend he read to them some religious book, upon which he commented as he went on—'Some attend fixedly—others are looking another way—some women are employed about their children, attending for a little while and then heedless—some rising up and going away—others taking their place, and numbers, especially of those who have been upon watch, strewed all along upon the deck fast asleep, one or two from the upper deck looking down and listening—Such is the picture he draws of the congregation below. The situation of things above when he performed his weekly duty on the sabbath was not, according to his own statement, more encouraging. There, the opposition of some and the inattention of others put his weakness and patience very strongly to the test. "The passengers, as he describes it, "were inattentive—the officers, many of them sat

‘ drinking, so that he could overhear their noise, and the captain was with them. His own soul was serious and undisturbed by the irreverence of the hearers, and he thought that he could have poured it out in prayer without restraint in defiance of their scornful gaze. “How melancholy and humiliating, he could not help adding, “is this mode of public ordinances on ship board, compared with the respect and joy with which the multitudes come up to hear my brethren on shore! but this prepares me for preaching among the heedless gentiles. This, at the beginning of the voyage—as time advanced, no improvement was visible either among the passengers or crew. The voyage was a tedious and distressing one. Martyn had been seven weeks on board, before the ship had passed the Lizzard. The vessel in which he sailed was a troop-ship—one of a fleet, despatched for the capture of the Cape. There was bad weather—a great amount of sickness and a mutinous spirit among both soldiers and sailors. Martyn did his best—certainly in a most zealous self-denying spirit, devotedly and most painfully, but he did not succeed. Soon we find this journal entry: “M——, coming in, said that many had become more hostile than ever, saying they should come up to prayers because they believed I was sincere, but not to the sermon, as I did nothing but preach about Hell. “I hope this portends good,” he adds—but his hopes were disappointed and we find him before another week has elapsed recording his further experiences in the following words—

“*September 22 (1806), Sunday*—Was more tried by the fear of man, than I have ever been since God has called me to the ministry. The threats and opposition of these men, made me unwilling to set before them the truths which they hated. Yet I had no species of hesitation about doing it. They had let me know that if I would preach a sermon like one of Blair’s they should be glad to hear it, but they would not attend if so much of Hell was preached. This morning again Capt—— said, ‘Mr Martyn must not damn us to-day, or none will come again. I was a little disturbed, but, Luke 10, and above all our Lord’s last address to his disciples, John 14-16, strengthened me and I took for my text, Ps 917. ‘The wicked shall be turned into Hell, and all the nations that forget God. The officers were all behind my back in order to have an opportunity of retiring in case of dislike. B—— attended all the time. H—— as soon as he heard the text went, and said he would hear no more about Hell. So he employed himself in feeding the geese. J—— said I had shut him up in Hell,

‘ and the universal cry was, we are all to be damned ! How
 ‘ ever, God, I trust blessed the sermon to the good of many
 ‘ Some of the cadets and many of the soldiers were in tears
 ‘ I felt an ardour and vehemence in some parts which are
 ‘ unusual to me After the sermon walked the deck with Mrs
 ‘ —, she spoke with so much simplicity and amiable humility,
 ‘ that I was full of joy and adoration to God for a sheep brought
 ‘ home to his fold In the afternoon went below intending
 ‘ to read to them at the hatch-way, but there was not one of
 ‘ them, so I could get nothing to do among the poor soldiers

Eight years afterwards Bishop Middleton wrote, from on board the *Warren Hastings*, “ yesterday (Sunday) I enjoyed extremely We had prayers in the morning, after which I read a sermon to the ladies, writers, &c, and in the evening I preached to the whole party, every thing was conducted with the strictest order and propriety * And in 1823, Bishop Heber wrote from the *Grenville*, “ since I have been on board I have often, *very often* thought of Hodnet and its neighbourhood, and on Sundays the recollection has been still more forcibly brought to my mind, by the use which, on those days, I have made of my old sermons slightly altered, and by the contrast of the circumstances under which I now preached them, with the venerable walls and friendly well-known faces, which surrounded me when I last turned over the same leaves Yet here, also, I have an attentive audience, the exhibition is impressive and interesting and the opportunities of doing good considerable The crew are very orderly, and the passengers, in general, sufficiently well disposed to acquiesce in the different arrangements,† which I have suggested for weekly and daily prayers, and again, in his well known *Journal*, “ All were attentive and the petty officers more especially heard me with great apparent interest —he records too in another place the very surprising fact, that, although “ the congregation at church was very good, there were many absentees at dinner —we might reasonably have expected the reverse Heber, on one occasion, rebuked the sailors for harpooning fish upon the Sabbath, and the reproof was taken in good part The office of the *Bishop* may in all these cases have done more, than the character of the *Minister*,—and Heber had infinitely more judgment than poor Henry Martyn,—but it is to the progress of the age that we must mainly attribute the gratifying change In many of our principal passenger-ships there is

* Le Bas Life of Middleton.

† Life of Reginald Heber—by his widow

now, regularly, morning and evening service on Sunday, and there are some captains we might name who regularly summon their crews on week days to morning and evening prayers

We now turn to a very different topic Mr Hutton having reached Calcutta treats us to the following very veracious picture of Indian society —

" Having carefully threaded our way through the intricacies of a number of vessels we cast our own anchor about half way between the fort and the town and abreast the race-course, which is the principal place of fashionable resort, in the cool of the evening, when a scene ensues not unlike that in Hyde Park with only the exception of its being here upon a much smaller scale Here may be seen as fine equipages as in London, for the horses and carriages are all sent out from England, at an immense expense. In addition to its being the favorite evening drive, the race course is one of the principal auction marts, for the sale of an article of which a large supply is imported annually from England we allude to young ladies, who are sent out here as a mere matter of speculation and in the regular business-like manner consigned to an agent, whose duty it is to dispose of them to the best advantage For this purpose a carriage is kept, in which the poor girl is placed, after having been made to look as pretty as possible, and is driven about the race course every evening, until she is seen, admired, and bought, by some rich old colonel whose age would besit the character of grandfather better than a husband Such preposterous alliances never turn out happily, as indeed how should they? What thoughts or wishes can a young girl of seventeen have in common with an old man of sixty? And such are Indian marriages The girl is perhaps considered lucky in having caught a colonel, but can she look upon him in any other light than as a person kindly provided by nature to find her with means to indulge in extravagance, and live in luxury, which she might otherwise have wished for in vain but has it not been obtained at the price of happiness, and what is still worse does it not involve a temptation to crime, which is almost too strong for human frailty to withstand? So bare-faced is the system pursued that should the agent (for the girl herself is not at her own disposal) be on the point of concluding an agreement with some young man who has six or seven hundred rupees a month, and suddenly hear of an old man who has a thousand, and who wishes to become a purchaser, the first engagement is broken off sans ceremony, and the young lady's affections transferred to the new lover' By these means any girl that is not absolutely ugly, can acquire a fortune, the only stock in trade that is required being a few dresses and other vanities, and the only art being that of lolling gracefully in a carriage'

If we had stumbled upon this passage in a book published some fifty years ago, it would have excited in us no surprise But that in 1847 any one should be found ignorant enough, or unscrupulous enough, to write and publish so preposterous a fable as this, is beyond our critical comprehension Fifty years ago, it was generally believed that Calcutta was a sort of marriage-mart to which young maidens were sent out as regularly as bales of cloth and casks of madeira But nothing short of the most

deplorable ignorance or credulity (for it is possible that during his month's residence in Calcutta the man may have been hoaxed) could have suffered a writer to set down as a grave truth, in a work intended for the enlightened reader of the present day, a monstrous tradition which has been exploded for at least a quarter of a century. We are not sure that, even in Indian voyages written forty or fifty years ago, we have ever seen the case of the alleged marriage agency stated so grossly and offensively as in the passages which we have just quoted. We need not adduce any facts, or any arguments, in refutation of so palpable a fiction. After what in former articles we have written on the subject, a bare expression of condemnation will suffice.

We were afraid that we should have to censure another and much abler writer than Mr Hutton, for maligning, with malice prepense—for ignorance could not be pleaded in his case—the wives of India. Captain Thomas has narrowly escaped. He appears to have been on the point of making himself *particeps criminis* with Mr Hutton, but prose has triumphed over poetry—reality over romance. In a not very complimentary poem on *Anglo Indian Life*, commencing, "Drivellers, still drivellers to the end, Captain Thomas exclaims—

Take we the Indian wedded life, 'twill prove
How mockingly blind contact and the strong
"Necessity of—union," mimic love,
How rare the heart's deep worship, the glad throng
Of pure bright impulses which fain would bind
The link'd of wedlock's chain, in fellowship of mind.

First comes the spinster vain and vapid,—rife
With ready words, bland looks, and winning wile,
To steal upon the easy name of wife,
With ill play'd blush and interest's secret smile,
Nought boots it whose her heart—if heart she boast,
Her formal vows are his whom wealth hath favored most.

Frail vows! their swift infringement lacketh nought
But fitting time and tempter, some brief time
Pass'd with her soft, soft lord and sickness (sought
Rather than found) quick warns to kinder clime
Then Heaven send sage friends round her, or her course
Will tell wild passion's tale—lost fame and late remorse

Ah! there it is, truth at last. The book of separation, we know, has many sad tales recorded in it. But as to the rest, Captain Thomas knows that there is no lack of married happiness amongst us. He may have poetised a little on the subject (no harm in that) but he is too great a lover of truth to leave the poison without an antidote. "These lines," he says in a foot-note, "were written in India, when my knowledge of England was bounded by the recollections of a lad of sixteen

But I have now arrived at the conviction that disinterested and happy marriages are at least as common in India as they are in England. There is something rather ambiguous in the wording of this, but we accept the apology and recognise a better meaning in it than the words literally imply.

Besides it is evident that Captain Thomas, though, under the influence perhaps of a little superfluity of bile, he may have taken incidentally a jaundiced view of domestic life in India, has a much more cheerful philosophy—a more sustaining faith. The illustrations of Indian married life, scattered through his volume, indicate a more cheerful philosophy—a more sustaining faith. It is very plain that the writer of the following lines—and others of a similar tendency might be quoted—has no very bad opinion of Indian wedded life. The sentiment of these verses is not worn out. Among the myriads of sentimental pieces that we have read we are not sure that we have ever alighted upon one embodying the same train of feelings as is expressed—and very felicitously expressed—in this little poem —

“FAMILIAR VERSES

Dear lady, honour'd lady, I bring back to you again
The treasure you consign'd to me in mingled pride and pain,
—From exile and its dreary pomp back to our native shore,
From every taint and peril free, your treasure I restore '—
This true the tender plant you gave is now a blooming flower,
• But naught is chang'd that I could keep unalter'd from that hour
Save that a bud or two peeps forth that was not there before,
To make, methinks, the gentle flower ev'n fairer than of yore —
Yet if it meet your gaze again, as pure and fresh as erst,
Slight praise is mine, tho' lovingly its beauteous growth I nurst,
—Had there been canker in the bud, no care could save its bloom,
No skill preserve its purity,—it must have met its doom!
Then clasp her, clasp her to your heart! for clasp her as you will,
You cannot hold her worth so great, but it is greater still,
Yet let me own, while owning her full worthy of your love
The praise to you alone is due,—you under Heaven above.”

The following, too, is worth quoting. It will touch the hearts of many of our readers —

LINES WRITTEN IN INDIA ON SENDING A DAUGHTER HOME

Yes, it must be! the evil hour may be delayed no more
My babe, to stranger hearts and hands thou must be rendered o'er
And other ears than ours must hear, haply unheeding too,
The prattle of that infant tongue, and other eyes must view
Each childish joy that soon shall chase the first, last tear away,
That falleth o'er thine infant cheek upon our parting day

And many a fearful surge must sweep our child across the main,
And many a rolling year must speed ere we can meet again,
And none may tell what hallow'd fane, or what unholy shrine
Strangers and hirelings shall up-build in that young heart of thine

Yet surely they will keep their plight, and sure my child shall be
 Still e'en in after years a child in spotless purity,
 And thou shalt grow, Heav'n nurtur'd, as some sweet and beauteous flower
 Fann'd by our own loved Albion's breeze, in merry English bower,
 And God will bless thee, and sweet hopes, and blessed thoughts will rise
 From out thy little sinless heart, like incense to the skies

Thought soon shall light those deep blue eyes, as day's star lights the lake,
 Kissing its clear and breezeless face when fair spring mornings break,
 And, girt with thine own virgin grace, mine infant, thou shalt grow
 Lov'd of the God thou fear'st above, and fondly blest below

But oh, when hearts now strange to thee have lov'd thee long and well,
 And other joys and other scenes have wrought their pleasant spell,—
 Say (while this life appears to thee one long glad holiday)
 Will prayer or praise of thine e'er bless thy parents far away?

And when, in later years, the day shall come, as come it must,
 For those, once strangers, since lov'd, to render back their trust,
 When age's blessing, youth's pure tear, and friendship's whisper tell
 How hard to those we long have lov'd it is to say farewell,
 With pain thy gentle heart will break the blended witchery
 For us, whose very life and love are voiceless shades to thee!

The sleepless care, the heart-deep prayer, the picturings in thought,
 That shall have track'd and traced thy path, tho' thou beheld them not,
 The exile willingly prolong'd—prolong'd that thou might'st reap
 Its fruit, in added skill to charm,—afar—across the deep,
 —What shall their meed be? duty cold, and sighs all ill repress,
 And thoughts that faint, like doves, would "fly away and be at rest!"
 Yet go! still go! tho' well I know thou never more mayst be
 The little loving gentle thing that thou hast been to me!

The last work on our list has, at all events, the most attractive title. In spite of the scores of volumes which have been written on the subject, a book really being what it professes to be a description of *real* life in India would be a valuable contribution to our literature. A work containing a true account of Anglo Indian Society—with nothing in it about the sale of young damsels—the enormous quantity of curry that gentlemen eat for breakfast and the enormous quantity of beer that ladies drink for luncheon—is even in this year 1847 a desideratum which has yet to be supplied. Of the work now before us, in a very imperfect state, we scarcely know what account to render. The precise object of *Real Life in India* it is difficult to gather from the sheets that have reached us, but there would seem to be a plainer stamp of utilitarianism upon it than the title would have led us to suppose. We believe the little volume is intended to be a sort of *vade mecum* for Griffins of all denominations, which being cheap and portable, they may conveniently stow away in an odd corner of their portmanteau. There is a good deal of useful advice in it—but we have looked in vain for the piquant sketches of Anglo-Indian Society, which the advertisement of the work led us to expect—though, if we are not much deceived by some occasional

touches thrown in here and there with a free bold hand, the writer might have given us some such sketches, had his intentions lain in that direction. From a chapter headed "What appointments to get, and how to get them" we take the following account of "how to get into the East India direction, which is at all events *smart*—it is the only connected passage which we can afford to quote —

"An East India Director is one of twenty four gentlemen to whom the Crown and the Legislature entrust under certain ministerial control, the business of conducting the affairs of India. Once appointed, these gentlemen have a life interest in the office, although they go out every four years in rotation, to be succeeded by others who have already held the office. The Directors are elected by the proprietors of East India stock, a considerable body of persons, whose votes are determined by the number of shares or bonds they individually possess. These persons are to be found in every class of life, from the peer and the general's or civilian's widow down to the slop-seller, the latter having, of course, an eye to the smiles and patronage of the successful Director on whom he may bestow his vote. Freedom and independence among these voters are about as applicable as the same phrase used in reference to the ten pound householders who select the representatives of the nation. Here and there we meet with a conscientious proprietor, but in nine cases out of ten a successful election is the result of industrious canvassing, and the exertions and favour of the men already in power. The process by which a gentleman reaches his place among the "Honourable" conclave, whose official *locale* is Leadenhall-street, London, is almost uniform. We will suppose him to have served or resided in India, achieving a certain amount of distinction as a civilian, a soldier, a lawyer, a merchant, a sailor,—or indeed in any capacity,—or we shall suppose him never to have visited India at all. He may be a London banker or a *c-dévant* China supercargo. There is no condition exacted of the candidate, either as to his age or his previous position in life. Well, he has made up his mind to seek an East-India Directorship, for the sake of making his talents useful to his country, his friends, and himself. He procures a list of the proprietors—communicates with those among them who may happen to enjoy the honour of his acquaintance—seeks through them, the friendship of others, and having thus prepared the soil, fertilizes it with good dinners and other pleasant bounties. He then, through the medium of letters inserted in the advertising columns of the public newspapers, announces his intention to the proprietors of East India stock,—apprises them of his remarkable qualifications for the trust he seeks—professes a scrupulous and intense devotion to the interests of the Indian empire—promises to call upon them all and solicit their sweet voices *in propria persona*, and winds up, declaring with desperate energy that he will proceed to the ballot at the very next vacancy,—a declaration he often finds it convenient to rescind. The day of election arrives. One or two competitors are in the field. The East India House—on that occasion a gentlemanlike sort of hustings—is the scene of active contest all day long. The several committees move heaven and earth to bring the voters to the poll. The proxies are duly registered. At six P.M. the glasses close, and the scrutineers announce the triumphant candidate.

"And for what has this often costly battle been waged? Not, assuredly,

for pecuniary profit, for the Director receives but 300*l* a year while in office, and cannot sell his patronage without violating the laws of his country. But it is for the honour and dignity of the office, for the occupation it gives, and the opportunity it affords the incumbent of making powerful friends by providing for their children, of reciprocating delicate obligations, of paving the way to Parliament, or to some of the good things in the gift of Government, and various wealthy associations.'

We wish that we could have given a better account of the recent additions to our collection of books relating to India, and the East. The "cumberers of the—*shelves* already are many, and we fear that the number is likely to be increased. It is but fair, however, that we should remark in conclusion that Mr Hutton's book contains matter relating to China, which is more valuable than that which concerns our Indian possessions. But we are writing now of our Indian Empire and not of the peculiarities of the "flowery land. When we come to speak of recent works upon China we may perhaps revert, in more encouraging language, to Mr Hutton and his book.

Macleane's pamphlet, leaves no doubt on our mind that, even if success be fully commensurate with the hopes, our schools will still continue to send out their sound grammarians and elegant versifiers who one year with another will carry off the fairest portion of the great university honours. We retain what an elegant novelist terms an amiable fireside prejudice in favour of the ancient buildings, where the country air is breathed in all its purity, and whose precincts are hallowed by numerous interesting associations. Our hearts are entirely with Coningsby, when he declares in his own emphatic language, a desire to see the boy "who did not like Eton." But beyond this, we wish the Brighton College every possible success. Writing in India, where every thing around us recalls motives and maxims of a stamp so different from the European, we have no wish to exalt one English system on the ruins of another. We should as little think in a land rife with superstition of insisting on the distinction between Christian and Christian, as we should, in laying before Indian parents the ways and means of educating their children, think of lauding the old school, with a view to stifle the rising energies of the new. Before the great object of all education, minor distinctions entirely melt away. Let us have the training of an institution conducted on liberal principles, call it school or call it college, and we cannot but feel certain that youths so trained, will not disappoint the anxious hopes of their fathers, whom a separation of fifteen years has rendered mainly ignorant of their character and bias. So trained, they will in after life, maintain in any colony, that aptitude for business and that promptitude of action in emergencies, which combined with sound, sterling, English, common sense, has hitherto rendered the English character conspicuous amongst nations.

NOTE.—It has not escaped us that in the above we have said little about mathematics. This has not arisen from a doubt of their utility, but because we think that their practical benefits would be more readily allowed by most parents—while that of the classics would be oftener assailed. Our object is mainly to vindicate the latter and to show that the accomplishments of modern languages and history are not now neglected by their side. The universities contain at this moment some of the best German scholars in England, whose acquaintance with this language commenced at school. We have also, in the *present* article, purposely refrained from any allusion to the systems pursued in the educational institutions of Scotland and Ireland.

- ART VI—1 *An Account, Geographical, Statistical and Historical of Orissa Proper, or Cuttack* By A Stirling, Esq
- 2 *The History of Puri with an Account of Jagannáth, also a Succint Description of the Southern Division of Zilah Cuttack* By Bry Kishore Ghose, Head Clerk Cuttack, 1848
- 3 *Indian Report of the Orissa Baptist Mission—for the year 1846*
- 4 *India's Cries to British Humanity, &c* By J Peggs, late Missionary at Cuttack, Orissa London, 1830
- 5 *Sketches chiefly relating to the History, Religion, Learning and Manners of the Hindus, &c* By Q Craufurd London, 1792
- 6 *Heeren's Historical Researches Translated from the German Vol III Asiatic Nations Indians* Oxford, 1833
- 7 *The Hindu Pantheon* By Edward Moor, F R S London, 1810
- 8 *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* No 32, January—June, 1847
- 9 *Elphinstone's History of India* London, 1841
- 10 *The Despatches, &c of the Marquess Wellesley, K G*
- 11 *Regulations of Government*
- 12 *Various Official Documents and Correspondence, (hitherto unpublished)*

IN the "Advertisement to the first Number of this *Review*, all the able and willing were invited to come forward and "declare what they know" It was the original design of the work to apply its pages "to the purposes of a vast commission" We come forward, then, to do our best in adding to the records of that high trust, by descriptions of places, temples, and matters over which we have dwelt with some degree of attention In addition to the full consideration of the chief subject of this paper, it is not our intention here to advance any new theories, or enter into lengthy arguments for the support or downfall of old ones, on the history, religion, and architecture of Orissa From the grounds afforded by us we shall leave the reader to form an opinion of his own It is our principal object to present, in a popular form, a great mass of information on subjects not generally known, but with which every resident

in India—particularly every public officer—should be acquainted. The rise of one religion and the decline of another are not matters of ordinary importance in the political management of a country. The archæology of Hindustan is now disclosing subjects of intense interest to many, and the Hindu mythology was not thought unworthy to form a considerable portion of the bounteous labours of one who was named by a contemporary sage “the most enlightened of the sons of men.”*

Frequent have been the hopes expressed in this Journal for an improved condition of the Hindu mind, and many have been the expositions set forth in its pages of the foul contagion with which that mind is saturated,—aided by declarations of various means of cleansing it, but, hitherto, in the attempt to purify the Indian intellect, by exposing the errors of its ways and the darkness by which it is surrounded, India's greatest monster of iniquity has escaped being dragged to the front—need we name the temple of JAGANNATH?†

The reasons for the omission on our part have been various, but that which preponderated was the all-sufficient one, that, until lately, we had little or no new *material* to work upon.

About the middle of the year 1846, the Bengal journals—among whom we may mention the *Friend of India*, the *Hurkaru*, and the *Englishman*—discussed, at considerable length, and with great force and clearness, the question of British connexion with the temple of Jagannath. This discussion was brought about by the appearance of a “Blue Book” from England, containing “correspondence and minutes relative to the superintendence of Native Religious Institutions.”‡ We

* Sir William Jones was so styled by Dr Samuel Johnson.

† Since the commencement of our labours no subject has given us more varied or endless trouble than the representation of Oriental terms in Roman characters. While many follow Gilchrist's system, and many, Jones system, with perhaps sundry arbitrary modifications, there are not a few who appear to follow no known system at all—their own ear being seemingly their only guide, and in the course of the same paper, favouring us with three or four variations in the orthography of the same word. Having ourselves a decided predilection on principle, for Sir William Jones system, as beyond all question, on philological considerations, the most exact—and as the system steadily pursued by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and with slight variations by the most learned Orientalists, throughout the world—we have endeavoured, though by no means with uniform success, to introduce the system into most of the articles which have appeared in this work. The term “Jagannāth” we have, in the course of our reading, seen written in at least a dozen different ways. Now there is no dubiety as to the word itself in the Sanskrit and its dialects. The only letters there are *j*, *g*, *n*, *nāth*, each consonant having in it, the inherent *short* sound of *a*. According, therefore, to Sir William Jones system, the word should be written *Jagannāth*. It is compounded of two words, *jagad*, (in composition, *jagan*) *world*, and *nāth*, *lord*, meaning “Lord of the world.”

‡ We have made no use whatever of the Blue-Book in the present article—although, doubtless, much that we have brought forward to suit our purpose is contained therein.

well recollect wading through that mass of papers and letters on a very intricate, yet, from local acquaintance, to us a highly interesting subject.

But we sought for something more than could be extracted from documents and official correspondence, in which there was little information concerning the town of Puri and the temple, as they are and were

To supply this deficiency of narrative, we certainly, among a few other writers, had Stirling, the great authority on Orissan matters. And we have had no hesitation in placing the historian's valuable "Account" at the head of this article, as nothing better than it can be consulted for information on the past state of Orissa,—and it abounds with interesting details concerning the "mighty Pagoda or Pagod, the mirror of all wickedness and idolatry—Jagannath—as, in many respects, it is now and was in days gone by

Through the enlightened liberality of Lord Dalhousie's government, the whole of the official documents and correspondence concerning Jagannath have been allowed us for the present occasion

We had likewise the good fortune to hear of an intelligent Hindu, by name, Brij Kishore Ghose, who had, for a considerable time, been collecting and condensing materials for "A History of Puri, &c." These materials are now before us in the shape of a work, or rather pamphlet—which, considering the limited means of the establishment, does the Orissan Mission Press considerable credit—and the appearance of which is an event of some importance in the annals of Indian literature. Here is the round, unvarnished truth told by a native—himself not a Christian—regarding a vast abyss of corruption, near which he has resided for four and twenty years,—and the work of this "tell-tale" Hindu will, we feel confident—if it meets with the circulation it deserves—do more good than the most powerful invectives against the immoralities and impurities attendant upon idolatry. The heresies of Jagannath, we now fully believe to be sincerely exposed to view by this extraordinary authority, who, regardless of the dissentient voice of his Hindu brethren, has lifted the veil,—drawn up the curtain and represented a drama of evil spirits,—and calculated to a fraction the iniquity and misery pertaining to the worship of the delusive "Lord of the World." Thankful, then, ought we to be to the author—for India's sake—that he has given us good reason to exclaim, in the emphatic language of the "Tempest"—

"Hell is empty
And all the devils are here!"

We shall have occasion to notice a considerable portion of this new work as we proceed with our article—which, as the reader doubtless expects, will savour rather more of narrative than criticism

Orissa may be compared to a huge cauldron, which has been boiling for many hundreds of years,—into which ignorance, stupidity, and bigotry, have cast so many poisonous ingredients, that it is difficult to say when the contents will become purified and good

Its early history is perhaps more wrapped in obscurity than that of any other province Ignorance, oppression, and superstition, garnished with the deceitful trappings of romance, either by, or through the means of, self interested potentates, have, for many ages, gilded the misery which has been endured by its poor deluded inhabitants Filth and every abomination of the earth have been converted by the Heathen poets into sacred streams, and fragrant flowers, and fruits of exquisite flavour Idolatry has sanctioned these descriptions as well suited to her purpose And yonder!—leaning against the threshold of the small temple over which he presides—behold the bigoted Brahman, with a countenance seeming to glory as it were, in his fallen state If you ask him concerning any of the beautiful and wonderful remains of the former greatness of his country, he knows nothing about them, save what consists in a few words, like the reply to the question respecting ruins in the *Antiquary*—"they were made by the monks lang syne

It is related by the Annalists of Orissa, that, "when the famous Sival Jay Singh, the General of Akbar, marched with an army into the country in 1580, A D, he was struck with amazement at the sight of its sacred river the Mahanuddi,—its vast crowds of Brahmans, its lofty temples of stone, and all the wonders of the ancient capital Bhuvaneswar,—and exclaimed, 'This country is not a fit subject for conquest, and schemes of human ambition It belongs wholly to the Gods, and is one entire Tirth * He accordingly interfered little in its affairs, and soon returned to Hindustan We imagine, from this burst of admiration, that the "General of Akbar proceeded no further than Bhobanésar—as we shall term it, according to the modern pronunciation—which certainly is, even at the present day, a wondrous sight to see Imagine a vast space of some two or three miles in extent, abounding with beautiful temples, some entire, some in ruins—the former, as it were, representing, the Brahmanical scientific genius and vivid imagination of former

* Tirth—a sacred place of pilgrimage

ages,—the latter emblematic of these gifts now fallen to decay. But more of this ancient “city hereafter.”—a powerful illustration of the freedom of Hindu intellect checked by a pitiful fanaticism, and the stern resolution of millions to pass a useless life.

Orissa is entirely indebted for celebrity to its temples, places of pilgrimage, and its Brahmanical institutions. But, among these, the Hindus look upon the name—*Jagannáth*—the Lord of the World—as the inspiring soul of all,—and the town of Púri, or Puri Jagannath, owes its importance entirely to its connexion with the temple. This Mecca of Hindustan is resorted to by pilgrims from every quarter of India. It is, as is well known, the chief seat, in Eastern India, of Brahmanical power, and the principal stronghold of Hindu superstition. Connected with Puri Jagannáth, there is much that is interesting and amusing in the fabulous records of the early sovereigns of Orissa.

The four ages of the Hindus are the Satya Yûg, the Treta Yûg, the Dwapar Yûg, and the Kali Yûg—or present age—these ages corresponding in their natures to the golden, silver, brazen, and iron ages of the Greeks. The history of Orissa begins with princes connected with the—“Maha Bharat—or the *great war*, about the opening of the Kali Yûg or evil age, according to Hindu chronology, 3001 B C. Krishna—who in his youth was a shepherd, and is likened in this capacity, as Gopala the herdsman, to the pastoral Apollo—in various Hindu works, is said to be the most remarkable incarnation of Vishnu. Jagannath again is said to be one of the many names of Vishnu, in the manifestation of Krishna. About the commencement of the Orissan annals, the Brahmans, with their accustomed ingenuity, cause thirteen of their traditionary Rajahs to reign for 3,173 years.

Thirteen *bona fide* kings only may have reigned during the above enormous space of time, “but,” says Stirling, “in relating the succession of reigns, no distinction is drawn between those personages who were local or dependant princes, and these whom it is intended to represent as the monarchs of a large part of India.”

As we may with justice suppose the feudal system to have been a popular one in Orissa's ancient times, it is not improbable that the minor feudal chiefs may have played their cards like so many Robespierres of the great French Revolution—for ever on the alert to kill a *king*.

During the reign of the fifth of these few ancient monarchs of Orissa, considerably before the Christian era, the province extended from Húgly, in lower Bengal, to the Godavery at

Rajahmundry, which capital is said to have been founded by Mahendra Deo

Of course, to establish a sort of antiquity for their beloved idol, some of these sovereigns are painted as most devout in their offerings to Jagannáth, among whom is particularly cited the Rajah Shewak Deo—the eighth in the line

Some three or four hundred years before the Christian era, the *Yavanas*, “foreigners, frequently invaded Orissa, but the invaders are reported to have been, at that period, invariably repelled. It is a disputed point whether these *Yavanas* were Persians, or Affghans, or Tartars. Stirling states that, in the original Uryia the word is written *Jaban*, or *Javan*—interpreted by the translators of his authorities, “Mogul

Dr Buchanan remarks—“The word *Yavana* properly signifies an European, but as the Hindus speak with great confusion concerning the northern and western nations, it is often confounded with the Turks, Arabs, and Tartars, and all these terms are frequently applied to the Mussulman Moor, in the *Hindu Pantheon*, thinks that *Yavana* might have meant—simply a mixed people, and gives a root—*yu* to mix, like *misra*. Elphinstone seems to think it absurd—and we think so too—to suppose with the natives, that even the invading “Yavans, some centuries later, were Mussulmans. This historian, in a note, alludes to the “Yavans of Telingána—the neighbouring country to Orissa—“who, by the bye, have all Sanskrit names

We think the easiest—if not the most satisfactory—solution to the word *Yavana*, is that given by Captain Congreve—“By *Yavana*, says he, “I apprehend, is meant the children of *Yavana* or *Javan*, the great ancestor of the Greeks, though by slight alteration it might be read *Yuvana* or *Euvana*, that is the country of Europeans or Europe. In other words, *Javan*, the fourth son of Japhet, was the father of the Javanians or *Jaones* of the Greeks, and the *Yavanas* of the Hindus. The prophet Daniel in the original Hebrew calls Greece itself *Javan*, and Homer styles the people *Jaones*. The early *Yavanas*, therefore, may have been Bactrian Greeks—the remnant of the Asiatic glory of Alexander

But who the early Orissan invaders really were is a mystery, which few will consider of sufficient importance to unravel, although it would be interesting to learn who were the antagonists of the *Uryias*, with whom so many bloody battles were fought, always to the advantage of the latter, in ages long past away. What are called effeminate, stupid people now, might have been comparatively *giants* in those days. At least, it is certain that their name and language were formerly carried

over "a vast extent of territory, both on the sea shore and in the hills, including, besides Orissa,* a part of Bengal and Telingana

Among the legendary annals of the ancient Rajahs of Orissa, there is a story not without a seeming colouring of truth related by Stirling, of an extraordinary occurrence, which took place A D 318 A Yavana, or foreigner, *Rakta Bahu*, (the Red-armed), is by curious means, discovered with a fleet containing a large army, about to approach the shores of Puri, and take the town by surprise The Rajah, Subhan Deo—a timid prince—apparently becomes more alarmed for the safety of the idol, Jagannáth, than for that of his own subjects,—and, in consequence, flies and hides the image, with all its jewels and trappings, in the west of the province The Rajah at length hears of the doings of the invaders, who had landed and plundered the town and temple His fears increase—he buries the image in the ground,—and seeks refuge in the jungles—where he eventually dies The Yavanas, meanwhile, have drawn out their force "to chastise the ocean, for making known to the Rajah the proposed invasion, and giving him time for flight The sea retreats nearly two miles, and the invaders take up position upon the vast sands they rush on—the tide suddenly rushes in, swallows up a great portion of the army and inundates a great part of the country Such is the "extraordinary occurrence, —and the beautiful and picturesque Chilka lake, which at the present day, charms the Indian traveller, is said to be formed "by the irruption of the waters of the ocean, at the above eventful inundation'

Regarding this tradition of the Yavana, Rakta Bahu, Stirling thinks it may have some connexion with "the religious disputes which raged between the worshippers of Brahma and Buddha about the same period—which ended in the expulsion of many of the disciples of the latter from India

From these hostilities between the Buddhists and Brahmans, which existed at the beginning of the fourth century, it is highly probable that the above legend derives its origin, and so having advanced thus far we may perhaps be allowed to enter into a slight analogical investigation, if only to please the curious

Was Foé or Fo, Buddha? If not, who was, then, the much

* That is Orissa, (*Or Desa*, or *Oresa*, the old original seat of the *Or* or *Odra* tribe,) properly so called—the country of the Uryia nation, the capital of which is Cuttack —*Katak*, in Sanskrit, a seat of empire The four modern Zillahs of Midnapore, Cuttack, Ganjam, and Vizagapatam, with parts of the Jungle Mahals, &c., formed the chief portion of the grand Orissa of old,—and even, says Stirling at no very remote period. In talking of Orissa at the present day—Orissa Proper or the Cuttack Province—we merely include Cuttack, Balasore, and Puri

disputed Fo, whose doctrines were promulgated throughout China and other parts of the Eastern hemisphere? If Buddha, he is simply what Krishna, the origin of Jagannath, is said to be—one of the incarnations of the popular Hindu Vishnu * If the Buddhism of India, which became the Lamaism of Thibet, at the commencement of the Christian era, extended through Tartary as far as Persia—and there is every reason to believe it did three or four centuries after, may not some Tartar or Persian proselytes have sent an expedition to put down Brahmanical influence in India And, while the Brahmans were persecuting the Buddhists and stirring up the Hindu people against them—styling them Atheists, which they were not—haters of science, and art, and religion, which they were not,—is it not at least probable that the first object of the invaders revenge would be the Brahmanical stronghold, Puri Jagannath ?

We are not speaking of the most ancient of the Buddha sects, for, in primitive Buddhism, the *being* of a God is said to have been entirely denied From the commencement of the Christian era, the Buddhists had reversed their belief, and, in the fourth century—the time of which we write—it is probable that in Buddhism there was a purer belief in the Supreme Being than then existed in Brahmanism

“ Fo is considered by Jones, Klaproth and Remusat to be the same person as Buddha,—Fo being Buddha according to Chinese orthograghy † The Chinese having no B in their alphabet—called him Fo, or Fo—hi

It is written that Fo was the son of a prince of India,—that he was born there, about 1200 years before the Christian era, and that “ he was called *Cheka*, or *Xaca*, to the age of thirty, when he took the name of Foé †

Craufurd likewise states—“ I think there is little doubt that the *Samana Kantama* of Pegu, the *Samana Codum* of Siam, and the Foé, or *Xaca* of China and Japan, is the same person, and probably the Hindu Vishnu in one of his pretended incarnations

In an attempt to trace out a connexion between Brahmanism and Buddhism, we little thought we should find, in “ Stillingfleet's defence ”—(A D 1676)—such a remarkable passage as the following —“ Among the Saints of the Brahmans, *Ram* is

* “ Such Hindus as admit Buddha to be an incarnation of Vishnu, agree in his being the last important appearance of the deity on earth, but many among the Brahmans, and other tribes, deny their identity ”—*Moor's Hindu Pantheon*, p 220

† See the 8th number of this Journal—“ Indian Buddhism—its Origin and Diffusion ”

‡ Craufurd

‘ in very great estimation, being the restorer of their religion, and
 ‘ a great patron of their Brahmans, Kircher supposeth him
 ‘ to be the same with him whom the Japanese call *Xaca*, and
 ‘ the Chinese *Ken Kian*, saith Kircher, *Xacia* or *Thuc-ca*, saith
 ‘ *Marini*, and those of *Tunquin*, *Chiaga*. in all which parts
 ‘ he is in very great veneration, him they look on as the great
 ‘ propagator of their religion in the Eastern parts, and they say
 ‘ he had 80,000 disciples, but he chose ten out of them all to
 ‘ disperse his opinions From whence it is supposed that the
 ‘ religion of the Brahmans hath spread itself not only over *In-*
 ‘ *dosthan*, but *Camboia*, *Tunquin*, *Cochin china*, nay *China*
 ‘ itself, and Japan too, where it is an usual thing for persons
 ‘ to drown, burn or famish themselves for the honour of *Xaca*
 ‘ This Sect was brought into China sixty-five years after Christ
 ‘ from Indosthan, —which Sect, in short, is generally believed
 to have been formed of the Indian Buddhists

Some violent speculators might at once deduce from the above extract, from Dr Stillingfleet,—one of the most celebrated of our English divines, who, in addition to numerous other authorities, cites Xavier, Bernier, and Bartoli, for the account of his “two sects in the East Indies,—that Brahmanism and Buddhism were originally one and the same thing,—that Buddhism—so called—is only a sect produced by a division among the upholders of Brahmanism It is the *Ram* or *Rama* in the passage—which hero is often made synonymous with Krishna—that might lead to such a conjecture But we shall not rush to any violent conclusions of this kind As we proceed, the reader, it is hoped, will be able to form his own judgment on the matter Nearest to the date or computation of the era of Buddha, as above given by Craufurd, is Abul Fazel, in the *Ayin Akbery*, who places it 1366 B C The Chinese assign his birth to 1036 B C, the Tibetians to 957—differing by a few years from the majority of their countrymen The dates of the Siamese, Japanese, and Ceylonese, are 544 and 542—the first two agreeing in date, and Monsieur Bailly and Sir W Jones nearly agree with the Chinese in assigning to the era of Buddha the dates of 1031 and about 1000 B C There must, it has been supposed, have been two Buddhas—one, perhaps, the Incarnation of Vishnu, the other, the original Buddha, or Budha, probably a king of India—to have produced that decided difference of opinion, which has so long existed, and which now exists more than ever, regarding the era of the founder of the Buddhists

It is well known that one of the chief doctrines of Buddha was the abolition of *caste* In favour of the supposition that

the Hindu Vishnu has ought to do with Fo—which personage we shall assume to be the same as Buddha—it may be cited that the people of many castes, at the pagoda of Jagannāth, mingle and eat together * This peculiarity is said to be in commemoration of Krishna, “who always recommended kindness and affection for each other This advice of the Hindu philosopher is more Buddhistical than Brahmanical

Allowing that the two religions sprang from one common origin—and this is one of the great points of dispute—there is, with all its error, a seeming purity, an honesty, a sincerity of purpose, about Buddhism, which we search for in vain in Brahmanism There is in it less of that selfishness, that barbarous despotism that bestiality, which at present characterizes, and has so long tainted the latter religion There is about Buddhism a grand freedom, which never could have, at least to such a degree, corrupted the moral sense, debased the human intellect,—and deadened the best affections of the human heart The Brahmins appear before us in dark colours as a set of despots, shorn of all their scientific glory, whose chief delight is to fetter the human intellect by domineering over the inferior masses of mankind

Among the Buddhists of later centuries—including those of the present time—the adoration of a *Great Supreme, unseen*, is more apparent than among the Brahmins The present Brahmanical system, which has so long existed, is founded on outward display, licentiousness and mammon Yet, true it is, that this neglect of the Spirit pervading all things, is forbidden in the principal Shastras, and by various *Brahmanical* authors—when it is stated that “It is for the ignorant to view God in wood and stone, the wise behold him in Spirit alone

Let us now turn from this digression and proceed with our historical and general sketch

About the middle of the fourth century A D, a Yavana dynasty is said to have held the government of Orissa, which extended over a space of 146 years But these foreigners are of no importance in the Orissan Annals, and Stirling is disposed to date the commencement of the real history of the province, from the accession of the Rajahs, styled the *Kesari Pat* or *Vansa*, A D 478 The *Kesari*, or *Kesur* family, though nothing is known of their origin and pedigree, play a most conspicuous part in early Orissan history The founder of the new dynasty *Yayati Kesari*, cleared his dominions of the Yavanas, restored

* We have heard it asserted the *people of every caste* Some of the very low castes are not admitted to the temple

the confidence of the officiating priests of Jagannáth, discovered the images, which were said to have been hid since the time of Rakta Bahu, and revived the worship of the idol "in all its ancient splendour." We now beg the readers' attention to the following interesting particulars from Stirling, as, in some respect, the Head Clerk of Puri differs from the high authority. To the revival of the worship "the formation of a new image being considered an indispensable preliminary, the priests proceeded into the woods to look for a proper *daru* or piece of timber, and having found one with all the requisite qualities indicated by the shastras, they brought it to the Rajah, who, filled with pious zeal, clothed both it and the old images in rich robes, and conducted them in great state to Puri. *A new temple was then erected* on the site of the old one, which was found to be much dilapidated and overwhelmed with sand. The four images were afterwards duly prepared and set up on their sinhasan or throne with much pomp and solemnity on the 5th of Kakara (Cancer) the thirteenth year of the Rajah's reign, amidst the shouts and rejoicings of the multitude. At the same time the necessary officers were appointed, feasts and festivals established, sasans founded, and the whole country around Puri assigned as endowments for the maintenance of the temple. On this memorable occasion the Rajah received by general acclamation the title of the second Indradyumna *.

To Rajah Yayati Kesari, then, according to Stirling, the worship of Jagannath is indebted for its lasting celebrity, or, at least, with this Rajah, the temple appears to have been brought out of fable into light. The Head Clerk of Puri says—"During 'Satya Yug, or golden age, the temple at Puri was erected by 'Maharajah Indradyumna, who placed within it the three idols, 'Jagannáth his brother *Bulbhudra*, and his sister *Subhudra*—(*History of Puri*, page 10.) A fabulous story of the famed Maharajah's proceeding to heaven to invite Brahma to consecrate Jagannath, follows the above extracts—which is similar to one related by Stirling—who in no way connects it with history, but merely alludes to it as a fable or one of the many ingenious speculations which have been hazarded upon "the origin and meaning of the worship of Jagannáth." Both authorities have their great monarch or Indradyumna, in the "Satya Yug,"—but Stirling has two, an ancient and a modern—or at least, the latter prince was honoured with the title of Indradyumna—which, as it were, qualifies the whole business. It must be to the latter of these that the Head Clerk alludes

then will come with some propriety his assertion that, "subsequently, the temple was entirely covered with sand, in which it remained buried for a long time. This circumstance was brought to the notice of Rajah Unung Bhim Deb, who immediately set out to discover it, and happened to find the spot, where it had sunk, he then *removed the sand*, and the temple was restored A D 1198. Here it is asserted that Anang, or Unung Bhim Deb, or Deo, only removed the sand and restored the temple—while Stirling says* the great temple was *erected* by the above Rajah's orders. But Stirling has *erected a new temple* on the site of some old temple or other, in the reign of Yayati Kesari—the particulars of which form our last quotation from that authority. We may then justly say there have been *two* temples of Jagannáth erected in the Christian era.

The Head Clerk of Puri gives a new period—and, it is most probable, a period of his own—for the reigning of the Rajahs of the Kesari line. This authority builds the temple of Bhobanéser in 1128, A D. "The temple was erected by Rajah Lulat Kesur (Page 69). Now Rajah Lulat Kesur, according to Stirling, began to reign A D 617, and built the temple of Bhobanéser, in 657 and this we may believe to be the more correct date.

The Kesari family, it is said, became extinct at the commencement of the twelfth century. The Head Clerk writes that the famous temple of the Sun, or "the Black Pagoda, was *erected* by one of the Kesari Rajahs, or "Kesoree, as he terms it, in 1278 (Page 71). This edifice, says Stirling, "it is well known was built by Rajah Langora Narsinh Deo, A D 1241, under the superintendence of his minister Shibai Sautra†. The Black Pagoda was completed, according to the same authority in 1277. If Anang Bhim Deb did not build the entire present temple of Jagannath, to him is attributed the erection of the grand tower. He probably likewise built the whole of the minor temples within the enclosure,—while he was engaged, at an enormous expense, in flooding Puri with a barbarous magnificence—which has lasted even to the present day. It is known that the architecture of the Hindus originated with the pyramid—that is the ancient temple architecture—in which form the ancient pagodas in the South of India are invariably built. We may here be allowed to remark that the monuments of Hindu architecture, are, with great propriety, divided into three classes,—the first comprising subterraneous

* See "Account," p 154

† Stirling, p 185

temples or caves hewn out of the rock,—the second, similar to these, but having only a portion of the sanctuary subterraneous, the third includes all buildings, commonly called temples or pagodas. It is the opinion of Professor Heeren—the correctness of which has been generally admitted—that the above order of the enumeration of these classes appears to agree with the progressive eras of their construction.

Stirling assigns in one place the date 1196, to the completion of the temple of Jagannath, as it at present stands, and in another, he says that the present edifice was completed A D 1198. The latter date is that generally quoted. We know it to be the opinion of authorities in Orissa, that the three temples of Jagannath, Bhubaneser, and the Black Pagoda, as they are at present, were all built within a century or less of each other. And, on this belief, the Head Clerk of Puri has probably been content to rest some of his dates—without taking the trouble of further investigation.

Among the last great actions of the Kesari family, are chronicled the planting of a city on the site of the modern Cuttack, about 989 A D, and the construction of a stone revetment on the Mahanuddi and Cajori—"probably the ancient one of which the remains are yet to be seen.

It would appear that, at the above period, the large and populous city of Bhubaneser—the city with its forty two streets, and clusters of magnificent temples—first became desolate. What had formed the seat of government of the Kesari princes became the victim of ruin on the accession of a new dynasty. But we think that this desertion of the city can partly be accounted for. We are informed that the change of dynasty was brought about by "a person named Churany or Chor Ganga—a native of the Carnatic—who was invited by a rebel against the Orissan Court and government to invade the province. This personage probably considered, not unwisely, that Cuttack was the best place of defence against invading powers—particularly against any rivals in the Carnatic—who might feel inclined to wrench from him his treacherously acquired sovereignty. Or, the cause of Bhubaneser's becoming desolate might have been a fancied hatred to anything which owed its greatness to the Kesari family,—and a wish of the usurper to assume as his own bantling the rising city of Cuttack, and thereby gratify a noble ambition by making Cuttack in commerce what Bhubaneser had once been in religion.

The descendants of this chief reigned four centuries "a period fertile in great names and events of importance, and which forms unquestionably the most brilliant and interesting

portion of Orissan history The Ganga Vansa princes are distinguished for their liberality in the erection of public works, and next to Anang Bhīm Deo, in point of lasting celebrity, may be placed Rajah Langora Narsinh Deo, who built the Black Pagoda There is also honourable mention made of another of the Ganga Vansas Gajapatis,* who, in the year 1300, built "the fine bridge at the entrance of Purī"

Nothing of any great importance appears to have been done for the next 150 years Orissa seems, during that period, to have enjoyed a sort of repose But there was no such repose in other quarters The irruption of the Mahommedans, at the very commencement of the eleventh century—the greatest scourge that ever befel the Hindu nation—had produced a race of men, fierce, bigoted, and cruel, whose enjoyment was cruelty, and part of whose mission was to destroy by force the worship of the Hindu trinity But the greatest scourge of them all was Tammerlane—that terrific angry meteor—through whose agency priests were tortured, temples thrown down, and into those sacred places, where the footsteps of invaders had probably never before been heard, entered fearlessly to their worship the followers of the conqueror of Arabia

It was not until the year 1451, that the Mahommedans turned their attention towards Orissa, and their power did not fairly extend over any part of the province till about the middle of the sixteenth century The overthrow of the independent sovereignty of Orissa is dated A D 1558 Towards the close of that century, the Mahommedans took entire possession, and did every thing in their power to annoy the pious Hindus, and we now begin to picture in imagination a most ludicrous, though it was to them a most serious business,—namely, that of the high priest of Jagannāth, with other zealous assistants, stealing away, in a covered cart with three carefully wrapped-up images, to conceal their hideous treasures in the hills adjacent to the Ohilka lake—until a favourable opportunity for again setting them upon their throne in the temple From this petty warfare, the much talked of but little understood pilgrim-tax derived its origin The following remarks concerning it, from the compilation of the indefatigable Mr Peggs, will interest the reader—"This religious warfare was at last 'set at rest by the institution of the tax on pilgrims, which, 'if we may credit the author of the work translated by Gladwin.

* From *Gaya*, an elephant, and *pati* (potens,) a master or potentate. Rajah Anang Bhīm Deo was the first to undertake the measurement of the whole of the land comprised within the dominions of the Gajapatis, which are said to have included more than 40,000 square miles

' under the title of "History of Bengal, yielded the Mogul Government a revenue of 900,000 rupees. The Mahrattas, who succeeded the Mussulmans in the Government of Orissa, levied the tax, and the British followed the example of their predecessors. Before this place (Jagannáth) fell into the hands of the English, the king, a Mahratta chief, exacted tolls from the pilgrims passing through his territories to Jagannáth. At one place the toll was not less than £1 9s for each foot passenger, if he had so much property with him. When a Bengali Rajah used to go, he was accompanied by one or two thousand people, for every one of whom he was obliged to pay toll. The Honble Company's Government levied a tax of from one to six rupees on each passenger. * The pilgrim-tax is supposed to have been established at Gya and Allahabad, by the Moguls, about the same time as that at Jagannáth.

In the seventh year of Akbar's reign (1568) we read that all taxes on pilgrims were abolished †

During the scenes of devastation and bloodshed, in which the followers of Mahommed delighted to revel, in the middle of the sixteenth century, Brahmanical science in Orissa, (as in many other provinces), which had been long withering, perished. The learning, which was in the sole possession of the priests, fled before tyranny and persecution,—and those gorgeous pagodas of Hindustan, to which science had at least lent some grandeur, though but a vestige of what the annals of antiquity ascribe to the Brahmans, became only vile nests of iniquity— which they are at the present day.

The downfall of the Affghans in Bengal took place about 1584, under the auspices of Akbar.

His generals first drove them out of Behar, when Patna is said to have become the capital of that province. In 1592, the Affghans were, by order of Akbar, driven out of Orissa by Rajah Man Singh, the imperial Lieutenant of Bengal. Eventually, those fierce barbarians, the Mahrattas, entered the province (1743), and plundered, massacred, and oppressed the people. The veteran Aliverdy Khan, Viceroy of Bengal, Behar and Orissa—a sworn enemy to this race of free-booters—delivered up the province to their entire government, in 1756. It is said that this gallant old soldier and statesman, "struggled for ten years to keep the Mahrattas from conquering Bengal. ‡

It will always be difficult to know which of the two powers—

* Stirling—Peggs—Ward

† See Elphinstone's India, vol 2, page 326

‡ "Outline of the History of Bengal," p 132

the Mahomedan or Mahratta—did the most mischief in Orissa. We are inclined to think, for the time they reigned, that the Mahrattas bear away the palm. The Mahomedans, at first, harrassed priests and broke up idols, with a zeal in some degree excusable in men seeking to uphold a falling yet popular religion, but, doubtless, this treatment of the Uryias was in a great measure put a stop to when the Mogul government discovered that the Hindu pilgrimage to Jagannáth brought them a revenue of nine lakhs of rupees.

The Mahrattas had no new religion to uphold. To get money was their aim, to supply the court which governed them, —and the free-booters did not scruple to barter the ruin and misery of the people of Orissa, for heaps of gold and silver. The magic kettle-drum of the Affghan conqueror, “at the sound of which the ears and feet of the idols would drop off for many ooss all round, while it lasted, could hardly have struck more terror into the poor Uryias, than did the oppressive and wrenching system of the Mahrattas. Four years after their possession of the province, the Mahratta power was at its zenith. The Mogul empire in India was on the eve of being extinguished. The expense for the maintenance and equipment of the Mahratta armies became enormous. It had an army of well paid and well-mounted cavalry “in the direct service of the state, and 10,000 disciplined infantry, superior to any ever before raised and commanded by native chiefs in India. The Mahrattas had also a train of artillery surpassing that of the Moguls.”

It is not difficult to imagine the cruel measures which would be resorted to, in the getting of money, by this upstart people, when they were about to take the field against the Mahomedan confederacy. The grand army of the Mahrattas was, notwithstanding, defeated †

Yet, this people, in the gradual sunset of their glory, even with all their rapacity and violence, must have commanded a considerable portion of Hindu veneration. They adhered strictly to the religion of Brahma. This, in the eyes of the people of Orissa, must have covered a multitude of sins. They were famous for mutual harmony, and a marked hospitality to strangers. These qualities were particularly apparent among them in their original country on the Coast of Malabar. The excesses they committed, therefore, cannot justly be ascribed to a natural ferocity of character, they may have been “dictated by policy or inspired by revenge. They may sometimes have

* Elphinstone.

† Battle of Paniput—the Mahrattas defeated by Ahmed Shah, A. D. 1760

wished to obtain that by the dread of their invasions, which otherwise would only have been effected by a tedious war, or they may have been provoked to retaliate on the Mahommedans the cruelties they had so long exercised on their countrymen *

During the administration of the Mahrattas in Orissa, we have not been able to discover that they treated pilgrims to Jagannath otherwise than with a degree of consideration and attention. Like the Moguls eventually, it was of course their interest to do so. To take particular care about the collection of the pilgrim tax—to entice as many pilgrims to come as possible—to afford them the protection of the state while they enjoyed their devotions in the “Holy Land”—as the ground about Jagannath is called—was a portion of their policy. And the pilgrim-hunters of the latter half of the eighteenth century must have found little difficulty in causing multitudes to undertake the pilgrimage, especially when the Mahratta power and name extended from the Himalayas to nearly the extremity of the peninsula.

From an old document before us we learn that the forefathers of a certain class of Brahmans, from time immemorial, visited Jagannath, and they were permitted to perform their ceremonies without “impediment, delay, or molestation, by the successive Rajahs or chieftains of the district. The descendants of these Brahmans, and their relations, at different times, visited the temple, while it was under the Mahratta jurisdiction, and were invariably treated with every attention and assistance by the Pundahs, or Priests. These people term Jagannath “A venerable Fane of Hindu reverence. In their opinion, a pilgrimage to Puri is one of the most important acts of observance, enjoined to a Hindu, in the ritual of his religion. “At this resting place, say the deluded creatures, “the mind receives its last solace—when all prospects in life are commonly drawing to a close. Before carrying the reader to the town and temple, it may be as well to state that the title of Maharajah of Orissa of the Zemindari race of sovereigns, was first enjoyed by a distant connexion of an ancient royal house of the province—Rana Ratra—who was raised to that rank and dignity, A. D. 1580, under the title of Ramchander Deo. This popular Zemindar, who commenced the line of the Rajahs of Khurda, and from whom the present Rajah or superintendent of the temple is a descendant, was confirmed in the appointment by Siva

* Crauford—*Sketches of the Hindus*, vol 2, p. 308

Jay Singh, the General of Akbar, who, as we have before mentioned, was struck with admiration and astonishment at the "magnificent temples of Orissa

The office of the old Maharajahs, at Jagannáth, was that of *Chandal* (sweeper) at the Ruth Jatra,—and the superintendent is to be seen with his broom performing his annual duty at the present day

And now let us turn our attention to the town of Puri and the temple

The district, or Southern Division of Cuttack, in which Puri is situated, is fully described by the Head Clerk in his "History It may interest the reader to give the boundaries of the district of Orissa, from a statistical account, addressed to "His Excellency Sir George Nugent, Bart., the Hon ble Vice President in Council, 1814

In figure, Orissa is nearly that of a bow, of which the Bay of Bengal, on one side, forms the chord, and "the districts of the Mahratta frontier, on the other, the arc The British territories of Balasore, Hidgellí, Midnapore, and Mohurbunge, border it on the north-east, Chota Nagpore and the "Mahratta districts of Burhey and Bhandah, on the north, the Berar Frontier of Kole, Atmullick, Boad, and Goomsur, on the west, Ganjam borders it on the south west, and the Bay of Bengal washes the south and east

The greater portion of the history and all the character of the Uryia nation is combined in this space of country The area at the time the above boundaries were written, was said to be 22,500 square miles This area includes a large portion of the Tributary Mehals

The district which contains Puri has, it is said,* an area of 8,800 square miles

Its length is stated to be about 110 miles, and its breadth eighty

This includes four "Tributary Mehals,' three of which (Runpore, Nyagurh and Khundiapara,) we mentioned in a former article "The other Murrichpore, is subject to law, and the proprietor is not styled a Rajah †

* See the "History of Puri," &c p 62.

† Since writing the above, so little being known about Orissa, we have endeavoured to gain some correct statistical information—which we here give in the form of a Note The area of Southern Cuttack, as given above is greatly exaggerated—8,800 square miles being nearer the area of the entire province than of only a part of it Exclusive of the four Mehals—for which we will allow 2 300 miles as the area—the southern division of Cuttack or the Puri district contains only 2,700 square miles. There is no data, on which accurately to calculate the population of the province In Stirling's time it was said to be 12 96,365 This includes the village inhabitants and the population of the towns of Cuttack, Puri, and Balasore The population, during the last

"It is affirmed that Puri was, in former ages, under the sands, and that "a great part of it was overrun by forest trees, underwood, and grass these dense thickets were the theatres of the austerities and actions of many gods and ascetics "*

Such, according to the Hindu mythology, was ancient Puri. And, from the present aspect of the place, with even a slight knowledge of the locality, we think that the antiquary might be able to form some probable account out of the legend. Approaching Puri, the landscape is naked and cheerless, there is nothing to satisfy or please the eye It is just what Claude Lorraine would have avoided, as wanting the slightest natural grandeur for any sort of painting Had he attempted to place a land-storm over it, with all the accompaniment of angry clouds and storms howling on the canvas, he still would have produced a poor painting,—for a picture the country is so flat, dry, "stale and unprofitable" In the sandy precincts of the town, a human skull, occasionally, may arrest the wandering eye of the traveller He must hail as a companion this emblem of mortality, for he may find no other

Storms and hurricanes of a world gone by, it would seem, have torn up the wild sands of Puri, so that you perceive, on reaching the houses of the English residents, no equality of surface At the present time, according to the Hindus, forty miles south of Madras, at Mavalipuram, where are the temples and ruins styled "the seven Pagodas the surf rolls and roars over the ancient city of the great Bali The old ruins and temples there are chiefly dedicated to Vishnu Perhaps then, the submerging of ancient Puri, and that of the city of Bali, are Hindu legends of the same date and of the same origin,—the sea having receded in the one case, while it encroached on the land in the other The traveller must retire nearly three quarters of a mile from the sea before he can consider himself fairly in modern Puri

twenty years, has very considerably increased. From the best authority we have the following statement of the area of each of the three divisions of the province

Central Cuttack	3,061 5 M
Southern Division	2,700
Northern Division	1,875
Total	7,636

The Revenue Boards Report to Government for 1846-47 gives the Revenue of the four districts of Midnapore, Cuttack, Puri, and Balasore, at Rs 19,65,049, 8,21,239, 4,70,128, and 3,58,428—respectively Total Rs. 36,44,841.

* "History of Puri," p. 34.

The wonderful city of Dwarka, too, is said to have been swallowed up by the sea—Dwarka from which Vishnu is said to have marched in one of his freaks to Mavalipuram

The city of Dwarka, celebrated in the poem of “*Ramayana*,” is said to have been built, by command of Krishna, on the sea-shore, in the province of *Gujarat* Puri, as it was some five and twenty years ago, and with the exception of an increased number of houses, consequent upon the increased population, as it is now, is thus graphically described by Stirling —

“The town of Puri Jagannath contains 5,741 houses Every span of it is holy ground, and the whole of the land is held free of rent, on the tenure of performing certain services, in and about the temple The principal street is composed almost entirely of the religious establishments called Maths built of masonry, having low pillared verandas in front, and plantations of trees interspersed Being very wide, with the temple rising majestically at the southern end it presents by no means an unpicturesque appearance, but the filth and stench, the swarms of religious mendicants and other nauseous objects which offend one’s senses in every part of the town, quite dispel any illusion which the scene might otherwise possess Fine luxuriant gardens and groves enclose the town on the land side, and produce the best fruit in the province The stately and beautiful *Calophyllum Inophyllum*, called by Dr Ainslie the Alexandrian Laurel, grows here in great abundance, and the Cashew nut thrives with peculiar luxuriance The environs exhibit some fine tanks, as the Indra Daman, Chandan, Markandeswar Talao, &c which are supposed to be very ancient, and the inquisitive stranger who may be disposed to explore amidst the sand hills situated between the sea and the S W face of the town, will find many ancient and curious looking religious edifices, nearly overwhelmed with sand, to excite and reward attention *

The climate of Puri, during the hot months, is considered highly salubrious

At the time of which Stirling writes, the population of Puri was considerably under 40,000—that is including besides the regular inhabitants of the town, all those who made only a temporary residence there, or who, having come from afar to visit their friends and relations as well as to pay their devotions to Jagannath, made a longer stay than the usual influx of pilgrims either did or were allowed to do

Brij Kishore Ghose writes thus in his “*History of Puri*”—“It is a celebrated place of Hindu worship, situated on the western coast of the Bay of Bengal,† in the province of Orissa, forty-two miles,‡ south of Cuttack and 298 miles from Calcutta It is also called Jagannath, which name is derived from that of the prodigious idol which is venerated

* Account of Orissa, p 31

+ Long 85°54' E, lat. 19°49' N

‡ 49, according to English calculation

' by the Hindus In this place is a celebrated temple, and three cars for the ancient festival . The population of the town is estimated at 80,000, of which four thousand are priests or attendants upon Jagannáth '*

The most striking features about Púri, it would seem, are, the numerous divisions of the town, and the establishment of games on a small scale—reminding us a little of the Grecian Olympia of old

At these are carried on wrestling matches and various gymnastic exercises—the general excitement heightened by means of harsh music and debauchery

The pernicious and destructive effects produced by these establishments are alluded to by the Head Clerk of Púri, from whom many of the Hindu nation may gain a valuable lesson

He thus describes the commerce of the town —

" There are no markets in Puri A common fair is daily held in front of the *Singduraazah*, where vegetables, such as greens, pumpkins, radishes &c, are procurable Shops are erected on both sides of the road, where rice salt, wood, spices, nuts, and medicinal herbs are sold. Cotton cloths, imported from the Madras presidency, are sold by men from the south, and also by Puri merchants Cottons, imported from Bengal, are sold by men from the Upper Provinces During the festivals, Cuttack shop-keepers, called *munwaris*, assemble here with their wares Nothing is cheap at this place, except rice, which is grown in the district. Wheat is brought from Ganjam and Sumbulpore'—*History*, p 3

There is likewise a small traffic in stone and timber

Perhaps no place in the world excels Púri in the various ways of obtaining a livelihood The child of four or five years old may be seen lending a hand in the casting of a net, traders in chunam,† young and old, may be observed gathering shells on the beach Or should you enter the town, you may behold groups of religious mendicants either going to be cheated or to cheat, or you may see a solitary faquir making a livelihood by roasting himself and calling on his gods the passers by throwing him pice out of admiration at his mad fanaticism

Let us now act the part of the "inquisitive stranger," and explore a little amidst the sand-hills between the sea and the south-west face of the town

It is sunset, and the sun has just brightened the dingy hue of Jagannáth's temple—while the sea sends forth its never intermitting roar

* History, &c p 1

† The Chunam trade at Púri is a monopoly enjoyed by fifteen families, who, it is stated, sell about fifteen thousand rupees worth annually

About half a mile from the town, on the sea-shore, is a place of note, styled "Surgdwar —Swerga-dwara—the gate of heaven Here the relatives of deceased Hindus bury or burn the corpses —when they are believed sure of an immediate entrance into paradise, body as well as soul

Swerga is the paradise of Indra, the god of the elements The reader probably remembers the lines in the Kehama, where Indra says,

"No child of man, Ereenia, in the bowers
Of bliss may sojourn, till he hath put off
His mortal part, for on mortality
Time and Infirmity and Death attend."

There is a terrible reality about the last line in the present instance, for, sure enough, "Infirmity and Death do attend, in their blackest colours the many fanatics who year after year visit the Swerga dwara of Puri

About two miles to the south-west of the town is a small temple, dedicated to Siva, the temple of Lokenath—concerning which minute details will be found in the "History

Lokenath is merely one of the numerous representations of Siva—the destructive and generative energy of the Hindu Pantheon

There are several other small temples near the sea shore, among which we may mention that of Belessur, to the north-east, dedicated to Bal Iswar, or Baliswara, one of the names of Siva To satisfy Parvati, the wife of Siva, (Devi,) Mahadeva (Siva) was born again, in the character of Baleswara, or Iswara, *the infant*, "but suddenly became a man under the title of Sileswara, or Iswara, *who gives delight* *

Near the Belessur temple is the Puri burial ground—a small magazine of mortality, not unworthy of a visit

Here will be found in a small space enclosed by a brick wall, tombs of three of the most important classes in India—the military man, the civilian, and the missionary † According to a "Report" before us, the above missionary was one of the earliest in the field of Orissa Upwards of forty-two years ago, Dr Buchanan pitched his tent on the banks of the Chilka lake, when he had a distant view of the lofty tower of Jagannáth, from which he had just returned, after beholding the great Ruth festival Through the vehement writing of this zealous man, and the expression of an ardent desire for the establishment of "some Christian institution near the temple, about 1816, a society was formed among the General Baptists of England, and under the

* Moor's Hindu Pantheon, p 380

† Mr Bampton

guidance of the late Mr Ward of Serampore, nearly thirty years ago, Cuttack became the seat of missionary labour *

In 1837, the Cuttack missionaries were assisted in the district by some others from America. Mr Ward, it is well known, was one of the triumvirate, Carey, Marshman and Ward, who, almost half a century ago made Serampore famous by its "Mission, and the fruits of whose labours are even now spreading with a salutary effect over the lands of the heathen

Without cherishing any undue prejudice in favour of any particular profession, we may truly say, that, considering the difficulties those earnest in the missionary cause have to contend with—considering how some of them go on year after year, toiling and persevering, labouring often "in the front of severest obloquy—they deserve the greatest praise even for the seeming little they may accomplish, and human justice demands that they should have their share of fame and glory, for the most prejudiced among us must confess that, in the vocation of a *sincere* and *zealous* Missionary in India, the struggle for success is hard

In Orissa, at least, there can be no doubt that he has before him a dreary and disheartening prospect

Before leaving the burial-ground at Puri, we may be allowed to mention one tenant more, the late Mr Acland, a clergyman, whose book, on the "Manners and Customs of the Hindus" was noticed in a recent number of this journal

We shall now ask the reader to accompany us westward to Jagannath's temple,—that familiar beacon to the navigators of the Bay of Bengal,—which is said to have been built at an expense of from forty to fifty lakhs of rupees

Taking a telescopic view of the temple, from an elevation one mile and a half north east of the town, we behold the Bar Dewal, nearly 190 feet high, towering majestically above the dark and gloomy landscape below. The entire height of the tower from the ground is about 210 feet

Adjoining to Bar Dewal, and rising to a height of some seven feet, two square pyramidal-roofed buildings strike the eye. They appear elaborately carved, with a nearly flat apex, from which, like that of the great tower, rises a small irregular cone, apparently composed of circular stones,—the topstone surmounted by a sort of urn. Numerous temples of various shapes and sizes are to be seen in the enclosure, to the right and left of the Bar Dewal. The great tower and adjoining buildings bear on their summits the *Chakra*—a sort of wheel—a symbol of Vishnu

* The Orissa Baptist Mission has at present its head quarters at Cuttack, and is under the superintendence of an old, a zealous, and a faithful servant—Mr Lacey

Stirling compares the shape of the towers or temples of Orissa—and they are all in a degree similar to the Bar Dewal of Jagannáth—to a phial with the stopper inserted. We think it better to compare them to old-fashioned pepper-boxes—multilateral, and of nearly equal diameter, until approaching the top the remainder of the box is very similar to the upper portion of the towers of Orissa, but, perhaps, the likeness is more remarkable at Bhobanéser than at Jagannath.

The eye of the traveller must now be content, until having left the eminence from which we have been attempting a description, and proceeding on our tour of research, we at length enter the town of Puri,—and passing along through the silent streets, by houses with raised foundations—some of the domiciles composed of mud, others of masonry—we speedily find ourselves before the *Sinh Durwazeh*, the lion or eastern and principal entrance to the great Pagoda.

Regarding the dimensions of the lofty stone wall enclosing Jagannath's temple—in each side of which there is a large gateway—and the general measurement of the sacred buildings, every author differs and this is not strange when we consider that neither Christian nor Mussulman is allowed to cross the threshold.

We have read somewhere of one solitary case in which a Major Carter managed to enter along with the pilgrims the famous shrine of Jagannáth.

Taking a *medium* we might make some of the dimensions as follows. The stone wall enclosing the Bar Dewul and the edifices connected with it, is about thirty feet high. The area forms nearly a square, or rectangle, 660 feet by 650. Within this area are upwards of 100 temples—apparently from seventy to eighty feet in height—dedicated to the principal deities of the Hindu Pantheon. *Sinh Durwazeh* is flanked by huge griffins, and a little in front of it, in the street, stands a beautiful column of black marble—we are not sure of the height*—of an architecture something between the Doric and the Corinthian.

The pillar, or “polygonal column, as it is called, stands upon a richly curved pedestal,—and according to Stirling and the author of the “History of Puri, was brought from the temple of the Sun at Kanaruk—a small portion of the massive marble remains of the gorgeous “Black Pagoda.

Formerly the summit of the column was surmounted by an image of the monkey-god, Hanuman. A broad flight of steps

* Probably not more than 40 feet.

leads from the Sinh Durwazeh to a terrace twenty feet in height—"enclosed by a second wall four hundred and forty-five feet square, on which occurs first the apartment of the *Bhog Mandap*—where food is served out for the idol and other purposes. In a line, and connected with it, is a low building on stone pillars, styled *Jugmohun*, where the Garú, or Garúr—bird god is kept. Next to this is the *Unsurpinda*,* which adjoins or opens into the great tower—in all there are four principal structures connected by passages and doors. The *Unsurpinda* and *Bhog Mandap*—each, we believe, sixty feet square—over the pyramidal building we observed in our late telescopic view.

The ground-plan of the great tower is said to be a square of thirty five feet "in which there is a large platform of marble, which is styled *Ruttunsinghasun*, or throne. The three idols Jagannath, his brother and sister, occupy the tower and throne.

The roofs of the buildings—particularly that of the Bar Dewal—are said to be singularly ornamented with various representations of monsters, and the walls abound with carvings of demons and giants of every description. In niches on the outer walls are various well executed illustrations of Hindu obscenity.

The Head Clerk of Puri informs us that Gurur, in the *Jugmohun*, has his hands "joined together in token of supplication toward the idol Jagannath.

In the temples of Vishnu, the *Garúr* is an image of great importance. Vishnu is worshipped under the form of the human figure, having a circle of heads and four hands, emblematic of an all-seeing and all-provident being. The figure of the *Garúr* is said to be the representation of a large brown kite, with a white head, on which the god may be either seen mounted, or the bird may be found immediately in front of the image †.

The *preserving* power—the nearest approach in the Hindu mythology to omnipotence and goodness—has given Vishnu a greater number of adorers than any other deity or attribute. "If indeed, says Moor, "we take the sect of Vaishnava in its most comprehensive sense, including, as we are warranted in doing, the schism of Buddha, he has more than all the others collectively."

Vishnu is sometimes represented reposing on a many-headed serpent, which floats upon the surface of the ocean. In this

* Where the idols are worshipped during their illness—after the *Snanjatra* or Bathing festival.

† Cranford—"Sketches," p. 181, vol. 1.

position he is supposed to be contemplating and willing the creation of the world

From his navel springs a *lotus* plant, in the calyx of which Brahma appears seated, ready to accomplish the work of creation. The lotus is an emblem of the world. The only peculiarity in the general figure of Vishnu is his having the four hands—which hold respectively the mace, the lotus-flower, the *chank*, or conchshell, and the *chakra*. In a beautiful engraving in the “Hindu Pantheon, he is to be seen riding on a machine—something between an eagle and a man—with a bow in one hand, ascending to paradise with his consort Lakshmi, the Hindu goddess of beauty *

Other nations may perhaps have been indebted to this group for their pictures of Gods, and the apotheoses of men, ascending to the skies on the eagle

We have been led into these few particulars regarding Vishnu—notwithstanding many must have known them before—as we have been attempting a description of a temple which is said to have been built in honour of that deity

And it is necessary to our present purpose that we should supply some more mythological information, with which, however, the intelligent reader may not be so well acquainted

We have lately alluded to the numerous sect of Vaishnava. We have frequently read that the worshippers of Siva are believed to be more numerous than those of Vishnu. This we doubt very much, and, as we have already seen, is contrary to the opinion of Moor

There is certainly one popular mysterious symbol, peculiar to the worship of Siva, which we can easily imagine to find most favour among the women of Hindustan, and that is the idol of Lingam, or Linga

It is perhaps the chief desire of a Hindu, in his present state of existence, that, for a provision after death, his wife would in this life bear him children to pray his soul out of purgatory, or mitigate the punishments that may be awarded him in a future state. *Yoni* is the female nature—*Lingam* the male, and, in addition to the numerous worshippers of the latter, many women are exclusive adorers of the *Yoni* of Bhavani—the female energy of Siva

The *Lingam*, or principal type of the Regenerator, Siva, is nothing more than a conical stone—generally smooth and black. This symbol is to be seen at Bhubaneser in conjunction with the *Argha*, a sort of dish from whence it proceeds—the *Yoni*

* Some pictures of Lakshmi, are very much like the old Grecian and Roman figures of Ceres

forming the rim There is no apparent indecency about these symbols, which leads Moor to remark —“ Unlike the abominable realities of *Egypt* and *Greece*, we see the *phallic* emblem in the Hindu Pantheon without offence, and know not, until the information be extorted, that we are contemplating a symbol whose prototype is indelicate

But, although these symbols of Siva naturally produce many followers of his religion, it is impossible, from the numerous castes, and subdivisions of sects, to arrive at any correct *general* conclusion on the subject of superiority of numbers in either sect We believe that little doubt exists concerning the visible decline of the religion of Siva in Orissa, and some parts of Southern India the readers researches may probably extend further than ours on that point

We have before us a document, which we picked up in Southern Arcot, in which the followers of the “Siva religion are put down as “Telúgú Brahmans —eighteen castes,—and “Malabar Brahmans —eight castes then follows nearly sixty different classes of the followers of the Siva and Vishnu creeds indiscriminately jumbled together —such as *Chetties*, *Cometies*, *Pillays*, *Dasesthulu*, *Rajaput*, &c &c

From some slight knowledge of the inhabitants to the south of the Peninsula, we may be allowed to venture an opinion that the sect of Vishnu there is the most numerous

“With respect to the origin of the several Hindu sects, writes Professor Heeren, “we are not at all in a condition of giving any correct historical account of them, or of assigning the respective dates to each Those of Siva and Vishnu are at present the most generally prevailing ones, but they are not alone, by their side flourish that of Ganesa and many others (The learned Professor takes as his authority for this the great Sanskrit scholar, Colebrooke) “The intrinsic character and objects of worship peculiar to the sect of Siva, which adores the Lingam, afford a reasonable presumption in favour of its being the most ancient, and probably the original creed of the common people, whereas that of Vishnu, on the contrary, worshipped under the name of Krishna, owes its origin merely to a reformation, undertaken for the purpose of refining the grossly sensual worship of the former *

An admirable refiner, indeed, when we find such a place as Jagannáth the crowning piece of Hindu superstition

It is impossible to assign a date to the ascendancy of the worship of Vishnu in Orissa and Behar, or the decline of that

of Siva in these provinces;—but there is a fable drawn from the Mahabharat—good authority on such matters—that Bali-Rama and Krishna, brothers, and renowned conquerors, vanquished a famous king of Behar,* forced on the people the worship of Vishnu, and nearly extinguished “the ancient adoration of Siva. The effects of this conquest extended over various parts of Hindustan, probably from the extreme north to Cape Comorin. We may now imagine that millions of vain believers sought to make a pilgrimage to the shrine of the renowned warriors,—and hence the origin of the popularity of Jagannath as a place of worship.

We have before alluded to Indradyumna, who is said to have first given a celebrity to Jagannath. But we did not then state that this sovereign was a Maharajah of Malwa or Ujein.

If he really founded the celebrity of the temple, we may date the commencement of the worship of Vishnu under the title, *Jagannath*,—not earlier than half a century before the Christian era.

Alluding to the kingdom of Malwa, Elphinstone writes that the era still current through all the countries north of the Nerbudda is that of Vikramaditya—the Harun al Rashid of Hindu tales—who reigned at Ujein at the date of its commencement, which was fifty six years before Christ †

No portion of the Hindu mythology is more confused than what treats of the Ramas. Relating to Vishnu, the best way, perhaps, is to consider only the two principal incarnations—the seventh and eighth—Rama and Krishna, although there are three distinguished personages—all Ramas—the sixth and seventh incarnations being Parasu Rama, and Rama Chandra—the latter, a moiety of Vishnu, styled the same, and being the same as Jagannath—“the lord of the world. In Orissa, Jagannath is invariably styled Ram Chandra.

“Rama, says Elphinstone, was a King of Oude, and is almost the only person mentioned in the Hindu traditions, whose actions have something of a historical character. His queen Sitâ, who

* In Montgomery Martin's work on “The History, Antiquities, &c. of Eastern India. the earliest religion of Behar is said to be the doctrine of the Buddhists, “from Buddha first King of India. Buddha is here brought originally from Assyria, Jarasandha descended from Buddha, “according to legend, being of a monstrous size, was wont to stand upon two hills of this district, having a foot on each, and to look at the 1000 wives of his kinsman Krishna, who lived near Gujarat, as they bathed in the sea. Not contented with this indecency, which might perhaps have been overlooked, he pelted the naked beauties with bricks, on which they complained to Krishna, who sent Bhîm, the supposed son of Pandu, to punish Jarasandha, and this prince was killed in a valley near his own house. This happened towards the end of the third age (Dwapar Yug) of the world, and according to Mr. Bentley (Asiatic Researches, vol 8), the fourth age commenced in the 11th century before the birth of Christ.”—Vol I p 22.

† Elphinstone's India, vol I p 396

was carried off by the giant Ravana—which caused the far famed monkey expedition to Ceylon, under General Hanuman—we believe to be the original of the present Subhudra, the sister of Jagannath. This heroic deliverer was Bali Rama, the elder brother, so, then we have the three idols—*Jagannath*, *Bulbhudra*, and *Subhudra*, corresponding respectively with Rama Chandra, Bali Rama, and Sitá. We remarked near the commencement of this article that Rama was often confounded with Krishna.

In the celebrated heroic poem, “*Ramayana*,” the characters are both mixed in the plot. Each is said to have won a wife by bending an unyielding bow—“not indeed,” says Moor, “very unlike the story of Ulysses.”

The Head Clerk of Puri thus describes the celebrated idols of the shrine —

“They are bulky hideous, wooden busts. The elder brother Bulbhudra is six feet in height, the younger, Jagannath, five feet, and their sister, Subhudra, four feet. They are fashioned into a curious resemblance of the human head, resting on a sort of pedestal. The eyes of Jagannath are round, and those of Bulbhudra and Subhudra oval. The images are painted black white, and yellow respectively: their faces are exceedingly large and their bodies are decorated with a dress of different coloured cloths. The two brothers have arms projecting horizontally forward from the ears. The sister is entirely devoid of even that approximation to the human form. —*History of Puri*, pp 19 20

Turning to page 18, we find the following additional particulars borrowed from Mr Peggs, who quotes them from “Col Phipps account of Jagannath—*Asi Jour March*, 1824. Alluding to the idol, Jagannath, he says —

“In lieu of arms there are two stumps, ‘on which the priests occasionally fasten hands of gold. The forming of a new idol of Jagannath is termed *Nooah Kullebur*, it occurs after a lapse of many years. —Col Phipps says about once in seventeen years,—“when two moons occur in Assur (part of June and July)”

We shall now present our readers with both versions of the extraordinary preparation and *renewal* —

COLONEL PHIPPS

“A num tree (*meha azodarata*) is sought for in the forests, on which no crow or carrion bird was ever perched: it is known to the initiated by certain signs. This is prepared into a proper form by common carpenters, and is then entrusted to certain priests, who are protected from all intrusion: the process is a great mystery. One man is selected to take out of the old idol a small box, containing the spirit, which is conveyed inside the new: *the man who does this is always removed from this world before the end of the year*”*

* Peggs India's Cries &c p 216

THE HEAD CLERK OF PURI

"Nim tree (*Melia aza dirachta*) is sought for in the forests, on which no crow or other carrion bird has ever perched. It is known to the initiated by certain marks. The idol is prepared by the carpenters, and then entrusted to certain priests, who are protected from all intrusion. The process is a great mystery.

The priests and other ignorant people endeavour to account for the deformity of the idol by a very strange tale. A boy from a Puttis family is selected to take out from the breast of the old idol a small box containing quicksilver, said to be the spirit, which he conveys inside the new. *The boy who does this, is always removed from the world before the end of the year*—*History*, page 18

We are sorry to notice that, in this instance, Brij Kishore Ghose has fallen into a grievous literary error—one, we are afraid, too common among rising Hindu candidates for a knowledge of the English language. Let one and all of them remember that to make a candid acknowledgment of the author from whom considerable assistance has been derived, is due to the literary community at large, and will tend certainly to enhance, when, by silence, it will on discovery injure, the borrower's reputation.

We do freely pardon all the Head Clerks' "inaccuracies in style, or "other errors he may have fallen into * we look upon his work as an excellent example of a native's literary industry, and, as we have before remarked, we think it will do a great deal of good. But we cannot pardon such a palpable display of plagiarism as that afforded by the above extracts.

The case of murder referred to in these, is evidently a matter of doubt, nevertheless, we think that it deserves some enquiry. It is probably one of the legends of the Jagannāth worship, by which the pundahs endeavour to brighten believers into a continual adoration of the idol. Stirling says that some conjecture the sacred deposit in the "belly of the image" to be a bone of Krishna. However, the process of renewing the body of the idol taking place only after the lapse of many years, and the superintendent being now of too economical a nature to spend money on a renewal,† the ceremony may not again take place. It would appear that the small box of quicksilver, said to contain the spirit, is a precious relic, held in similar veneration to the tooth of Buddha.

Bishop Heber, describing this task in his "journal, while in Ceylon, remarks, that "it is kept in a golden case, set with precious stones, and this is enclosed within four others, all

* See Preface

† The process formerly cost no less than from 5 to 6,000 Rs.

of gold and increasing in size, and all studded with jewels, no relic was ever more sumptuously enshrined, or more devoutly worshipped *

Let us now say a very few words regarding the great annual festival at Púri, or the *Ruth Jātra*

Historians have often remarked the surprising resemblance which exists in the external worship of India and Egypt In the religions of both countries, bloody and unbloody sacrifices, the strict observance of pilgrimage, causing a numerous assembly of people at festivals, penances, bathing in supposed holy waters, and if drowned, the act supposed to confer eternal bliss, their gods conveyed from one temple to another on enormous stages, erected upon huge cars These latter customs, related by Herodotus—(forming part of a long comparison between the Hindus and Egyptians admirably set forth in Heeren's "Researches")—are particularly applicable to Jagannáth

At Púri, about the middle of every year, three large cars are built for the *Ruth Jātra*—at which festival the images take an "airing" as far as the Gondicha Nour, or God's country-house—a mile and a half distant "the cars are dragged by Kallabethias, or coolies, and by thousands of other people But apparently, it must be the peculiar duty and privilege of these people to draw the cars

The images are placed in their respective positions by the Dyas, or charioteers of Jagannáth

THE CARS

"The car of Jagannath is forty five feet in height, it has sixteen wheels of seven feet diameter, and a platform thirty five feet square The ruth of Bulbhudra is forty four feet high it has fourteen wheels of six and a half feet diameter, and a platform thirty four feet square The car of Subhudra is forty two feet high it has twelve wheels of six feet diameter, and a platform thirty three feet square A small rail about eight inches in height nearly surrounds the platform of each ruth an opening is left of a few feet in front of the idol —*History of Puri, page 39*

For all details concerning the great Púri festival, we must refer our readers to Sirling and the "History, &c

The entire scene of the *Ruth Jātra* savours, to an incredible extent, of the ludicrous, the barbarous, and the awful The eager expectation, the unceasing din of a great multitude—the acclamations of "welcome to Jagannáth" which rend the ear when the images are brought forth in an erect posture, or rather *rolled* forth by means of iron handles fastened in their backs, and exposed to the stupid gaze of the delighted people

There you may picture to yourself Christianity shuddering, there, morality weeping Momus is not to be found there—the god of mirth has slunk away trembling, as for intellect, she slumbers in silence, awaiting the dawn of a better day

The ponderous machines are set in motion—they creak while the creatures strain the cables in the midst of their joy and madness Then they are

— “ All around, behind, before
With frantic shout, and deafening roar ,
And the double double peals of the drum are there,
And the startling burst of the trumpet's blare ,
And the gong, that seems, with its thunders dread
To stun the living, and waken the dead ”*

But all their enthusiasm has soon subsided,—and, on the termination of the festival many of that once delighted multitude either retire to die, or reach their deserted homes the victims of ignorance, poverty and wretchedness

It is perhaps useless to state here that human sacrifice under the wheels of the car has been long abolished

All the land within ten miles of Jagannáth is considered holy when formerly Bhobaneser was in its greatness, the whole of Utkala—as Orissa is styled in the Puranas—must have been held sacred But we hope yet to see her come forth in a state of grandeur far surpassing in real value any thing she has ever before seen we hope yet to see Orissa a princess among the provinces—the people leaving their senseless blocks of wood and stone, seeking to learn the blessings of that divine religion, which, it is intended, shall reign supreme Let us then endeavour to work out that glory to the utmost, and spare no expense in the diffusion of education and enlightenment throughout the land It is by these means, and by these alone, that we can hope for any advance in Hindú civilization, and the consequent introduction of a new and better order of things

It was originally our intention to have carried our readers to visit the archæological wonders of the “ Black Pagoda, Bhobaneser, and the caves of Khandgiri, however, on glancing around our *studio* at the numerous documents contained therein, we find that we must visit these wonders—which will form a continuation of the slight archæological and mythological information† contained in this paper—in a future article Let us again, then, return to Púrí and the temple

* Southey's Kehama.

† The *Madras Crescent* of July 22d, has an extract from the *Calcutta Star*, in which we find the following useful suggestion —“ It would conduce much to the progress of research among our local savans if the Journal of the Asiatic Society

One of the most interesting and most important features of Púri is the vast number of *muths* or monasteries it contains. These establishments are said to have been originally founded in India by a sect, styled *Gosais* or *Gosains*. Each muth is governed by a *Mohunt*, who, with his disciples, forcibly reminds one of the abbot and friars of European history and romance. In Orissa, an assistant, styled "*Adhi Kari*", transacts part of the business of the Mohunt,—and, if he be "a proper man, eventually succeeds to the management.

It is affirmed that the principal disciples of the founder of this sect were of the Siva religion, at Púri the thriving members of the order are all of the religion of Vishnu.

"If any member of a *muth*, says a writer on the subject, "be particularly distinguished by his acts of hospitality, veneration for his ancestors, and a life of morality, he receives from the *Dusname** the honorary title of Mohunt.

The Head Clerk of Puri gives a list of about thirty principal muths, or "richest muths," as he terms them, with the amount of annual rent, and estimated value, of land pertaining to each. Of these endowments of the temple of Jagannáth, he informs us that the produce of the lands "is realized by the *Muthdaris* or abbots, who, by this means, though professing themselves mendicants, have become the richest merchants in India, and are now enjoying every comfort.

The writer proceeds to expose these pilferings, so clandestinely made by the religious imposters—"This is strictly prohibited by the Hindu law. These endowments have been made by rich Hindus and Rajahs. The Mahrattas also gave taluks, villages, and putnas, placing them under the muths, with a view to the Muthdaris, appropriating the incomes derived therefrom to the performance of ceremonies and offerings to Jagannáth, besides the distribution of *Mahapurshad*, or holy food, to byraghis, kangalis, &c, but the intentions and wishes of the donors are seldom carried out. On the contrary, the Muthdaris appropriate the produce of such endowments to illegal purposes. *It is supposed that the amount of rent realized from estates so held, is not less than two lakhs and ten thousand rupees* the lands may be

contained a couple or a quartett of pages every month, devoted to a summary of the latest European speculations, memoirs or discoveries connected with oriental studies. We would also recommend this cheap mode of giving scientific satisfaction to residents in India to the Editors of the Madras Journal of Literature and Science.

* This is a sort of managing committee for the internal administration of muths. For an interesting paper on this subject, we beg to refer the reader to one, by John Warden, Esq. B.C.S., in the 32d number of the Madras Journal of Literature and Science.

'valued at eight lakhs, and would realize that sum if sold"—*History of Puri*, page 8

This is most valuable information,—and we believe it to be perfectly correct. The Muthdaris, annually, obtain a sufficient *spare sum* to defray every expense attending worship at Jagannáth.

The Head Clerk informs us that he "has frequently conversed with certain Muthdaris on the subject—that is of each one bearing his share of the stated allowance, at present granted by Government—"and he thinks that they will not be averse to such an arrangement, should Government think fit to withdraw the support at present afforded. The whole history of Jagannáth, from nearly the beginning of the present century, is neither more nor less than one huge calendar of crime. But, before arriving at any decided conclusions regarding the propriety and policy of the entire withdrawal of the British annual donation of Rs 23,000, in money, from the Government treasury, it is necessary that we should present the reader with some account, from the commencement, of BRITISH CONNEXION WITH THE TEMPLE OF JAGANNATH. We may be excused for making a slight retrospect, as far as the battle of Paniput—which, for a time, crushed Mahratta power in India. But that power gradually rose again, and, in the year 1784, there was a considerable Mahratta empire—chiefly in the centre of India,—and, among the names of the provincial chiefs, conspicuously shone those of Scindia and Holkar. Orissa, since its occupation by the new masters, had been governed by a line of "Mahratta Subahdars, * most of whom were famous for nothing but violence and oppression, without the slightest controul over their own soldiery.

Towards the end of the century, Zemindars were robbed, or ejected from their estates, ryots were head-deep in misery. Revenue collectors, and the high priest and purchas of Jagannáth became fat and rich. And affairs continued nearly in this state until the middle of 1803. To restore order, and bring the Mahratta states under our rule, we fortunately had in India a statesman of great ability and sound judgment—the Earl of Mornington. In 1800, he wrote "The distractions of the Mahratta empire must continue to increase, until they shall be checked by foreign interference. No power in India excepting the British now possesses sufficient strength to interpose with effect in these dissensions '†

* The Mogul and Mahratta Subahdars generally resided at the Laul Bagh Palace in Cuttack.

† Despatches, &c, vol 2, p 226

On the 8rd of August, 1803, the Marquess Wellesley wrote to Lieut Colonel Campbell, commanding the Northern Division of the Army, furnishing orders for the occupation of the province of Cuttack. A force of not less than fifteen hundred native infantry, to be increased, if practicable and politic, was to assemble at Ganjam—which was shortly to be joined by another force from Bengal. With the force assembled under these orders, “and with the detachment from Bengal,” wrote the Marquess, “you will enter the province of Cuttack and proceed to Jagannáth.” Strict orders were given, in passing the frontier of the Mahratta territory, to use every means to conciliate the inhabitants. A proclamation, similar to that issued by General Harris when entering Mysore, was to be made known to the defenceless natives of the country—protection and perfect security under the British Government. The remainder of the orders abound with political wisdom and caution —

“The situation of the pilgrims passing to and from Jagannath will require your particular attention, you will be careful to afford them the most ample protection, and to treat them with every mark of consideration and kindness

7 On your arrival at Jagannath, you will employ every possible precaution to preserve the respect due to the Pagoda, and to the religious prejudices of the Brahmans and Pilgrims. You will furnish the Brahmans with such guards as shall afford perfect security to their persons, rites and ceremonials, and to the sanctity of the religious edifices, and you will strictly enjoin those under your command to observe your orders on this important subject, with the utmost degree of accuracy and vigilance

8 The Brahmans are supposed to derive considerable profits from the duties levied on pilgrims, it will not, therefore, be advisable at the present moment to interrupt the system which prevails for the collection of those duties. Any measures calculated to relieve the exactions to which pilgrims are subjected by the rapacity of the Brahmans, would necessarily tend to exasperate the persons whom it must be our object to conciliate. You will, therefore, signify to the Brahmans that it is not your intention to disturb the actual system of collections at the Pagoda. *At the same time you will be careful not to contract with the Brahmans any engagements which may limit the power of the British Government to make such arrangements with respect to that Pagoda, or to introduce such a reform of existing abuses and vexations as may hereafter be deemed advisable*

9 You will assure the Brahmans at the Pagoda of Jagannath, that they will not be required to pay any other revenue or tribute to the British Government than that which they may have been in the habit of paying to the Mahratta Government, and that they will be protected in the exercise of their religious duties

10 In every transaction relative to the Pagoda of Jagannath, you will consult the civil commissioner, whom I have named for the settlement of the province of Cuttack

11 You will understand that no part of the property, treasure, or valuable articles of any kind, contained in the Pagoda of Jagannath, or in any religious edifice, or possessed by any of the Priests and Brahmans, or persons of any description attached to the temples or religious institu-

tions is to be considered as prize to the army All such property must be respected as being consecrated to religious use, by the customs or prejudices of the Hindus No account is to be taken of any such property, nor is any person not be allowed to enter the Pagodas or sacred buildings without the express desire of Brahmans.

12 You will leave a sufficient force in the vicinity of Jagannath, under the command of an officer, whom you will particularly select, and in whom you can place perfect reliance, for the due execution of the directions contained in these instructions' *

Here, as yet, is simply *conciliation* and *protection*—with the strictest injunctions to enter into no binding arrangements And it is this plan of religious toleration, while a new conquest has not yet made our acquaintance, that has secured, probably for ages, the British supremacy in Hindustan

The Moguls had formerly been roused by the flush of conquest to burn the idol And, under the same circumstances, we can imagine the French imprisoning the Brahmans, and hunting the high-priest, like an antelope to the banks of the Chilka Such was not a part of the admirable policy of Lord Wellesley In less than six weeks after the foregoing orders, Lieut Colonel Harcourt, with a considerable brigade of infantry and two eighteen-pounders, was on the march towards Jagannath On the 18th of September, he took possession of Puri In a letter to the Actg Military Secretary, he writes —

"Upon application from the chief Brahmans of the Pagoda, I have afforded them guards (of Hindus) and a most satisfactory confidence is shewn by the brahmans, priests, and officers of the Pagoda, and by the inhabitants of Jagannath, both in their present situation, and in the future protection of the British Government.

From the general good conduct of the troops under my command, and from the strict attention which has been paid to my orders for preventing all interference with the inhabitants and natives, framed under the express injunctions of his Excellency the most noble the Governor General, not a single complaint has been made to me, though I have, by every practicable means, invited a direct communication of the least deviation from this important duty" †

The British army arrived at the town of Cuttack on the 10th of October, and, on the 14th, the fort of Barrabutti fell by assault The town was immediately occupied by the British troops

A small force of Infantry had been previously sent round by sea to occupy Balasore Lord Wellesley wrote to General Lake at the end of September "You will receive details of our success "If we retain Cuttack, we must furnish troops, (and a strong force it must be) for the defence of that valuable and most important possession

* Despatches, &c, vol. 3, pp. 269 70

† Despatches, vol. 3 p 321

At the end of October he stated, in a Despatch to the Court of Directors, that the inhabitants of the province "expressed the utmost satisfaction at the prospect of being speedily relieved from the oppressions to which they had uniformly been subjected by the Mahratta Government, and of being placed under the protection of the British power." Mr Melville had been appointed Commissioner of the province. Thus, with little opposition, was entire possession taken of the Cuttack district—which, eventually, was formally ceded to the Honorable Company by the Rajah of Berar. The importance of this territory to the Government chiefly consists in its Geographical position connecting the two presidencies of Fort William and Fort St George—and placing the whole range of coast on this side of the bay under our immediate controul.

Such is a very slight sketch of the conquest of the province—in which the peaceful occupation of the town of Púrí forms the first stage of our being mixed up with the affairs of Jagannáth. The question now came to be—how was this vast and expensive stronghold of Hindu superstition to be supported? It will be seen from the Marques Wellesley's instructions that the system of levying duties on pilgrims was not immediately to be interfered with. But the rapacity of the Brahmans became so great, and the disturbances consequent on their villainies so prejudicial to the peace of the district, that, after a few months, the British Government abolished the tax. The wily Brahmans now came forward and requested us to disburse, as had been done by former governments, "the usual sums required for the expenditure of the ceremonies." It was determined by the Government to do as the Mahrattas had done. But here came the difficulty to know *how the Mahrattas had done*, in the way of presenting annual gifts or sums of money to the temple. The Rajah of Berar, Scindia, and the various Mahratta chieftains sent large donations to Jagannáth, on the occasion of any great success in their fortunes. The Muthdars in Púrí, we have every reason to believe, were obliged to give every established *couri** for the service of the idol, according to the will of the testators. These sums, annually, added to the lands assigned to the use of the temple from its foundation, and an annual offering, of no fixed amount, from the Subahdar at Cuttack, we believe to have formed the only sums admissible by the Mahratta government for the entire service of Jagannáth. Sums of money were given by our Government, according to the request of the priests, for

* A small shell, of which sixty make a farthing, or the sixth part of an *anna*.

the expenditure of the ceremonies But, naturally enough, not wishing the acquisition of the Cuttack province to be lessened in value by the use of part of its revenue for the support of an establishment like Jagannáth, the Government wrote, in May 1804—"that it will be, in every point of view, advisable to establish moderate rates of duty or collection on the pilgrims proceeding to perform their devotions at Jagannáth" Accordingly, Mr Hunter—of the judicial department at Purneah—was called upon by the Board of Revenue to officiate, "for the present," in the capacity of "Collector of the Tax on Pilgrims at Jagannáth" The letter forming this new office is dated from the Council Chamber, 21st November, 1805—Mr Hunter was furnished with an extract from the Regulation for the collection of the tax—which in 1806 was passed into a law—and "for the maintenance of good order, regularity, and tranquillity in the interior of the temple and in the town of Jagannáthpuri and its dependencies" After some delay and thought concerning the "mode of reaching Jagannáth—whether by dák, or in one of the Honble Company's Pilot Schooners—Mr Hunter at length fairly commenced the duties of his new office, on the 22d of January, 1806,—and this functionary appears, from all we have read, to have been most indefatigable in his vocation, than which it would be no easy task to conceive any more difficult or harrassing It would have required a mental Hercules to have cleansed the vast breeding den of iniquity from even a part of its loathsomeness and corruption Mr Hunter's salary was fixed at 500 Rs per month, and he was allowed a commission at the rate of one and a half per cent on the gross amount of the collections arising from the tax This establishment of the pilgrim tax forms the second stage of British connexion with Jagannáth

Let us now proceed to consider the sums paid by us for the support of the temple before the year 1806 On the 8th of November of that year, Mr Hunter writes to the Board of Revenue, that, in addition to khunjas and sums received by the temple, "he has paid in cash nearly Sicca Rupees 35,000, as was done in each former year, since the capture of the province" So, then, a large sum of money was paid in each former year, chiefly because the priests of the temple said the Mahrattas had paid it—the principal of these priests, at the time, being a Mahratta, and probably the most accomplished priest among them We certainly paid annual sums of money to the temple, as expedient and politic to preserve peace and order in the province *at the time* But any binding

arrangement would have been a direct disobedience of Lord Wellesley's orders in 1803

On the 15th of September, 1804, the Board of Commissioners who had been appointed to settle the affairs of the conquered district, issued a "Proclamation," from Cuttack, regarding the *settlement of the landed revenue of the province*

We have no room to quote the sixteen sections of this Proclamation, which was included, and placed with various "qualifications and explanations, in Regulation XII of 1805—passed by the Vice President in Council, on the 5th of September. In the sixteen paragraphs just alluded to, we are unable to find the slightest reference to an *established donation* for the support of the temple of Jagannāth

But, in the eighth section of the Regulation, it states we think consistently enough —

"Nothing contained in this regulation shall be construed to authorize the resumption of the rents of any lands assigned under grants from the Rajah of Berar or from any *zemindar talukdar*, or any actual proprietor of land in the *zillah* of Cuttack as endowments of the temple of *Jagannāth*, or of *muths* in the vicinity of that temple, or for similar purposes, provided however that any fixed quit rent which the holders of such lands are bound to pay by the conditions of their grants, shall continue to be paid agreeably to former usage."

This seems a fair latitude of *qualification* and *explanation* of an hypothesis—the proclamation—apparently, to us, entirely and solely connected with the settlement of the land revenue. How startled, then, are we to find, in the 30th section of Regulation XII, the assertion "*that nothing herein contained shall be construed to authorize the resumption of the established donation for the support of the temple of Jagannāth*." The intention of Government to settle a fixed allowance for the Pagodas had not yet arrived at maturity. How, then, could there be an established donation? But we will let the reader satisfy himself on this point. And the best way to do that is to furnish him with a portion of the early correspondence.

The following is the greater part of a letter from G. Dowdeswell, Esq., Secretary to Government, Revenue Department, dated from the Council Chamber, the 20th March, 1806 —

TO THE COLLECTOR OF THE TAX AT JAGANNATH

"The Governor General in Council sanctions the advances of cash which you have made for the support of the temple. With respect to the *Ruths*† the Governor-General in Council is of opinion that the preparation of them ought to be entrusted to the native officers of the temple, and the expense

* Regulations of Government, vol. 5, 1804 8.

† Cars for the festivals.

defrayed from the funds which have been or may be assigned for its support, and that it is not advisable that the Collector should interfere in details of that nature.

You are desired to specify the amount claimed by the officers of the temple, on account of the expense of the Ruths in the last year at the same time, reporting whether according to established usage that expense should be defrayed by Government, or from the produce of the lands or other funds already assigned for the support of the temple.

You are desired as soon after the receipt of this letter as may be practicable, to prepare and submit to Government, a statement of the produce of the lands appropriated to the support of the temple, and to the maintenance of its ministers and officers, and of any other funds appropriated to those purposes.

XI. You will at the same time prepare and submit to Government, a statement of the sums annually required for the support of the temple (including as far as practicable, contingencies of every description) and for the maintenance of the ministers and officers attached to it, in order that such amount as may be required in addition to the present endowments of the temple, may be assigned for those purposes.

Mr Hunter's answer to the above—of which the following is the chief portion, is dated 29th March, 1806 —

TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT IN THE REVENUE DEPARTMENT,
PORT WILLIAM:

"I have the honor to enclose a list of the lands appertaining to the Pagoda, as furnished by Sewaj Pundit, but independent of these, there are other lands, under charge of various persons (and also fixed sums paid by Zemindars) which are applied to sundry expenses of the Pagoda.

Some of these appear in the Jumma Khurch of the Pagoda, a few are numbered under the head of charity at Cuttaek, and I am unable to discover, who has any account of the remainder.

At least 5 6th of the expense of the Pagoda consists of articles, such as rice, ghee, &c the quantity of which is fixed, and not the price, in consequence it is almost impossible for me to acquaint you, what yearly sum will be necessary for the expenses of the Pagoda, in addition to its endowments as required in the 11th paragraph of your letter.

In the mean time however, from the information which I have already collected it does not appear that it will exceed forty five thousand Rupees.

This is exclusive of the repairs of the building, &c which when required, were formerly paid for, by levying a per centage on the country, under the title of *Kurumberha*.

It appears to be the intention of Government to settle a fixed allowance for the Pagoda in this case I feel my duty to state, that independent of the objections which arise from the above statement of its Jumma Khurch the Purchas are servants of Government, who were formerly removable at pleasure, and who, I am firmly persuaded, have no farther interest in the welfare of the Pagoda, than in as far as they may enrich themselves, and are Hindus.*

* The list enclosed in the above letter we have thought proper to give in the form of a Note—as we imagine it may interest a few readers —

"List of Villages, &c appropriated to the expenses of the Pagoda, with their

Previous to the arrival of Mr Hunter at Jagannáth, the officers of the temple, as we have before seen, were clamorous for cash. They had been amply provided, on the *antecedent* principle, before the Collector of tax assumed his unenviable office.

Two months previous to the last correspondence, the Vice President in Council had authorized Mr Hunter to make such advances of cash as appeared to him necessary for the support of the temple and for the maintenance of its ministers and officers, as "may be conformable to *former established usages*". But we do not believe there were any "established usages" among the Mahrattas, regarding the payment of large sums of money out of the revenue of the province for the support of Jagannáth. When the Court at Nagpore and ambitious chieftains were pressing on all sides for money, a very small portion of the pilgrim tax went to the temple. From this tax we know that the Mahrattas derived a considerable revenue. And so did we eventually. But, supposing the Mahrattas had had no tax,

produce for the year 1212," 1805 6) "as furnished by Sewaj Pundit, 3d Dewal Purcha

	VILLAGES	Acct. Rs	As	Gds	Ks.
Kuplesurpur		1,815	4	2	2
Balgaon		698	4	0	0
Sumgra		621	10	4	0
Ootnur Kuna		645	2	12	0
Birpuratabpur		781	9	4	0
Alsrung		269	1	0	0
Swalo, under charge of Gurmukhdas		562	6	4	0
Mohra, under charge of ditto		280	12	1	0
26 batis 4 man of Birgobindpur (fixed jumma bundi)		61	9	16	0
Alpur 10 batis	(Ditto)	15	5	1	0
Birbone 7 ditto	(Ditto)	42	4	2	0
Puchpal 5 ditto	(Ditto)	30	15	10	0
Kuspur and Sunpur 8 ditto	(Ditto)	25	12	18	0
Purhitpoor		8	11	7	2
Pergh. Kodbar in charge of Jyram Das, who furnishes a fixed } daily offering to Jagannath under the head of Mohun Bhog }		5,161	4	12	2
Fixed Khunja, received from sundry Zemindars		8,710	4	14	0
Paid from sundry Saers		8,920	13	15	1
Sale of Mahaprasad or holy food, &c		7,392	10	10	2
Fees of 4th Purcha (whose appointment is vacant)		25	2	11	2
Ditto of ditto on Dhruja or offerings of cloth, &c		80	0	0	0
Total		81,189	0	9	3
The particulars of the collections of only seven of the villages have } been furnished, in which the jumma is }		6,553	9	6	0
Brought to account -		5,028	14	15	2
Remainder		1,524	10	10	2

Which are the expenses of Collection.

(Errors Excepted)

(Signed) J HUNTER, Collector of Tax.

would they have paid one farthing from the land revenues towards the support of the idol? Assuredly not. It would merely have been supported by its endowments and the voluntary offerings of those who were even the supporters of the Brahmanical priest-hood, and in whose religion Jagannāth of course was a principal! We have paid money to Jagannāth both before the re-establishment of the tax, and after its entire abolition by Lord Auckland. The partial remedy of the philanthropic Governor-General for the discontinuance of British "Connexion with the temple only makes our present position more inconsistent. But we have neglected to furnish the reader with any information regarding the pilgrim tax. The following twelve sections are from Regulation IV of 1806*—passed by the Governor-General in Council, on the 3rd April, 1806—Bengal era, 1212 —

"Whereas it is provided by section 31, Regulation XII 1805, that a tax shall be levied from pilgrims resorting to the temple of Jagannāth and whereas it is essentially necessary that provision should be made for the protection of the pilgrims from undue exactions on the part of the officers of Government or of the temple, and also for the preservation of order, tranquillity, and regularity in the town of Jagannāthpurī, and its dependencies, and for the trial of civil suits of inconsiderable amount or value within those limits, the following rules have been passed, to be in force from the time of their promulgation

II A tax shall be levied on the part of Government (as was heretofore done under the late Marhatta government) on pilgrims resorting to the temple of Jagannāth. The collection of the tax shall be entrusted to an officer, (being a covenanted servant of the Company) with the official designation of the collector of the tax on pilgrims at Jagannāth. The general superintendence of the collections, and the control of the officers employed in the performance of that duty, shall be vested in the Board of Revenue at Fort William

III The avenues for the admission of pilgrims to the temple of Jagannāth shall be confined to two viz Ghat Attarah Nullah on the North, and Ghat Iokenath on the South of the town of Jagannāthpurī

IV The tax to be levied at Ghat Attarah Nullah, shall be fixed at ten rupees, and the tax to be levied to Ghat Lokenauth, shall be fixed at six rupees on each person of the class of pilgrims, commonly called *lal Jatris*, whether such appellation shall have been assumed by the pilgrims themselves, or whether they shall be so denominated by their conductors

V The tax on all other pilgrims indiscriminately shall be levied at the rate of two rupees from each person

VI The abovementioned rates of tax on pilgrims, are to be considered to include the usual fees of the officers of the temple, and these fees shall in future be paid to them out of the funds which have been, or may be assigned for the support of the temple. Provided, however, that this rule shall not be considered applicable to the officers denominated *Purharis* and *Pundabs*, who shall be entitled to receive, in conformity to established

* The whole of this Regulation is rescinded by Regulation IV of 1809

XII The assembly of pundits shall consist of three members, to be recommended by the collector of the tax on pilgrims, through the Board of Revenue to the Governor-General in Council *

The other regulations, or sections of them, concerning the temple of Jagannáth, are repealed by Act X of 1840—by which the *entire* superintendence of the temple officers, is vested in the Rajan of Khurdah

In the extract of a letter from the Secretary to Government in the Revenue Department, dated the 4th June 1807, we find that “ In consequence of the unsatisfactory accounts, rendered ‘ by the Collector of the tax on pilgrims, of the receipts ‘ and disbursements of the temple of Jagannáth, and *the very* ‘ *imperfect information obtained*, at the expiration of this long ‘ period of time, of the resources of the temple, the Governor- ‘ General in Council is of opinion, that an alteration is indis- ‘ pensably necessary with respect to the constitution of that ‘ office

“ The Governor General in Council is accordingly pleased to ‘ vest the superintendence of the collection of the tax on pilgrims, ‘ and of the temple, (so far as the European officers of Govern- ‘ ment are authorized under the existing regulations to inter- ‘ fere with that institution) in the Collector of Cuttack, subject ‘ of course to your general control (that of the Rev Dep) ‘ leaving Mr Hunter to collect the tax on the spot, under the ‘ orders of the Collector

Mr Webb was accordingly instructed to “ bring up the amounts of the receipts and disbursements of the temple, also to make a full enquiry respecting the lands assigned for its support, &c

Among the various frauds which were resorted to by pilgrims, to elude the payment of the tax, we can find none more curious than the following, and none more easy of detection —The officers employed in the collection of the tax discovered that frauds had been frequently committed by persons professing themselves to be carriers of the water of the Ganges The head *Purharri* of the temple, and the officer who was employed under the Mahratta Government, at the Attarah Nullah Ghat, were consequently called upon to state whether the carriers of the water of the Ganges were exempted from the payment of any tax under the Mahrattas Both stated in writing that none were exempted, excepting such as had obtained an order to that effect This was the same as in our Regulations But, in order to prevent fraud, the Collector proposed that the carriers

of the water should first be obliged to go to Lokenath to pour the water over the idol at that place "This," writes the Collector, "I conceive will effectually guard against the frauds, as no Hindu would pour water over the idol, which is not actually the water of the Ganges, and as the distance is not so much as a quarter of a mile from the temple, there will be no great hardship in the measure. We have abridged some information regarding the tax paid by pilgrims —

"The paying pilgrims were divided unto four classes, the *lal jatris*, *nim lals*, *bhurrungs* and *pung tirthis*

The rates of payment were eventually raised, with higher privileges to the pilgrims. A *lal jatri* received a pass of free access to the temple, for sixteen days, on the payment of sicca rupees ten. A pilgrim of the second class had access for seven days, on the payment of five rupees. Of the third class, for four days, on the payment of rupees two. The fourth class received the pass "to perform the customary ceremonies without the gates of the temple, during sixteen days, on the payment of rupees twenty. A pilgrim of the first class was also allowed free access to the temple for thirty days, attended by a *pundah*. On the payment of ten rupees he was exempted from the latter's attendance—and, by surrendering his pass, was allowed to remain in the town as long as he pleased.

The Collector of Cuttack, writing to the Board of Revenue in August, 1808, says "A total exclusion of pilgrims from a future residence in the town of Jagannathpuri would be liable to great objection, and would infringe upon the religious prejudice of Hindu

Let us now say a few words concerning the *Purharris*, *Purchas*, and *Pundahs*,—classes which play most conspicuous parts in the town of Puri.

The *Purharris* are a set of people who reside within the "holy land" of the temple, at Purshuttom. They are the servants of the god Jagannāth, and their duty consists in guarding the seven inner doors of the Pagoda. They are said to attend there during the day, and to watch over the temple during the night. They conduct the pilgrims through it and present them to Jagannāth, "from which last act they derive their appellation (*Prutti hari*). In 1838, we read of them defraying the expense, attending the purification of the temple. They were governed by four sirdars—one of whom was their *gomashita*,* and under this personage were many inferior *gomashitas* who travelled all over India in search of pilgrims. The *Purharris* derived their emolument principally from that portion of the tax which was bestowed on the servants of the temple by Government, "in conformity to ancient practice. In 1838 their number exceeded

* Agent.—Formerly to ensure their protection on the arrival of a *Gomashta* with a batch of pilgrims, the *Purhari*—or head of the department—was allowed to take a fee from them.

four hundred For their miserable and cruel treatment of the natives, and mode of enticing them to leave their quiet homes and undertake a wretched pilgrimage, we must refer the reader to Mr Peggs "Cry and the "History of Púrí" The pilgrim-hunting system, it would appear, is still, in a degree, flourishing,—and, in the latter production, the picture of the Purharri, as he is at present, is not painted too severely true *

The *Purchas* were the head priests of the temple Previous to 1840, they saw that the worship was conducted "in an orderly and proper manner," under the controul of the Rajah of Khurda They superintended the collection and disbursement of the revenues of Jagannáth, and received the Government allowance They determined "all questions arising from the perquisites occasioned by the expenditure of the sums In short, they were a band of Neckars—of whom the present superintendent now forms the sole representative—who undertook the management of finance in troublous times without much of the skill or any of the honesty of the great Frenchman

The *Pundahs* are servants of Jagannáth, and their duty is principally in the pagoda Formerly, they also did the same duties as the Purharris, during the collection of the tax—that is they took money when they could get any

* Fortunately, "the vile Pundahs of Púrí" is a phrase in the mouth of nearly every respectable native in Orissa, so the race, it would appear, is beginning to work out its own extinction

Of the unsettled state of affairs towards the end of the year 1806, the Collector of Tax says, in a letter to the Board of Revenue—dated 8th November, that the lands of the temple "are managed in a very improper manner, and he doubts the resources of the whole of them—or even a fair part of them—being brought to credit He likewise states that besides the known lands, "there are many others under charge of the Muthdaris, &c, which do not appear in the accounts of the temple, though they certainly appear to form part of its revenue By all accounts the temple of Jagannáth appears to have had many resources in land, Mr Hunter had reason to believe "to an immense amount, in other districts These were all in addition to the annual sum paid by Government The Purchas demand more money, and the head Purcha is accused of embezzlement —

"The acting Chief Hereditary Priest strongly accuses the Purcha of embezzling great part of these resources, but his accusations have not been

* See History of Púri, pp 53 54

enquired into, it being the wish of Government not to interfere in the details of the disbursements

The expenses of the temple are at present under no control. The Purcha is fully aware that he is not considered amenable for mismanagement or extravagance, and except for the purpose of being retained in his situation has no object in doing his duty with attention, to the interests either of Government or of the Temple. The accounts which he now produces of the expenditure of the year 1210 make the disbursements amount to Khs 1,96,652 13 13, or about rupees 50,000, a few additional expenses have since been authorised by the Commissioners, and the sum of Khs 20,000 or about Rs 5,000, has been added both to the Dr and Cr side of the Jumma Khurch under the head of Mohun Bhog, making the expenditures which ought to be allowed, amount in the whole to less than 60,000 rupees, and as the receipts allowed by Sewaji Pundit amounted in 1212 to about 31,000 rupees and he has received in cash about 34,000 rupees from my treasury, it would appear that the present demand of money for the current expenses of the temple ought not to be complied with

We direct the readers particular attention to the following correspondence — Mr Hunter, on the 6th of May, 1807, wrote to the Board of Revenue thus “I have already examined the accounts of the temple from the year 1208 till 1212 which will shew very clearly in what manner they have been conducted. In a letter to the Governor General in Council, dated 26th May, 1807, the Revenue Board appear to have some doubts concerning the correctness of the Mahratta accounts. And, even in 1843, when an application was made for them to the Resident at Nagpore, that functionary states in a letter (private) “I have made a rough translation of them into English, but as there are numerous terms used in them, which are local, I cannot understand them—nor is there a man in Nagpore at the present day who can explain them. The Revenue Board state in the letter above mentioned —

“In what mode the Collector has obtained the accounts of the expenses incurred under the late Mahratta Government, he has not explained, but as it would appear that he considers the accounts to be authentic, *as far as they apply to the advances made by the late Government*, it occurs to us that if you should be pleased to sanction any payments being made on the part of Government, they should be regulated according to the standard of the advances made in 1209 *

On a general consideration of the reports we have received from the Collector, we doubt much whether any accurate information is likely to be obtained either of the actual expenses requisite to be incurred for the ceremonies and duties of the temple, or of the funds at present belonging to it. The resources of the endowments in land may certainly be ascertained in a much more satisfactory manner than they are at present, but in respect to the article of income arising from fees and presents we conceive that any accurate information of that is scarcely to be expected, and we doubt also

whether the funds arising from the sale of Mahapershad can be justly ascertained

From the accounts submitted there would appear to be a necessity of some advances being made by Government, in addition to the funds belonging to the temple. Instead of allowing a fixed sum hereafter on that account, it occurs to us that it would be an eligible mode to allow a certain per cent age upon the collections made by Government from the pilgrims.

On a reference to the accounts in our Accountants Office it appears that from April 1806 to May 1807, the gross collections made on the part of Government from the pilgrims amounted to 1,18,253. The total charges incurred by Government in that period is stated at 42,666, leaving a net revenue of 75,587. Of this however some balance may probably be claimed by the Purchas as due to them on account of the expenses of the temple. The collector's accounts, you will observe, are only made up to the end of 1212, we are therefore uninformed of the amount which may be claimed by the Purchas on account of the period above mentioned, in addition to the amount actually paid to them. Of the charges above specified, it appears that 20 168 are on account of the salary of the Collector and of his Amla, and a further sum of Rs. 1 200 was expended in the building of a Cutcherry for the Collector, deducting those sums from the gross collections, the balance would be 96,885. Supposing therefore that for the expenses of the temple 20 per cent had been allowed upon the receipts, after deducting the whole of the expense of collection, including the Collector's salary and commission, there would have been nearly 20,000 Rs, which would have been appropriable on that account.

Although that amount is not as much as was advanced by Government in 1212, yet under all circumstances we are of opinion that if 20 per cent be allowed upon the collections after deducting the expenses of collection, the expenses of the temple will be amply provided for. In the first place we conceive that the endowments of the temple may be considerably raised and we have no doubt that under the management of the Rajah of Khurdah, the expenses will be much reduced.

The Mahratta accounts, after much diligent searching, discovered by the Resident at Nagpore, we should have stated, were those for the Cuttack Subah—"for 1206, 7, and 8. "They are written, says he, "in the Mahratta character, and as I understand there are a number of Mahratta Muhsuddis in Cuttack, I trust you will have no difficulty in getting them translated. The accounts were duly translated, and brought into use as required. But it would appear from this little piece of correspondence—for the publication of which we do not think that even the most scrupulous will blame us—that the decyphering of accounts in the Mahratta character, was, from the commencement of our occupation of the Cuttack province, left in a considerable degree to natives. Perhaps Sir William Jones himself could not have made out the local terms alluded to in the Resident's letter. But this simple incident goes in some way to strengthen our upholding what may seem rather a bold assertion—that we knew little, on the conquest of the district, and have probably known less since—of how the Mahrattas con-

ducted the affairs of Jagannāth Let us now proceed—commencing with a few “facts and figures

The Collector of Cuttack, Mr Webb, writes on the 7th March, 1808

To H T COLEBROOKE, Esq.

President and Member of the Board of Revenue, Fort William.

GENTLEMEN,—I have now the honor to forward an abstract account of the number and description of pilgrims resorting to the temple at Jagannāth, also general treasury accounts of the receipts and disbursements of the treasury under charge of the Collector of Tax from December 1805 to April 1806 and from May 1806 to April 1807 inclusive

The total amount of tax levied from January 1st, 1806 to April 30, 1807,* inclusive, being a period of 16 months, is tax levied

	Sa	Rs	
Total receipts, account, fines, &c	1,90,211	6	0
	15,397	9	0

	Total Receipts		2,05,608	15	0
Total paid expenses of the temple	36	378	7	6	
Paid charges collection	20,309	0	5		
Paid contingent charges	12,279	9	2		
By remittances to Collector of Cuttack	1,22,000	0	0		
			1,90,967	1	1

Leaving a balance in the hands of the Collector of Sicca Rupees	}	14,641	13	11
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Stirling thinks that the number of pilgrims resorting to Jagannāth has been exaggerated And we really fear there has been a good deal of exaggeration in our own time

That there is annually a vast waste of human life among the deluded beings who set forth on their pilgrimage in the sunshine of hope, and find too late that “shadows, clouds, and darkness, rest upon it,—we will not presume to deny But, to remove an existing evil, we see no necessity for enlarging upon truth, or crying hideously in the vast sea of public controversy With due reverence for the many and philanthropic exertions of some of those who have exposed the abominations of Jagannāth, we must candidly confess that it is the opinion of many sensible men, that if they had *cried* less, they might have done more

We believe that, from time to time, the Court of Directors and various Governments in India, have been offended by *some* of the modes in which British connexion with Jagannāth has been assailed,—and so, any strong interest in its discontinuance has gradually dwindled down to being content with paying a donation, that donation being founded on a supposed *pledge*, of the origin of which we have neither history nor proof!

* We have been unable to find, among the huge mass of correspondence and accounts, the appendices containing all the particulars of the above

Stirling gives the following statement of pilgrims of all classes who attended for five years at the three great festivals,* "procured from the most authentic sources, viz —

1817 18,	<i>Paying Tax</i>	85,941	<i>Exempt</i>	89,720	<i>Total</i>	75,641
1818 19,	<i>Ditto</i>	86 241	<i>Ditto</i>	4,870	<i>Ditto</i>	41,111
1819 20,	<i>Ditto</i>	92,874	<i>Ditto</i>	39,000	<i>Ditto</i>	1,31,874
1820 21,	<i>Ditto</i>	21,946	<i>Ditto</i>	11,500	<i>Ditto</i>	83,446
1821 22,	<i>Ditto</i>	85,160	<i>Ditto</i>	17,000	<i>Ditto</i>	52,160

We shall give a statement of the collections, charges and receipts as we proceed

A feast which happened but once in several years, or twice during a century, would produce an incredible influx of pilgrim The author of the "History of Puri" observes that—

"Since the tax office was abolished, no record regarding the pilgrims resorting to Jagannath has been kept in the public office on the part of Government, the compiler was consequently obliged to have recourse to the priest of the temple for information The registry kept by them, it was hoped, might have proved worthy of trust,—but it is not so Such as it is, however, is exhibited below —

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of Pilgrims</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of Pilgrims</i>
1839-40	53,345	1843 44	1,87,324
1840-41	51,571	1844-45	1,86,975
1841 42	1,12,567	1845-46	1,98,912
1842-43	1,49,438	1846-47	2,10,325

"On referring to some accounts, it appears that all classes of pilgrims resorting to Jagannath annually, amount to from about 50,000 to 8,00 000, as the latter has been observed in two or three instances when any holidays of consequence have taken place The pilgrims assemble here at all seasons and consist of foreigners, countrymen, byraghis, and kangals, most of the pilgrims are females — *History, pages 55 56* "

This latter feature is a curious one in the pilgrimage to Puri we read in the early Jagannath correspondence of numbers of women arriving at Cuttack on their way to the shrine At the Ruth festival in 1846, Mr Lacey of Cuttack, writes—"There were present at this emporium of idolatry, on this celebrated occasion, about 180,000 pilgrims The larger half of this assembly were destitute Bengali widows, who are glad, on occasion of a Ruth festival, to escape from their miserable homes, where they are unwelcome to all their dead husbands friends, and are objects of unremitted persecution and degrada-

* The bathing, the swinging and the car festivals, or the *Snan*, the *Dole*, and the *Ruth Jatra*

tion At the Ruth jātra of the present year—which began on the 3d of July and lasted about nine days—there was a vast decrease of pilgrims—when it was fully expected there would be an extraordinary number We believe there were not more than 70, or 80,000,* and, from the presence of such a comparatively small number, at a very favourable time of the year for the festival, we may perhaps entertain some hope that the pilgrimage to Jāgannāth is on the wane

And we perfectly agree with Stirling—who, to have written a work like his, must have given the greatest attention and diligence to the subject—that the ceremonies of Jagannāth “ would soon cease to be conducted on their present scale and footing, if the institution were left entirely to its fate and to its own resources

This was written nearly thirty years ago To carry on the chain of our narrative, we come to the nomination of the fallen representatives of the Maharajahs of Orissa to the chief office of authority in the temple In October, 1806, we find the Governor General concurring in the sentiments expressed by the Board of Revenue, respecting the expediency of withdrawing the interference of Government, as far as practicable, “ in the internal administration of the affairs of the temple The “ Provisional Government of the Dewal Purchas was discovered to be one of those curious pieces of machinery in which every member does his best to enrich himself and rob his brother There was plenty of oil for the wheels, but it always contrived to find its way into a wrong channel What was wanted was a regular, and it was discovered that the Rajah of Khurda (then a prisoner at Midnapore) had been the late Zemindar of Jagannāth The chief hereditary Sewak, or Priest, was at that time (1806) a minor The high Priest of the temple now became a picture of the past He was to be added to that of the active Mahratta trooper, who, seated on his small, lean, muscular horse, with his dazzling sabre and homely appointments, was always ready to advance like a flash of lightning on the foe

We find the following enclosed in a letter to the Governor General in Council, dated 28th Sept 1808 —

The appointment of the Rajah of Khurda

‘ It being deemed necessary to alter the rules at present in force for the superintendence and management of the affairs of the temple, the Governor General in Council has been pleased to rescind sections 11,

* We were informed that only about 25,000 of these were from the district the rest “ Up-country people and chiefly widows

12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 19, Regulation 4, 1806,* and substitute the following rules in lieu of them

The superintendence of the temple of Jagannath and its interior economy, the conduct and management of its affairs, and the entire control over the priests, officers and servants attached to the idol and to the temple, are hereby vested in the Rajah of Khurda, who on all occasions shall be guided by the recorded rules and institutions of the temple, or by long and established usage†

The Rajah of Khurda and his heirs shall hold the situation vested in them by the above section so long as they shall continue to conduct themselves with integrity, diligence and propriety, but nothing contained in this regulation shall be construed to preclude the Governor General in Council from removing the incumbent from that situation, on proof of misconduct in such person made to the satisfaction of Government

To enable the superintendent of the internal economy of the temple to perform the duty of his station with greater effect, he is hereby authorised to punish persons subject to his control, for any instance of neglect or misconduct by imposing small fines upon them, not exceeding one month's salary, or income, or by removing the offender from his office, if the offence shall appear to merit that punishment

The present Rajah and Superintendent, we learn from the "History of Puri, is Ramchunder Deb, who began his administration in 1818 If all be true that is written and said against him, he stands forth "proudly eminent for falsities and lies But the "secrets of the prison house are now disclosed—and we hope some good may soon be done In the year 1808, the expenses of the temple were ascertained, and fixed at Sicca Rupees 56,342 9 8 We give a Kistbundy below,† stating the sums required during the above year

This donation appears to have been continued down to the year 1839

* Seven of these sections the reader will observe, we did not give in our extract from this Regulation From what is now afforded, merely substituting Brahmans and Pundits for Rajah superintendent, their contents will be sufficiently known We have given the two most important, the 11th and 12th Sections

† Section 2, Reg IV 1809

‡ Kistbundy or monthly instalments of the amount authorized to be disbursed for the support and maintenance of the temple of Jagannath —

Ausun	Caurtick	Augun	Pous	Mang	Faugon	Cheyte	Bysack	Jeyte	Assaur	Sawun	Bhadoor	Total Sicca Rupees
5,000	5,000	5,000	7,000	5,000	6,000	4,000	8,000	4,000	7,000	3,000	2,342 9 8	56,342 9 8

(Signed) GEO WEBB, Collector

Zillah Cutlack, 27th February, 1806

In 1809, the decrease of pilgrims, and the column of miscellaneous receipts having prevented the tax from nearly covering the expenses of the Government, the management of the temple lands began to be more seriously considered than formerly

The decrease of pilgrims deprived the temple of offerings and endowments, and the Government of revenue. Instead of the expenses being reduced under the Rajah of Khurdah, it would appear they increased. The dewal Purchas grew lax in their financial duties, enjoyed their *otium cum dignitate*, took their salaries, and left the temple lands to their fate.

On the 18th of February 1809, the Collector of Cuttack wrote to Lord Minto—who had been Governor General since 1807—explaining the deficiencies in the collections of the lands pertaining to the temple of Jagannáth.

“In regard to the future management of these lands, says he, “I beg to solicit your Lordship’s orders on the Collectors’ proposition of making the collections in future, by means of an officer of Government. As long as the receipts from these lands are appropriated to the expenses of the temple, I do not conceive that any objection can exist to their being managed by a particular officer appointed to perform the duties of the Sattais Hazari Purcha, and I have little doubt of the receipts being higher under the former officer, than under an officer of the temple.”

The Governor General in Council agreed to this proposition, and an officer of Government was appointed to make the collections accordingly.

Lord Minto likewise authorized a proposed sale of lands for the recovery of arrears due from the proprietors to Government.

The frauds committed by the officers of the temple during this year (1809) appear to be quite in keeping with those of every other. A scheme was got up among the idle Purchas to exceed the authorized expenditure by some 5 or 6,000 rupees, and this, after the expenses of the temple had been limited to a certain and very liberal sum. They had the effrontery to write down the excess in the Persian accounts as *money borrowed*. On being questioned by the Collector as to the meaning and cause of the excess, the Purchas falsified their accounts. And if the Collector had not dismissed them from his presence with ignominy, they probably, from a full hypothesis of lies, would have proceeded to prove that robbing a Government of 5,000 Rs. was a custom established by antiquity.

Of course, they were made responsible for the amount. And there is every reason to believe that they did not find the responsibility at all grievous.

We have before us an "Abstract Statement of the resources of Satais Hazari Lands assigned as an endowment to the temple of Jagannáth," dated Sept 1809

The gross produce of these lands, "including quit rent and bazay Jumma, amounts to no more than 13,691 Rs

The peace of the district appears to have been placed slightly in jeopardy about the middle of the year 1810

The incident, though trifling, yet goes to strengthen an opinion that it is hardly politic to allow the descendant of the Rajah therein mentioned—Mukund Deo, who had made a "most unprovoked rising against the English government, in 1804, and who, in consequence, was confined as a prisoner in Midnapore—to administer the affairs of such an important charge as Jagannath

We are informed that a country Rajah came to Puri "with the approbation of Government, paying the usual tax for him self and retinue He proceeded to the temple to perform certain ceremonies, "but, owing to the great crowd in the temple 'these were not effected to his satisfaction, and he was with 'his people personally insulted—principally by Pundahs and 'Purharris, *shouting, joking, clapping hands*, pelting stones, ' &c which strongly inclines me to think, writes the Collector of Tax, "they were the partizans of the Rajah of Khur 'dah, sent there for that particular purpose The indignant Rajah, he writes again, "is full of grief and disappointment 'at himself, his aged mother, and his three wives, being de 'graded by a *spurious race of his family*, &c

Such was one of the incidents which distinguished Jagannáth in May, 1810

Yet, notwithstanding such freaks of royalty, the year 1810 11, presents an excess of tax of 12,645 Rs—the net receipts of Government being 57,290 and the total expenditure Rs 44,664 In this latter amount are included about 1,100 Rs, for broad cloths from the British Import and Export warehouses *

Passing over the administrations of the Marquis of Hastings and Earl Amherst, there is no change and little correspondence concerning Jagannath The first important proposed alterations appear in the middle of the reign of Lord William Bentinck In July 1832, the Sudder Board of Revenue offered for the consideration of the Honble the Vice President in Council, numerous excellent observations regarding the perfect propriety of an abolition of the pilgrim tax, at Gya, Allahabad, and Jagannáth On this branch of "the fiscal administra

* And nearly 1,150 Rs put down as "Balance due from Government to Purchas on account of the temple expenses"—The broad cloths, the reader is probably aware were used for decorating the cars They have long ceased to be supplied by the British Government.

tion, the Board observe that the reasons for continuing the imposition of the tax, are simply these, "that it produces a considerable amount of revenue annually to meet the general expenses of the state, and that it was levied in the same manner by the Hindu and Mahommedan Governments, previous to the establishment of the British authority. These are doubtless sufficient, so long as the tax itself does not operate to mix up public authority with the performance of idolatrous worship, but, when such consequences are found to result, the Board are inclined to doubt, how far the continuance of the tax, even in a revenue point of view, can be deemed advisable.

These observations of the Board were not suggested so much by the 'tax system' at Gya and Allahabad, where "the public officers, say they, "have nothing to do but simply to make the collections. Their chief point of attack was Jagannáth—in all but the bloody sacrifice, which belongs more to Siva —

"First Moloch, horrid king, besmear'd with blood
Of human sacrifice, and parent's tears,
Though, for the noise of drums and timbrels loud,
Their children's cries unheard, that passed through fire
To his grim idol.*"

There is considerable wisdom in the observations of the Board on the effects of the tax and superintending system on the general interests of the country. One is—"In fact, the rulers who communicate with one hand the blessings of moral light and knowledge to those of its subjects whom circumstances happily enable to receive them, co-operate with the other, in rivetting the chains of idolatry, on the minds of the great body of the population. Another is—

"The evils more immediately resulting from it arise out of the injury done to agriculture and commerce, by the abstraction of the labour of the multitudes, who are perpetually employed in traversing India from one extremity to the other, for idolatrous purposes, and in the atrocities of which, gangs of these individuals are often led, by the vicissitudes of such a life to become the perpetrators, in defiance of the utmost efforts of public authority, and to the great insecurity throughout the tracts of country over which they pass, of the peace and prosperity of the inhabitants †

It was the opinion of the Board that the direct superintendence of the officers of Government for facilitating the business of the temple, encouraged the pilgrimage, and to uphold their arguments for non interference in management, and the abolition of the tax, they cite the case of the abolition of *Sutti*, or the burning of widows—the "best motives for regulating the burning increasing rather than diminishing the rite. *Sutti* being considerably "put an end to, they imagined that the

* Milton

† Some may think that the Board here shew an excess of feeling. The pilgrims themselves are most frequently the victims of various atrocities. They are generally a peaceful set.

pilgrimage to Jagannáth, through "more comprehensive and just views of the principles of human action," carried out in the former case, would be attended by the same effects,—and the adoption of the new measures, will, the Board doubt not, result "in the gradual disrepute and declension of those idolatrous rites, which their own unaided influence will never suffice to uphold, against the rapidly increasing intelligence of the higher classes of the native population"

The whole of the Board's observations teem with philanthropy—and if their latter remark was at all true in 1832, it must be much more so in 1848

But his Honor the Vice President in Council could not see the propriety or policy of the withdrawal of tax at any of the places mentioned, and particularly of interference with the concerns of the temple of Jagannáth

As we wish to give both sides of the question, we shall quote part of a letter from Mr Wilkinson, Collector of Cuttack, dated May, 1833, to the Commissioner of the province, in which he states that the opinions in the letter of the Honble the Vice President in Council have his entire concurrence —

"Judging from the experience of the two first years after the acquisition of the province when no tax on pilgrims was levied, I should think that the abolition of it again would greatly increase the resort of pilgrims to the temple at Jagannath, and would continue so long as the Hindu faith is looked upon by the natives of Hindustan as the true religion. I am also of opinion, that the temple could not be left to the support yielded by its own endowments, without the Government being guilty of a breach of faith, for by the latter part of Section 30th Regulation XII of 1805 it is bound to supply the deficiency of them. The words are as follows — 'Provided also that nothing herein contained shall be construed to authorize the resumption of the established donation for the temple of Jagannath. Perhaps the Board in suggesting the above arrangement considered this donation as a part of the endowments of the temple. Had their recommendation for the abolition of the tax been adopted, Government would then have had to pay out of its revenue annually, a sum averaging 36,000 Rs as the revenues from the lands appropriated to the temple amount to 20,000 Rs only, whereas the annual disbursements exceed 56,000. An increase in the police to protect the persons and property of the larger masses of people that would be collected, from their being no check on their resort to, and stay in, the town of Puri, would also have been required. All this outlay, would have been incurred without any return whereas things are now constituted, this burthen is saved to the state, and a small surplus is available for the repair of bridges, roads, suras and other useful purposes

No one can deny the baneful influence which pilgrimages have on agriculture, by abstracting large bodies of people from their labors, but they are not wholly without their benefits. These masses of Hindu pilgrims do not entirely consist of the labouring classes, but comprehend a great proportion of the rich and idle, who by thus travelling about the country with their numerous retinues, consume the superabundant produce through which they pass, and into Cuttack at least introduce a great share of the money which is annually drained from the district in remittances to the General Treasury

The reader may probably exclaim, on the perusal of the

above—"The *established donation*—like chaos, "come again!" But Mr Wilkinson's letter is of eminent service at the present time. The "donation and the pilgrim tax go together. It is impossible to separate the one from the other, or rather not to gain the one from the other, without loss to the state. Lord Auckland and time have shewn that the separation has produced a considerable annual loss to the state. But time has also shewn that Jagannāth, as for some years conducted, is gradually falling into disrepute, it has also shewn that the act of separation was not generally considered as a breach of faith on the part of the Government—Why, then, should we leave the other *member* dangling in the air—the support of an avaricious Rajah, and a burden to the state?

We asserted in a former portion of this article, that the Government, eventually, received a considerable revenue from the pilgrim tax. We think it but justice to the Honble East India Company that we should bring the following facts to public notice. They are recorded in the Vice President in Council's letter to the Sudder Board of Revenue, dated September, 1832.

The surplus proceeds of the tax on the pilgrims to Jagannāth were appropriated by the Honble Court of Directors to the formation and maintenance of a high road from the presidency to Cuttack, along which many of the pilgrims travel—and to the erection of surais for their accommodation along the road. The funds were found to be "inadequate for the purpose, and the pilgrimage thus became "a charge on the Public finances, rather than a source of income.

Mr Wilkinson, styled by the Vice President in Council, "an officer of talent and experience, appears to have been the first who proposed the present "money mode" of payment from the British Treasury.

In his letter, part of which we have before quoted, he says "Should Government deem any change necessary, I would recommend in preference to any other, the total abolition of the tax and a grant of the donation from its treasury stipulated by Section 30, Regulation XII of 1809, and placing the disbursements and general control of the temple under the sole management of the Rajah of Khurda. However it is my opinion, that it is the best policy to continue things as they are. The Regulation above alluded to should have been written of 1805, and so we have the "resumption of the established donation again. And it was these very words which chiefly prevented that highly respected and talented officer, Mr Mills—the present Commissioner's predecessor—from acceding to what the Honble East India Company and Great Britain generally wished—the *entire withdrawal* of British connexion from the temple of Jagannath—Mr Mills strong sense of justice and

that of other high functionaries in India, (among whom we may mention the Hon ble Sir T H Maddock,) in this matter, we think went somewhat too far for who in such a case, will assert that there cannot be "continued favour and protection without an actual payment of money? *No pledge can be elicited from the correspondence* * There is no fear of the peace of the province being endangered The businessaltogether is a complicated one The "pledge has been already broken up into sections these have gradually been retiring from the centre, till there is but one left

The remaining section is perfectly useless, and, besides, stands in the way of the march onward to civilization But we have made a rather sudden digression from Mr Wilkinson and his Honor the Vice President in Council, in 1832 It was before our intention to have presented the reader with a "Statement showing the receipts and disbursements of the Temple of Jagannáth, from 1810 11 to 1830 31 It is a statement made in the most palmy days of pilgrimage —

Years	Gross Collections	Total Charges	Net Receipts
1810 11	73,438	60,793	12,645
1811 12	93,372	49,578	49,794
1812 13	51,049	55,709	4,660 (net charge)
1813 14	87,159	48,674	38,485
1814 15	2,08,520	72,852	1,35,668
1815 16	53,725	42,578	11,147
1816 17	60,294	50,600	9,694
1817 18	94,020	52,860	41,160
1818 19	80,951	46,550	34,401
1819 20	1,65,951	47,664	1,18,287
1820 21	60,031	45,203	14,828
1821 22	1,17,559	47,824	69,735
1822 23	2,33,248	51,630	1,81,618
1823 24	67,013	44,715	22,300
1824 25	74,958	45,202	29,756
1825 26	2,79,491	55,662	2,23,829
1826 27	73,806	47,164	26,642
1827 28	92,363	46,411	45,952
1828-29	1,29,277	54,501	74,776
1829-30	1,25,126	15,759	1,09,367
1830 31	2,16,217	1,78,511	37,706
Total, 21	24,37,570	11,54,440	12,87,790

Deduct charge in 1812 13 4,660

12,83,130

Annual Average 1,16,074 8 54,973 6 61,101

* Government is not bound by any pledge—said the Board of Revenue (1845)
This was also the opinion of the Hon ble W W Bird, and by him so recorded, in his high official capacity, as Deputy Governor of Bengal, and for a time, acting Governor General of India

We now pass on to the administration of Lord Auckland,* to whom we have already alluded in this article. It was towards the end of the year 1838 that he penned a confessedly able minute on the general subject of Jagannāth, though utterly vitiated by the old bugbear about the imaginary pledge.

We think we shall meet the wishes of our readers by simply giving the

Resolution of the President in Council for carrying out the views expressed in the Governor General's Minute

"All that remains to be done relates to the temple of Jagannath, which had already formed the subject of a good deal of correspondence before the receipt of the present despatch from the Hon ble Court of Directors, and on which the Government of India is in possession of all the general information requisite, including the views of the best informed local Officers. The opinion of the Right Hon ble the Governor General on the mode in which the abandonment of all interference with the concerns of the temple of Jagannath should be conducted, was requested by the President in Council in Mr Secretary Maddocks letter to Mr Macnaghten dated the 20th of May 1838, and in the latter part of the present Minute His Lordship has taken the opportunity of conveying his opinion upon that point.

It is unnecessary in this Resolution to recapitulate the various plans that have been proposed for carrying into operation, as respects this temple the principle set down for the guidance of the Government of India and the various arguments for and against each plan. These have been fully developed in previous Resolutions and correspondence with the Governor General. The President in Council resolves, in accordance with the opinion expressed in His Lordship's Minute, wholly to relinquish the tax on pilgrims, to continue the yearly donation now given for the support of the temple, for which the faith of Government is pledged, to make over to the Rajah of Khurda and his successors, the entire management of the temple, to retain the temple lands, (Satais Hazari Mehal,) in the management of the Revenue Officers of Government, accounting to the superintendent of the temple for the net proceeds to exact nothing from the temple for the support of poor pilgrims or a Pilgrim Hospital and to institute, at the charge of Government, a Government Dispensary in the town of Puri for the relief of all persons who may apply to it.

With regard to the manner in which the relinquishment of the entire charge of the temple into the hands of the Rajah of Khurda and his successors should be recorded, and the obligations of the charge defined, His Honor in Council thinks it would be most expedient on the repeal of Regulations IV 1809, and XI 1810 by re-enacting in substance clause First, Section 2, of the former, to provide, that the superintendence of the temple and its interior economy, the conduct of management of its affairs, and the control over the priests, officers, and servants attached to the temple, shall continue vested in the Rajah of Khurda and his successors, who, on all occasions, shall be guided by the recorded rules and institutions of the temple, or by ancient and established usage. The superintendent and all the officers connected with the temple will be left, as a matter of course responsible to the Courts of Justice for any breach of duty which can be made the ground of a legal action.

His Honor in Council deems this course preferable to the execution of

* Governor General, March 1836

the deed of transfer proposed by the Right Honorable the Governor-General, because the management of the temple is already by Reg vested in the Rajah, and the office of superintendent in institutions of this description, being by Hindu Law of the nature of a trust, no special agreement is necessary to give it that character, and it might be difficult to frame the deed of transfer in such a manner as to comprehend the stipulations necessary to secure the just rights of all parties concerned

His Honor in Council does not deem it advisable to associate the three Dewal Purchas with the Rajah in the superintendence of the temple. Those officers have no title to that privilege, and though they have been in direct receipt of the money allowance from Government and entrusted with its disbursement, they have discharged their duties under the supervision of the Rajah, as by law provided. Such an arrangement also would be open to the objection of a divided authority and responsibility, and the advantage of having one acknowledged and permanent supreme Director of the institution would be lost, moreover, as observed by the Right Honble the Governor General, as vacancies occurred in the office of Dewal Purcha, the succession could not by any other means be so fittingly supplied as by the nomination of the Rajah himself and thus the controul of these superior Priests would naturally fall into the hands of the Rajah, and then offices, as co-superintendents, would become nearly nominal.

His Honor will be pleased, as early as possible, to complete, in all its details, the scheme for carrying into effect the arrangements explained in this resolution with regard to Jagannath. *

Here then we have the ground work of the new Act X of 1840. We shall presently shew the opinion of the Court of Directors on the question of "pledge" contained in the above.

Before us we have a very elaborate document, which furnishes the Sudder Board of Revenue with much valuable information regarding the abolition of the pilgrim tax. In one part of the letter we read "Much as we may deprecate all personal interference with the ceremonies of a religion which we cannot but look on as of the most demoralizing and degrading character, it is yet in my opinion our bounden duty not only to tolerate that religion but to provide for its free exercise by our Hindu subjects, to secure the due appropriation of the proceeds by which its endowments are supported, and lastly to maintain the public tranquillity in all places to which its votaries resort

Here we accede fully to the *toleration*, but not to the *provision*, neither do we see why we are bound "to secure the due appropriation of the proceeds

The establishment of the Cuttack Pilgrim Hospital—a most humane and highly necessary institution—occupied much of the attention of the late worthy Commissioner, and there can be no doubt that the pilgrims have derived great benefits from his philanthropic exertions

* This document, in manuscript, is without date

The basis of the Commissioners plan for the abolition of the pilgrim tax, according to the orders of Government, was, that—
 “We should in short interfere not a little more with Jagannáth than we do with Bhobanésér For the particulars of our interference with the latter shrine—which may be summed up in the words “protection to endowments—we refer the reader to Reg XIX of 1810—Proceeding a little faster in our journey, we arrive at a

Return to an Order of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 17th April, 1845—for,

A copy of “so much of the Despatch sent out by the Court of Directors of the Honourable the East India Company, on the 18th day of December, 1844, as relates to the discountenancing of any connexion of the Company's Servants with attendance of devotees upon the ceremonies of the temple of Jagannath, and any arrangements sanctioned or directed for the discontinuance of pecuniary payments towards the maintenance of the idol worship of that shrine

JAMES C MELVILLE

East India House, 22nd April, 1845

ORDERED BY THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, TO BE PRINTED, 16TH JUNE, 1845

Copy of a Letter from the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor General of India in Council, Legislative Department, 18th December, (No 25,) 1844

Our Governor General of India in Council, India Legislative Letter, 12th July (No 14,) 1844

1 From the papers accompanying your letter in this department of the 12th of July last (No 14), respecting the temple of Jagannath, we are fully confirmed in our previous impression, that the employment of purharris, or pilgrim hunters, is not sanctioned by the Government and that the authority of the police is never exerted in forcing the labouring classes to drag the car at Jagannath, or at any other temple, but always in protecting them from any such compulsory service The imputations cast upon the Government, in these respects, prove to be wholly groundless

2 It appears that the records of your Government do not enable you to show upon what specific ground it was stated in Lord Auckland's Minute of the 17th November, 1838 that ‘our promise of the allowance for the support of the temple is distinct and unconditional The nature of the pledge under which it was considered incumbent upon us to continue the established allowance seems to have been the assurance held out by Sir Arthur Wellesley, in his negotiation with the Mahratta vakils, and by Lord Wellesley and the officers acting under his authority in Cuttack, that the temple and the Brahmans attached to it should be taken under the protection of the British Government This assurance was in strict conformity with the principles on which the affairs of our empire in India have uniformly been administered The allowance was fixed at 60,000 Rupees per annum, but is stated in the report of the Bengal Government, dated 11th March 1844, to have been reduced to Rs 36,178 12 2, in consequence of the relin

quishment of the Satais Huzari estate to the temple We are of opinion that it would be very advisable, according to the suggestion offered in the same report to commute the remainder of the allowance in the same manner, by restoring any other lands of equal value which may formerly have belonged to the temple We desire, therefore, that if you concur in this view, you will take the necessary measures for carrying this arrangement into effect, and that the lands may be left exclusively to the management of the officers of the temple, and thus that the discontinuance of our interference with its concerns may be made complete

We are, &c

(Signed)	J SHEPHERD	H SHANK
	H WILLOCK	A GALLOWAY
	W ATELL	A ROBERTSON
	F WARDEN	W B BAYLEY
	J LOCH	H ALEXANDER
	J MASTERMAN	H ST G TUCKER
	W YOUNG	

London, 18th December, 1844

Our readers, we doubt not, are aware of the impossibility of preserving any strict chronological order in a narrative of this nature, confined as we are to space We shall therefore make no apology for engaging the readers attention to the consideration of a valuable document forwarded by Mr Commissioner Mills to the Sudder Board of Revenue, in 1843

• The Commissioner had been called on by the Board, about the middle of that year, to answer certain questions, and supply the most authentic intelligence, regarding the temple, for the information of the Court of Directors He commences his document* with a succinct history of the origin of the temple and tax rightly considered necessary for the due understanding of his first argument—"The specific ground on which it was stated in Lord Aucklands Minute, that the allowance of the temple is distinct and unconditional We shall make a few extracts, which the reader will do well to compare with what we have already written "I find, says Mr Mills, "from the ' accounts which were rendered by the officers of the temple ' for the two years preceding the accession of the British ' power, that is in 1801-1802, the sum of 97,132 10 15 *kahuns*, equal to Rs 24,283 6 3,—in 1802 1803, 87,228-10 10 ' *kahuns* of cowry, or Rs 21,807 2 2, disbursed by the Mah-ratta Government to cover the deficit of the receipts over the ' disbursements The practice of the Mahratta Government ' was to have the accounts of receipts and disbursements annually adjusted, and to supply the deficiency from its own ' treasury This practice was continued for some years by the ' British Government The allowance, there can be no ques

* Our copy is dated 20th August, 1843

tion, was considered permanent, though the amount of it was variable

The Commissioner then proceeds to bring forward the portion of Lord Wellesley's Despatch to Colonel Harcourt—nearly the whole of which we have already given—in which he lays the chief stress on the words "*protected in the exercise of their religious duties*". The reader may remember that we laid it on the order —"*Be careful not to contract with the Brahmans any engagements which may limit the power of the British Government, &c*"

The second clause of the Commissioner's document relates to "the authority under which the established donation for the support of the temple of Jagannāth, maintained in Regulation 12 of 1805, was first granted,—or the period during which it may be known to have been received, and its amount

The Court of Directors particularly wished to know "the authority

"The Governor General in Council, writes the Commissioner, "authorized Mr Melville* to defray the expenses of the temple, the date of the authority I cannot trace, but the Government in Council,† were pleased to observe as follows "In authorising the Collector to incur the expenses necessary for the support of the temple, it was of course to be understood that such authority had reference to the expenses incurred for the purpose during the late Mahratta Government

It is likewise the Commissioner's opinion that the lands belonging to the temple never constituted "the only known endowments pertaining to it, —in support of which, besides an abstract of lands assigned for the use of the temple, he gives other resources, "under various heads, viz poll tax, custom duties, intestate property, &c and upon every Lal Jatri fifteen annas We have already alluded to the probable resources of the temple under the Mahrattas

In the following observations by the Commissioner will be found in addition to other information, the character of the present Rajah Superintendent—far too kindly drawn, the information regarding the Purharris, which satisfied the Court of Directors, as we have shewn in the letter already quoted, and, lastly, Mr Mill's arguments for not discontinuing the donation —

"I consider it my duty to offer a few remarks on the attempt which is now being made to set aside the settlement of Lord Auckland The settle

* In the manuscript it is "the Commissioner"

† In reply to the Board's address to Government of the 17th June, 1806

ment, inasmuch as regards the abolition of the tax has given satisfaction to the people, but this is not the case with that part of the arrangement which vests the superintendence of the temple in the Rajah of Khurda. The body of the Hindu people not only object to the man, who is a person of thrifty character, and endeavours to limit the expenditure to the lowest possible amount, in order that he may appropriate to his own use the surplus

* I beg on the part of both the Magistrate and myself as superintendent of the Police of the district, to contradict these most unfounded statements of the Pamphleteer and to state that neither have the Puharris been encouraged or protected, directly or indirectly by the officers of Government, nor have the Police been employed, directly or indirectly in the impressment of persons to drag the car since the abolition of the pilgrim tax

With the Puharris or Pundahs the Government officers cannot in any way come in contact, and as to the impressment of the people I may add that the Rajah of Khurda waited on me last month at Puri and implored the aid and assistance of the Government officers for securing the attendance of the "Batahs" or persons whose duties it is to drag the Raths, which I peremptorily refused to him. It is for the purpose of obtaining some influence and authority over these people that the Rajah is willing to take the Satahs Hazari Mehals into his own hands and is desirous of engaging for the revenue of other large estates, his property being now held Khas by Government for political reasons

† The abolition of the tax has without doubt added to the number of pilgrims, but in no other respect has the splendour of the ceremonies been augmented

Our interference with the management of the temple secured a sure administration of its affairs and no doubt increased the celebrity of the temple among the Hindus, and therefore is its withdrawal unpalatable to them. However, the withdrawal of our interference has been in their eyes in a great measure redeemed by the faith which we have kept in continuing the payment of the established donation. We are bound in faith and in justice to pay the established donation for the support of the temple and this is now done in the manner which I think is the least objectionable to our feelings as Christians, and truly has Lord Auckland remarked "our pledge was not to the individual priests but to the Hindu Public, who alone can release us from our obligations"

The plan advocated by some to discontinue the donation and to permit the Rajah and Priests to collect in lieu thereof the usual fees, would not only involve the violation of the pledge, which has been given to the Hindu Public, but the voluntary contributions would gradually degenerate into a source of exaction and oppression to the pilgrims and would create a great feeling of discontent amongst our Hindu subjects ‡

It is Mr Mill's opinion, then, that "so far as human justice is to be regarded, our violation of the pledge seems beyond all power of explanation"

* Is the trade of the Puharris sanctioned by Government, and is the authority of the Police employed to impress the labouring classes to drag the car at Jagannath?

† Is the superstition of Jagannath under the arrangements now sanctioned flourishing beyond all experience?

‡ We have copied the whole of this extract from the corrected manuscript—in which the Commissioner's corrections are so numerous, that it is difficult for us to do any justice to his language. However, his sentiments are expressed in the above. We believe that the whole is printed in the 'Blue Book'

This opinion appears to have been of greater weight than any of the others set forth in the Blue Book. It is curious to observe the secret struggle for independence which appears to reign among the Rajahs of Khurdah. In the above extract we find him willing to take the temple lands under his own management to gain influence over the people. And to the reader, not skilled in revenue matters, it may be well to observe, that landed property is said to be held "*Khas*, when under the immediate management of the Government Officers, in contradistinction to being farmed or leased out to others. The Rajah, on the occasion of the abolition of the pilgrim tax, wished even to have the rights and privileges of a tributary chieftain confirmed in his person, "it being as these jungly Rajahs think derogatory to be placed on a level with the subjects of the Mogulbund in the plains. Pilgrimage to Jagannáth, among the chieftains of the tributary Mehals, is a rare occurrence. They seem to consider the Rajah as the relic of a once despotic power—fallen—fallen—fallen! They are not willing to pay the large sums of money exacted from them by the superintendent to perform the ceremony at the temple; they prefer hoarding up their wealth in their own wild lands to expending it on Jagannáth, or rather on the Rajah of Khurdah *.

The plan proposed by the Court of Directors for the discontinuance of our interference with the temple was by no means an easy one to carry out. In 1844, Rs 85,758, were paid in cash from the Government treasury, nominally as a pension to the superintendent, but really for the support of the temple. The collections of the Sattais Hazari Estate, amounting to Rs 17,001, were exclusively made over to the Rajah. But, with the exception of this property, there were no lands of which any record was then extant, or of which any trace was forthcoming, that had been set aside for the use of the temple. The Muthdarris were no doubt satisfied with the general confusion, —which had been gradually ripening since the conquest of the province,—so, of course, they were not very anxious to come forward.

In May, 1845, Mr Mills applied all his skill to effect a satisfactory settlement of lands on the Rajah, in lieu of money.

Alluding to this matter, he wrote to the Sudder Board of Revenue —"Touching the commutation of the money allow-

* The timbers for the great Rath festival are annually provided by the Rajah of Duspalla—a Cuttack Tributary Mehal. "The simli trees," says the Head Clerk of Puri, "are supplied by the sarbarakars of Banpore, to whom the superintendent of the temple sends the sacred sanders and rags from the head of the image Jagannath, as a token of approbation."—*History*, page 42.

'ance now paid by Government, by the assignment of the Revenues of the Rajah's Zemindari, Talukah Delang, Pergunnah Lembai, I regret to state that my own and the Collector's endeavours have failed to obtain the Rajah's consent to the proposed arrangement. He opposes it because of the possibility of his becoming a dependent Zemindar, a contingency which might follow his ejection from the office of superintendent of the temple, for any acts of *misfeasance*, I do not think that we could, with any degree of justice, force such an arrangement on him.

"Yet, continues the Commissioner, "the Rajah is not inclined to accept the revenue of other Mehals, as enumerated by him, in lieu of the donation.

At length the money donation was set down at Rs 24,600. Thus was "British connexion lessened by 11,000 rupees.

It is useless to trouble our readers with the items which make up this total, but it was argued from the account of them that, if the present money payment should be discontinued, the British Government would still have to make good to the temple, annually, Rs 24,600, "in lieu of *sayer* abolished and assignments on the revenue which have long since been appropriated by the state * This, of course, entirely depends on the question of "pledge.

At the close of the year 1845, an order was issued from the Council Chamber, substituting an annual payment of rupees 23,321, for rupees 35,758 9 6.

The sale of normal—a sort of "holy food—and fees relinquished to the superintendent, were deducted from the previous annual donation,—and hence its present amount.

The above fees are styled "*Dhya Pindica*—those levied on articles presented to Jagannáth. There now remains little more to be said, notwithstanding there is yet a good deal more to be done.

The present superintendent of Jagannáth, we believe, obtains annually, at least rupees 20,000 from perquisites and the Satais Hazari estate, and nothing would tend to prove in so direct a manner the estimation in which the religion of Jagannáth is really held in Orissa as the backwardness or forwardness of the

* Letter to the Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal—dated 8th September 1845, from the Under Secretary to the Government of India.

The Governor General in Council, we read in the above letter, would not accede to the Commissioner's proposition of purchasing land for the purpose of making over to the temple. They think that "the most reasonable course will be to place the endowments of Jagannath as nearly as possible on the same footing as we found them on the acquisition of the province, and to discontinue the payment of any sum in excess of the funds as then existing.—This appears to have been the immediate cause of the reduction of the donation.

wealthy Muthdaries to pay the donation at present afforded by Government *

There can be no question that the most politic plan would have been to have abolished the donation with the pilgrim tax. Even the no very bright intellects of the pilgrims, at least, would have then imbibed the idea—that they gave nothing to the Government,—so why should the Government pay money for the support of their religion. However, the thing has been done, and all the appearance of a fixture has been given to it, so we must get out of the scrape the best way we can. We certainly think that it is perfectly easy to get out of it without advocating the principles laid down by Machiavelli in his Prince. Yet, from the unusual quantity of depravity at Jagannáth, we are inclined to think that some might agree with that wise but crafty Italian, of a dark and licentious age, who deemed that a wise and prudent Prince “ought not to keep his *parole*, when the keeping of it is to his prejudice, and the causes for which he promised removed. In the case of the Rajah of Khurdah, certainly, he has not been punctual with us,—so we are not obliged to any such strictness with him.

In a case like that of Jagannáth, we cannot find so much fault with these opinions, although, as we have said, they are not at all necessary. Surely it is inconsistent to disburse sums of money from the British treasury for the expenses attendant upon idolatry, while efforts are being made for the promulgation of education and Christianity among the people.

If we will adhere to the “pecuniary support principle—why drain the charity of individuals and societies to keep up the source of enlightenment? Almost every Hindu, from the Rajah to the beggar, is well aware of his security under British

* Exclusive of this donation—the following sums are paid annually out of the Puri treasury

	Rs	483	12	0
		3,466	10	0
		2,666	10	0
		<hr/>		
		6,617	0	0
Add to this the annual donation paid to the Superintendent		28,321	0	0
		<hr/>		

29 938 0 0 paid directly and indirectly towards the support of the worship of Jagannáth. The second of these items, according to the Author of the ‘History of Puri,’ appears to be the only rational one, viz Rs 3,466 to the Mohunt of a Muth, consequent on the resumption of Per gunnah Kodbar which had been held rent-free on account of offerings to the idol made from it.—The reason of the first item, Rs 483 12 says the Head Clerk, is not traceable, and we agree with him. The third, Rs 2 666 10, is paid to an Adhi Kari ‘for the purpose of distributing holy food “to starving and destitute pilgrims, &c. It will be seen that all these sums depend on the word ‘pledge. Supposing the term, “Holy Land, extended over half the peninsula, where would the British revenue of the country come from?—The amount annually received by the superintendent of Jagannáth is said to be Rs 46,291. The Head Clerk states that Rs 31,006 are actually expended by the Rajah—leaving a clear saving of 15,000. We have heard that this clear saving is nearer to the avowed expenditure

protection That protection is, and has been, carried out to an extent never before known in India Is not this enough, then, without our paying money to be misappropriated at the stronghold of the Hindu religion, through the wretched avarice of a heartless and ignorant potentate

We would withdraw every vestige of a money payment, for the benefit of the Hindu people, we would withdraw it to shew that we do not live in a stand still age—but in an age of progression, we would abolish the “donation” to dispel all ugly appearance and the wrong interpretations put forward by the ignorant on the subject of British connexion with Jagannáth But, although it would silence, we should not like to see it abolished merely to satisfy those who make it their business to exaggerate the matter and calumniate the Government.

Let us now briefly touch on the subject of *fees* previous to bringing our article to a conclusion

It is from these,—the offerings, the Satais Hazari Mehal, and the muths—that we wish to see the entire future resources of Jagannáth drawn

On the abolition of the pilgrim tax, the right of the Purharris to levy fees was abrogated by the remission of the tribute they paid to the Government “The Pundahs, says a document of 1839, “will be content with their own gains, and so will in the end the Purharris The fee is but a very trifling portion of the Pilgrim’s expense—for, to use the words in Harrington’s Analysis, he is fleeced by the pundahs not only of all the money he brings with him, but of promissory notes for future payments Indeed it is a well known fact that pilgrims are in the habit of burying outside of the town or leaving in the hands of shopkeepers on the road enough to take them home, so well do they know that these extortioners will turn them out of the town naked and penniless

In June 1846, it appears to have been the intention of the President in Council to take “the earliest fitting occasion for the repeal of the prohibition of the collection of fees contained in Act X of 1840, “the object being to restore to the temple that portion of its original funds which was believed to be designated by the words “Fee of fifteen annas on each Lal Jatri

But the Commissioner of Cuttack deprecated the repeal of the prohibition, “shewing,” says the letter,* “that the object sought to be attained would not be thereby accomplished

It appears that no satisfactory information was obtained respecting the nature of the above fee,—in short it had “never been levied We do not exactly understand this mystery, so

* From the Secretary to the Government of India to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated the 27th June, 1846

we shall content ourselves with giving the remainder of the President in Council's opinions on the matter of fees "It appears that the prohibition contained in Act X of 1840, was rendered necessary by the extortion and oppression to which the pilgrims were subjected at the hands of the Puharris and Pundahs when the collection of their fees was left to themselves. Such being the state of the case, the President in Council, upon further consideration, is of opinion that the proposed alteration of the law is not required. Of course, to abolish the donation, there must be a total repeal of this law and any other law particularly regarding Jagannath—a noble consummation, the early realization of which, we fondly hope, the present able Commissioner, Mr Gouldsbury, will not fail to urge on the attention of a not unwilling Government.

In the *Friend of India* of May 11th, and June 1st, we find some interesting matter regarding Jagannath. First we are informed that Mr Poynder's motion for the discontinuance of the donation "which has been paid to the hierarchy of Jagannath, had been carried by a majority of *Sixty six* in the Court of Proprietors. On this the Serampore journalist remarked—"The discontinuance of the donation in obedience to the resolution of the Court of Proprietors must, as a matter of justice, be accompanied by the repeal of the Act—Act X of 1840—"which will place the establishment of Jagannath on precisely the same footing as that of all other temples in India. The Chairman was one of the four who voted against the discontinuance of the payment, and certainly far beyond our knowledge is the proof for the assertion—that the Company is *bound by treaty* to continue it!

In the paper of June 1st, we find a very original letter from Mr Peggs—yet one written with very good intentions—in which it is stated that the motion for the separation of the Government from the temple of Jagannath was resisted by the Court of Directors. Mr Peggs then proceeds to bring forward evidence against the supposed pledge—all of which is very satisfactory. But he takes away not a little of the charm of all good intentions by the occasional use of language more calculated perhaps to irritate than to convince.

Our task is now done—That it has been one of intricacy and difficulty we think every candid reader will admit. We therefore cannot expect much uniformity of opinion on many of the points we have discussed. "The education of different men, their prejudices, their various talents and advantages—the party spirit, the unfavourable habits—the mere ambiguity of language, will constantly occasion a diversity, a great diversity of judgments.

not be understood as regarding the bare idea of bloodshed with that sickly horror which is felt or expressed by certain sects and societies of the present day. Such emotions, while man is prone to error and injustice, are quite out of place, and tend but to foster the evils deprecated. But, looking upon war with its train of miseries as not unfrequently the less of two evils, we still protest against its ever being contemplated except as the means of securing the blessings of peace. Where any other object is in view, the slaughter inflicted is wanton and unjustifiable—murder on a large scale. Of what avail is it that the insult of centuries is avenged, that the honour of the British flag is untarnished, that another bright jewel is added to the crown, or another coloured spot to the map of India, if the millions for whose happiness we are responsible are weighed down with as much misery and vice as ever? They are doubtless a patient people, long suffering and of much endurance. Our rule and the gain it brings us are in little danger, comparatively, from internal discontent in Bengal Proper. This is the selfish consideration which we fear has too often actuated the Rulers of India. Where social improvement can be effected without the sacrifice of power, patronage or profit, it is not withheld, where the existence of that power or profit appears to be endangered, no expenditure is deemed excessive, no difficulties are succumbed to, no efforts spared.

To trace out and foreshadow the probable fruits of this principle of selfishness would lead us far from our design. Let us hope that our present ruler will regard the claims of the *people* of India upon his time and attention as the first and most paramount, and one not to be satisfied by vague unmeaning professions, or a passing allusion in an after dinner speech. Let him remember that interest and duty point to the same path. "In this day of trial, to quote an able contemporary, "when institutions and states are sifted and searched to their dregs, and when it becomes a matter of life and death that a Government shall be able to justify itself to its people, and stand with a clear conscience before the world, abuses become daily more fatal and their cure more indispensable."

ART IV —1 *A Dictionary in Sanskrit and English, designed for the use of private students and of Indian colleges and schools* By the late Rev W Yates, D D, Calcutta, Baptist Mission Press, 1846, pages 928

2 *A Grammar of the Sanskrit Language, etc* By Rev W Yates, D D, Second edition, Ibidem, 1845, pages 494

THREE years have elapsed, since the lamented author of these two works, having left the shores of India in search of renovated health, was overtaken by death on the Red Sea, to whose keeping his mortal remains were committed until that day when the sea shall give up her dead. Born of humble parentage in December 1792 at Loughborough, the birth place of John Howe, he was originally brought up for the same trade which Dr Carey once followed, but his judicious father (who survived him about three years) perceiving that the talents and inclinations of his son pointed to a different sphere of labour, wisely encouraged him to take advantage of all the opportunities which Providence might grant for acquiring information. At the early age of fourteen his mind underwent that change which bears the stamp of divine origin, and from that period his progress in the pursuit of knowledge was both continuous and rapid. After struggling with various difficulties, he was at length enabled, chiefly through the interposition of the great Robert Hall, to enter the Baptist College at Bristol, in October 1812, a few weeks before he had concluded the twentieth year of his age.

His predilection for the study of languages, which throughout life formed one of the leading features of his intellectual character, now developed itself more fully than before. In proof of this it may be mentioned, that he composed an elaborate Grammar of the Greek language, including a treatise on prosody. This work he must have carried on in secret, for even his biographer, Dr Hoby, who was his fellow-student and intimate friend, appears not to have been aware of it, and but for the discovery of the manuscript after the author's death, its existence would probably have remained unknown. As a literary production the value of that grammar may not be great, but that a student of divinity should, at the age of twenty one, compose such a work, without giving the least intimation of it to any of his friends, is a proof of perseverance and modesty such as we believe are rarely exhibited under similar circumstances. It appears, from a letter to his father, that he had previously "spent all his spare time in

writing a Greek vocabulary, because as there had not been one published yet, that he liked, he determined, if he could, to make one to his own mind. It was in the same pains taking way that he applied himself to the study of Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic.

Whilst at Bristol he was led to form the resolution of becoming a Missionary. Having previously experienced great kindness from Robert Hall, he now wrote to him for advice, and received in reply a letter full of encouragement, and marked by an almost prophetic anticipation of his future career in India. It is singular that the youthful student should at first have thought of Abyssinia as the scene of his labours. "No sooner was this opinion formed," says his biographer, "than the library was searched for the Amharic scriptures and grammars, and closer attention given to the study of Arabic. But the Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society, to which he naturally offered his services, directed his attention to Bengal, the only country where up to that time it had been endeavouring to plant the standard of the cross.

He left Bristol College in the spring of 1814, and after an interval of three months, the greater part of which he spent at Olney, where he was engaged in pastoral duties, he was publicly set apart for missionary labour at Leicester, on the 31st of August. Robert Hall offered up the ordination prayer, and it is certainly very remarkable to find Dr Yates twenty five years afterwards referring to that prayer in the following language —

"I shall hereafter see whether the impression so strongly produced in my mind by the prayer offered up by the Rev Robert Hall at my designation will be realized or not. His prayer led me and others to feel that I should be removed in the midst of my usefulness as a translator of the Word of God. There was something very like the spirit of Prophecy, both in the manner in which it was uttered, and in the effect which it produced."

In those days it was necessary for Missionaries proceeding to India to obtain a special permission from the powers that be. With regard to Mr Yates, his biographer says—

"True to their oft avowed principles of hostility to the religion and kingdom of Christ, the Court of Directors peremptorily refused permission for him to go out, although his passage was to be made in a private ship. This refusal was repeated, on a second and more urgent but respectful appeal. There remained, therefore, no alternative, but to take the case to the higher court, and at once ascertain whether in the spirit of the new act, which came in force only on April 10th of this year, (1814) the Board of Control would really overrule, in this matter, the Court of Directors. On application to H. M. Government, permission was immediate

ly granted,* thus marking the departure of Mr Yates with one additional peculiarity, inasmuch as it was in reference to him that the disposition of government was tested.'

Having overcome this difficulty, Mr Yates embarked on board the *Earl Moira*, the commander of which, Captain Kemp, gave him a free passage. Near the Sandheads a terrific storm threatened to destroy the ship, but finally Mr Yates landed in India on the 15th of April 1815. When his arrival was reported, he was once more made to feel the hostility of the Indian Government of that day. He was summoned before the authorities, and had to find sureties for his appearance, in case the Government should determine to send him out of the country. What a mighty change has taken place since that time!

It is not our object to give a detailed account of the career upon which Mr Yates now entered. The first two years of his Indian life were spent at Serampore, the remaining twenty-eight at Calcutta, with the exception of two (1827 and 1828) during which he was absent, having been compelled by the failure of his health to re-visit England. Nearly thirty years of his life he devoted to the promotion of the spiritual welfare of India. He was a preacher to the natives, an instructor of youth, the pastor of an English church, and the author of a number of school books in the native languages. Upon each of these departments of labour he brought to bear an unwearied diligence, an uncommonly correct practical judgment, and an unflinching firmness of purpose. His pulpit ministrations especially were highly valued by his hearers. Although his delivery was not pleasant and his style not adorned by any other beauties than those of correctness and simplicity, yet the depth and richness of his thoughts, and the lucidity of their arrangement, imparted to his discourses a charm which was greatly enhanced by the prominence invariably given to the fundamental doctrines of the gospel, which are the words of eternal life. His private character was strongly marked by the essential adjuncts of greatness, humility, simplicity, and benevolence. Persons who saw him for the first time, usually experienced a feeling of disappointment, produced by the extraordinary simplicity of his appearance and deportment. Unlike many other scholars, he possessed great practical wisdom. His advice, whether on private affairs or on more public measures, was always given in a few words,—plain but precise, and however contrary it might be to the wishes or expectations of those

* A fee of ten guineas, however, had to be paid.

who had solicited it, the event almost invariably confirmed its soundness

That we have not allowed the partialities of friendship to lead us to form an exaggerated estimate of the character and attainments of Dr Yates, will at once appear from a single document, which we are happy to have it in our power to insert in this place. The Missionary conference of Calcutta consists of ministers of the Church of England, the Established and the Free Churches of Scotland, the Baptist and the Independent Denominations. At the request of the members of this respectable body, who from multiplied personal experience had the best acquaintance with the departed, the following paper was prepared by the Rev Dr Duff, and *unanimously* adopted by the conference as embodying a faithful expression of their feelings —

“The Members of this conference have received with much sorrow the intelligence of the death of their oldest member, the Rev W Yates, D D. Their esteemed father and friend having been called from his post of duty, in the midst of most important and useful labours, they desire unitedly to record their sense of the heavy loss thus sustained by the Missionary body in Calcutta, and by the cause of Christ in India. But they would at the same time desire to humble themselves under the mighty hand of God, and submit to this dispensation of his holy will, with thanksgiving and praise to the Father of Spirits, for all the grace given to his departed servant through the trying vicissitudes of life, and for the good hope of eternal glory through the alone merits of his Saviour which animated his last hours.

In order the better to realize the nature and extent of their loss, the members of the conference desire to record their united testimony to the rare worth of their departed friend and brother, viewed in his individual, social and professional character.

His individual character was sufficiently marked by many admirable qualities. He was a man of naturally masculine understanding, but it was an understanding little liable to be warped by partizanship or misled by prejudice. He was a man of acute discernment, but it was acuteness which never degenerated into illiberality or acrimony. He was a man of great and extensive learning, but it was learning without parade, singularity, or pedantry. He was a man of genuine philanthropy, but it was philanthropy without ostentation or vanity. He was a man of devout and fervent piety, but it was piety removed alike from the formalities of superstation and the rigors of asceticism.

His social character was distinguished by many estimable and attractive features. To his family he was endeared by his truly amiable tenderness, alike in the conjugal and parental relationship to his immediate friends, by the gentleness of his temper, the cheerfulness of his disposition, and the suavity of his manners, and to the numerous circle of his general acquaintance, by his extreme readiness to oblige, the judiciousness of his counsels, the strictness of his integrity, and the sincerity and steadiness of his attachments. He could praise and he could reprove too, as occasion called for it, but his praise was without exaggeration and his reproof without asperity. His charity never allowed him to think the worst of any, but the best

of all Deeply conscious of his own short-comings, he would not magnify the infirmities of others, but pity and pray over them, deeply sensible of his own obligation to the undeserved mercies of God, he would not envy the excellencies of others, but see in them fresh tokens of a Father's love Towards Christians of other denominations he was tolerant without latitudinarianism, and faithful and just without bigotry. He could discern and rejoice in an inward and substantial unity, amid much outward and circumstantial multi-formity His constant endeavour was practically to prove that, "in things necessary, there should be unity, in things not necessary, liberty, and in all things, charity."

His professional character had its own peculiar excellencies. As a trainer of youth, a preacher to the heathen, and the pastor of a flock, he showed forth his works of faith and labours of love, with such meekness, patience, and forbearance that he never appeared as a lordly superior, but rather as a servant or helper, ministering comfort and edification to all around. But the sphere of usefulness which, from the first, he specially cultivated, and which, of late years, absorbed nearly the whole of his strength and energy, was that of Bible translation. In this department of Missionary labours, the mantle of the venerable Carey had worthily fallen on him. In his varied attainments and achievements therein, he latterly stood alone and his lamented decease has left a blank in it, which cannot be immediately supplied. In this, his own favorite and chosen vocation, his devotedness was intense and entire. In reference to it, he seemed to adopt and live out the saying, that he "must never think to put off his armour, till he was ready for others to put on his shroud. The unreserved consecration of his time, his talents, his learning, and all, to the furtherance of this noble branch of Evangelistic labour in the land of his adoption, he has himself unconsciously but finely embodied in words familiar, but immortal,—when, on hearing the decision of his medical attendants as to the necessity of a temporary removal to his native shores, he remarked, with faltering voice and tearful eyes, "they have condemned me to go home. That earthly home he was never destined to reach. Before he had advanced half way towards it, his heavenly Father was pleased to call him to another and better. All that was perishable of Dr William Yates was consigned to the bosom of that "Red Sea, the wonders of which, on the ever memorable night of Israel's deliverance, he had so often helped to transfuse into the languages of myriads in these eastern climes, but his imperishable soul, sanctified and redeemed through the blood of the covenant, winged its flight to the promised land, the heavenly Canaan—there to mingle with the adoring throng that cease not day nor night to "sing a new song, the song of Moses and the Lamb. From that blissful realm, with its glorious society and rivers of pleasures, we would not recall him, if we could. Rather, regarding our loss as his incalculable gain, would we in the exercise of heroic faith desire, in tranquil resignation to exclaim, "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord. Rather regarding his example as a bright pattern for us to copy, in so far as it was in imitation of Christ, would we pray to be endowed with similar grace "to fight the good fight," that, having run our race and finished our course on earth we too may be privileged to die the death of the righteous, and our latter end may be like his.

In conclusion, the conference beg to express their sincere sympathy with their Baptist brethren, who have had so excellent and amiable a member of their circle removed from them by the present afflictive dispensation. They desire also sincerely to condole with the bereaved widow and surviving

children May he who is the Father of the fatherless, and Husband of the widow, be their stay and support, their sun and their shield in this life, and in the life to come their sure and everlasting portion "

It would be interesting in itself, and not altogether unsuitable to the pages of this Review, to pourtray more in detail the entire character of a man to whom India owes so much, but the limits assigned to this article forbid our attempting the task, and permit us only to take a survey of his labour in the field of Indian philology He possessed a strong predilection for the study of languages, which must be regarded as one of the leading features of his intellectual nature, and the facility with which he mastered languages was proportionate to that predilection He learnt Latin in his boyhood, principally through his own unaided efforts About the same time he studied Greek, and shortly afterwards Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic The kindness of a friend enabled him, whilst at college, to acquire the rudiments of French There his attention was also directed to Amharic, but we do not believe that he prosecuted the study of that language long On his arrival in India he applied himself to the study of the Bengali and Sanskrit languages, to which a few years later the Hindi, Urdu, and Persian were added During the voyage back from his visit to England in 1828 he commenced the study of Chinese, simply for the purpose of encouraging a young lady, a fellow-passenger, who was proceeding to China with a view to missionary work

The linguist may be viewed as a distinct genus of the human family, and that genus again comprises several species Some linguists direct their attention principally to the structure of the language which they study Their object may be called the anatomy of language The inflection of nouns, pronouns and verbs, the rules of syntax, and the distribution of all the words among the different roots from which they are derived, afford to them a never failing source of interest To such men the grammar and the dictionary are the principal study They may travel over the whole field of literature which is occupied by any given language, but their one constant endeavour is, to collect from it, as they pass along, specimens to enrich the museum of their grammars and dictionaries Such men, who may be called philologists by profession, are very useful in their way, by gathering together all the materials which other men, of more comprehensive minds, may turn to advantage for the purposes of antiquarian and historical or other scientific investigation

The second species of linguists may be denominated that of readers Their object is to read as many books as they can lay

hold of, no matter on what subject they treat. As they proceed in their reading, they endeavour to understand their authors, but still the reading itself is their principal aim. The complexion of their minds appears to be much the same as that of an English traveller (a specimen of a numerous class) whom we remember meeting at Venice. He considered it as his regular work to see a certain number of curiosities every day, simply that he might say that he had seen them. He would talk of "having gone through a great amount of work," because he had "done St Mark, the Ducal Palace, the Arsenal, &c in a brief space of time. The reading linguist, however, is not a useless person. It is he alone that can give an account of the whole literature of a nation, and if he possess an ordinary share of judgment and of taste, he will be able to point out the works most deserving of notice, and most likely to prove to others a rich mine of valuable information.

The third species of linguists is that of writers. These make it a point so to acquire a language that they may be able to write it with correctness, facility, and elegance, either in prose or in verse. The languages studied by them are for the most part dead languages. After the revival of literature, the art of writing Latin was so highly prized, that numbers of scholars applied themselves to it with an ardour, and in many instances with a success, almost incredible. Bembo and Muretus wrote Latin with a facility and elegance which as far as we can judge, equalled that of Cicero or Cæsar. The Scottish historian, Buchanan, took a higher aim, language was not his principal object, but he must have devoted to it an immense amount of industry: witness his Latin translations of the Psalms, a work which will not suffer by a comparison with the finest odes of Horace. In more modern times Hemsterhuys and Ruhnken have been celebrated for their classical Latin, not to mention the countless host of men who have written Latin with the facility, though not with the elegance, of a Roman. In the present day diplomatists study the French, and merchants the Italian and other modern languages, principally for the purpose of acquiring the facility of writing them.

The fourth species of linguists is that of speakers. The object they seek to attain, is to be able to speak foreign languages. Their success depends in a great measure upon favourable circumstances. They must move in the society of persons belonging to the nation whose tongue they seek to acquire. They must also possess a nice ear, and very flexible organs of speech, to enable them both to seize and to imitate peculiar sounds. If these speaking linguists at the same time are diligent readers,

and also take pains to cultivate the art of writing, they can hardly fail to gain that most valuable advantage of really becoming masters of a foreign tongue. But if they neglect reading and composition, as many of them are apt to do, they only become talkers, never speakers, and their mastery of what they have studied, must always be confined within the ordinary limits of conversation.

Dr Yates had not exactly a philological genius. Grammars and lexicons were to him not ends, but means. This is evident from the character of all the works of this class which he has written. His Hindūstani and Bengali grammars are remarkably practical and quite free from philosophical inquiries into the structure of these languages. His Sanskrit grammar, although a more elaborate work, bears essentially the same character, and his Dictionary of that language is altogether devoid of etymological discussions. At the same time it must be confessed that he was not much of a speaker of foreign languages. We are not aware that he ever made any extensive use of his knowledge of Hindustani for the purpose of speaking in public. The only acquired language which he could speak with readiness, was the Bengali, and his pronunciation of that was harsh, whilst the expressions he employed, though quite correct, appeared stiff, because they belonged to a style far above that which is generally used in conversation.

His chief aim in the study of languages was two fold, first, thoroughly to understand the Bible, and secondly, to become qualified for translating it into some of the languages of India, viz Bengali, Hindi, Hindustani, and Sanskrit. So far, therefore, he may be classed among the writing linguists. But whilst principle prompted him to aim at this object, his natural inclination, had it not been checked and regulated by that noble principle, would have made of him a mere reading linguist. We are not acquainted with the extent of his reading in Latin, but we know that he read nearly all the Greek classics, that have escaped the wreck of time. In Arabic he likewise read through a very large number of volumes. Only a few years before his death we called on him one evening, when seeing a huge book noticed that lay on the table before him, he said, "I am having another tug at Arabic, I have begun reading this new edition (in 4 vols) of the Arabian Nights. In about three months he had finished the task. In the same way he read with astonishing rapidity the whole of the Mahabharat in Sanskrit.* These are facts for the correctness of which we can vouch, and there can be

* There can be no doubt that he read all the printed works in Sanskrit, which were procurable at Calcutta, besides many others in manuscript.

no doubt that he studied Bengali, Persian, Hindi, and Hindustani in the same manner. We believe that during the whole time of his stay in India he daily allotted a portion of his mornings to the study of the Old Testament in Hebrew, and of the New in Greek. Afterwards he would give some five hours to his translations or the preparation of his sermons, &c. and then, by way of recreation, he would spend the remainder of his time before dinner (which he took about five o'clock) in reading Sanskrit or Arabic, or any other language which he might, at the time, happen to have taken up. To his English reading he devoted the latter hours of the day.

No one who is at all acquainted with the immense amount of work that he accomplished, can fail to be astonished at it. The secret of his success lay in his economy of time. Each pursuit in which he was engaged had a daily or weekly portion of time allotted to it, and he never deviated from his scheme, unless compelled to do so either by sickness, to which he was much subject, or by some very extraordinary occurrence. Even a visit, which might deprive him of the hour assigned to one object, was not allowed to interfere with the preconcerted employment of the subsequent hours. He proceeded rapidly with every work he took in hand, and yet he never was in a hurry. In this way it may, to some extent, be explained, how he could read so much, yet steadily devote the best and the largest portion of his time to objects of greater direct importance and usefulness.

In the department of biblical translation, to which he intended that all his reading, as a linguist, should be subservient, he was permitted to accomplish a great work. He translated the whole Bible into the Bengali language, and this version, with all its imperfections, undoubtedly constitutes a noble monument to his talents, his learning, his diligence, and his piety. In preparing the first rough draft of it, free use was made not by himself, but by the Pundit who assisted him, of that of his predecessor, Dr Carey, but after the first draft had been prepared, Dr Yates had it entirely re-written twice over, in order that it might become a faithful likeness of the original. The mechanical task of writing was executed by the Pundit, a man of more than ordinary intelligence and taste, whilst the translator dictated to him the renderings which were suggested to his mind as the best by a reference to the original text. Whilst the work was carried through the press, it again underwent a process of manifold revision and emendation, by being once more compared with the original, line for line and word for word, not only by himself, but also by a junior co adjutor, whose suggestions he received with the greatest candour imaginable. He translated

the New Testament into the Hindi language, making the Bengali version the basis of this. He also published a revised Hindustani translation of the New Testament, of which Martyn's was the basis. The Psalms in Sanskrit appeared in 1839, the New Testament in 1842, about the same time with the Proverbs, next the book of Genesis with half of Exodus, and finally Isaiah in 1845, at the very time of his departure for England. Of all these works the Hindi Testament was the most imperfect, all the others possess great excellencies, not unmingled with defects. His aim was threefold: faithfulness of rendering, correctness and elegance of diction, and facility of comprehension. To a very great extent he succeeded, but it must be acknowledged that some of his renderings are comments rather than translations, and that every now and then some very startling blunder escaped his notice. This latter fact may in a great measure be accounted for by the indifferent health he enjoyed, and by the effects which an oppressive climate and powerful medicines produced on his mental faculties. It is also probable that had he translated more exclusively from the original, without leaning, so much as he did, upon the aid to be derived from previous translations in the same or in cognate languages (whether made by himself or by others) his versions would have become more accurate than they are. But with all their defects they unquestionably are remarkable productions, for the most part they express the sense of the original faithfully, briefly and plainly, and the idiomatic correctness of their diction, (excepting the Hindi) gives them a great charm, so that in the history of the Biblical literature of India, and of Bengal especially, they will always be conspicuous as the landmarks of a new era, even if they should ultimately be superseded by more perfect versions, of which at present there is little prospect.*

The Sanskrit studies, which Dr Yates carried on without intermission during nearly thirty years, were considered by him principally as a preparation for that great work, the translation of the Bible into the Bengali language, which he looked upon as the chief object of his life. In his opinion it was impossible thoroughly to master Bengali and to become critically acquainted with it, without having previously become familiar with Sanskrit. In this judgment he was right. The Bengali language is more closely related to the Sanskrit, than the Italian is to the Latin. And if the Italian scholar, who can derive his knowledge of that language from a literature of immense

* We cannot refrain from expressing our hope that a separate article of this Review may, in due time, be devoted to Biblical translations.

extent and wonderful richness, which might be thought to render it unnecessary for him to have recourse to the fountain head, nevertheless feels that a thorough acquaintance with Latin confers upon him great advantages, how much more must the Bengali scholar,—who finds the literature of that language to be very limited, its poetry crude in the extreme, and its prose—excepting a few translations from other sources—confined to some scores of absurd stories and a meagre biography or two,—be impressed with the importance of studying the parent language which is the inexhaustible treasury from which the poor, though promising, daughter must of necessity draw all the additional stores which in process of time she will require? This importance is felt with double force by the scholar who wishes to translate the Bible, because all the religious terms he has to employ, must absolutely be taken from the Sanskrit, and although most of them may be in common use in Bengali, yet their suitableness or unsuitableness must be tested by a reference to the Sanskrit roots from which they are derived, and to the significations they bear in Sanskrit works

At the time when Dr Yates entered upon the study of the Sanskrit language, the task which he undertook, was much more formidable than it is at present. Dictionary there was none, for that title ought never to have been bestowed upon Colebrooke's edition of the Amara Kosha, invaluable though it be. Of grammars, only two complete ones had appeared in an English (or European) dress, viz that of Dr Carey and that of Dr Wilkins,—both of them formed upon the native model, and therefore anything but calculated to afford facilities to the early student. No sooner had Dr Yates mastered the general structure of the language, than it appeared to him practicable to simplify its grammar by casting it into the mould of the Greek and Latin grammars generally adopted in Europe. Consequently he set to work, and compiled a new grammar,—new simply in this respect that to a great extent the shackles of the native system were thrown off. The first edition appeared in 1820. Dr Carey, far from entertaining any feelings of jealousy at an undertaking, which might have appeared to be destined to supersede his own labours, cheerfully undertook to read the sheets for the press, thereby giving another proof of the magnanimity of his character. Some Sanskrit scholars in Europe have expressed an unfavourable opinion of the first edition of Dr Yates's grammar, and it must be granted that at the present day, compared with the productions of Bopp, Wilson, and others, a high rank cannot be assigned to it. It is, however, but just to state that the second edition, which appeared in

1845, about the time of the author's death, is a work very far superior to the first. And at the time of its appearance, even the first edition was allowed to possess considerable merit. This has been acknowledged by Professor H. H. Wilson, in a paper with which he kindly furnished his biographer.

"The first work, says Prof. Wilson, "by which Dr. Yates became known to oriental scholars was a grammar of the Sanskrit language, published in 1820. It was compiled, as he acknowledges, from the works of his predecessors, Dr. Carey, Dr. Wilkins, Mr. Colebrooke, and Mr. Foster, and from the manuscript authorities current in the Bengal school. In the plan of his work Mr. Yates deviated more widely than had previously been done from the systems of native grammarians and sought to assimilate his grammar in some greater degree to the character of European grammars. The peculiarities of Sanskrit, however, prevented him from pursuing any very wide deviation, and his work is not in any essential respects different from other similar compilations. Its chief advantages were its completeness and compactness. The grammars of Colebrooke and Foster were unfinished; that of Dr. Carey was complete, but of unwieldy and inconvenient bulk, and too closely modelled upon native forms. The grammar of Dr. Wilkins was of more convenient size, and of a luminous order, but it was a large and expensive volume, and imperfect in its syntax. Mr. Yates materially improved the treatment of this subject, and added a useful section on the elaborate Prosody of Sanskrit verse. The octavo shape of his volume rendered it convenient in use, and it was obtainable at a moderate price—considerations which strongly recommended it to students of the language, and notwithstanding the competition it had to encounter from the grammars of English and continental authors, it reached a second edition in 1845, in which very valuable additions have been made, particularly in the chapters on conjugation. *

The idea which Dr. Yates endeavoured to realize, of adapting to the Sanskrit language the method of European grammars, was excellent, but he failed to carry it out to its legitimate extent, nevertheless it enabled him to give to his work a lucidity of arrangement which the student, even at this day, will seek for in vain in other kindred works, however they may surpass his in general excellence. Bopp's grammar, although short and remarkably complete, and perhaps the best of all as far as it goes (for both syntax and prosody are excluded from it,) is a perfect labyrinth to the student who has not become familiar

* From the same source we derive also the following paragraphs—"The publications of Mr. Yates in connexion with Sanskrit were chiefly confined to the dissemination of facilities for acquiring the language, and the only purely literary work in which he allowed himself to engage was an edition of the text of the *Nalodoya*, a Sanskrit poem relating to the adventures of Nala, and remarkable for its alliterative construction. To the text he added a metrical translation, with a critical review of the system of alliteration adopted for the author and a grammatical analysis. The Essay on the alliterative composition of the Hindus was previously published in the 20th volume of the *Asiatic Researches*. The original poem, although not destitute of poetical merit, is an abuse of the resources of the Sanskrit language and perhaps scarcely deserved the labour which Mr. Yates bestowed upon it, but his translation and illustration exhibit a singular mastery of a difficult subject, unparalleled industry, and a thorough familiarity with the sacred language and literature of the Hindus."

with it by dint of long continued reference Wilson's is even a worse labyrinth than Bopp's, nothing can be more bewildering, and yet we hesitate not to say that Wilson's grammar, as a whole, is greatly superior to that of Dr Yates. The capital error which has led to all this confusion, is precisely the one which Dr Yates endeavoured to avoid, viz an undue dependence upon the native models.

Occidental Grammars are usually divided into four parts, orthography, etymology, syntax, and prosody. The Sanskrit syntax, so far as it has hitherto been reduced to a system, which we believe Dr Yates was the first to attempt, is extremely simple, and infinitely more easy than the Greek or Latin syntax. The chapter on prosody ought to form, not an integral part, but rather an appendix to a grammar. This also Dr Yates was the first to embody in a grammar. Sanskrit orthography is difficult and will always remain so, owing to two causes, first, the compound consonants, which to the beginner appear to swell the number of letters in the alphabet to about two hundred, secondly, the rules of *sandhi*, or the changes which two letters undergo when brought together. Such rules are observed, to some extent, in all languages, and are tolerably puzzling even in some modern tongues, as e.g. in French, where they materially affect the pronunciation. But in Sanskrit they are reduced to a complete system, embracing orthography as well as the pronunciation. Thus in French the article *les* is spelt alike in *les hommes* and *les femmes*, but it is not pronounced alike in both cases. In Sanskrit the difference in the pronunciation would be marked by a corresponding difference in the spelling. This principle carried out into the minutest details makes the chapter on the rules of *sandhi* very uninviting and formidable. Now in a case like this the difficulty may be greatly increased by a bad arrangement of the rules, or greatly alleviated by a good one. And it is our decided opinion that all the essential rules of *sandhi* may be clearly stated and illustrated in eight pages of ordinary print, provided the grammarian be able to divest his mind of all the artificial methods resorted to by his predecessors, in imitation of native authorities.

Etymology, as a part of grammar, embraces two distinct departments, one, the inflection of the leading parts of speech, the other, the formation of words, either by derivation or composition. The latter department (the formation of words) is the *forte* of native grammars. In Dr Yates's grammar, this part is the most unsatisfactory, he was here led astray by his desire to deviate from the native track.

The elucidation of the declensions and conjugations constitutes the backbone of most grammars, being almost invariably the longest, the driest, the most difficult, and the most important part of the whole. It certainly is so in Sanskrit, as a mere glance at any one grammar will show. Dr Yates, we think, has succeeded in imparting to it a more lucid arrangement than any of his predecessors and followers, but there is a vast amount of confusion left even in his work. The chapter on the formation of the tenses of the verb is peculiarly perplexing, more so perhaps than it would have been, had he kept in the beaten path.

At the risk of being uninteresting, we must here briefly describe some of the peculiarities of the native system, especially with reference to the verbs. Native grammarians have extracted from every Sanskrit verb, the few letters which appear to form its root. Almost all these roots are monosyllables, they are all fictitious, and not a few of them are arbitrary. To illustrate the native mode of proceeding we may take an example from the Latin, say the verb *tangere*. The four leading tenses of this verb are *tango*, *tetigi*, *tactum*, *tangere*. According to the method adopted by native grammarians the root would be *tag*. To this they would append some one letter of the alphabet, say *z*, to show that it belongs to the third conjugation, next they would append the letter *i*, to indicate the change from *tag* to *tang*, then they would add an *s* to indicate the change from *tag* to *tig* in *tetigi*, and finally they would add an *a* to show that it is an active verb, and not a deponent. Thus instead of *tango*, *tetigi*, *tactum*, *tangere*, they would write *tag* (*z, i, s, a,*) or perhaps as one word, *tagzisa*. The appended letters, which are called *anubandhas*, have each their definite meaning, and if they were few in number, they might be an aid to the memory, but as there are some forty of these *anubandhas*, they create endless confusion, so that no two grammarians are perfectly agreed as to the meaning of some of them. We wish they had never been invented.

The division of verbs into ten conjugations is also based on a principle totally different to any adopted in Europe. It is not the difference in the inflection or formation of the different tenses that serves as a guide, but the difference in the mode of abstracting the root from the Present tense. Thus *facio*, *fecit*, *factum*, *facere* (supposing the root to be *fac*) would not belong to the same conjugation with *tango*, because *fac* is obtained by rejecting *io*, whilst *tag* is obtained by rejecting the *n* and the *o* of *tango*.

We have purposely adopted a Latin example, in order to shew more clearly the total difference of the Sanskrit and the European systems. Who would look out, in a Latin grammar,

for the conjugation of the verbs *tag* and *fac*? Or who would suppose that they could be made to belong to two different conjugations? Yet such would be the case, if Latin grammars were written on the same plan as Sanskrit grammars *

The roots of verbs, however, cannot be banished from the Sanskrit grammar As in Greek we must suppose a root *laβ*, if we would conjugate *λαμβάνο*, so we are compelled, by necessity, to suppose a root similarly formed in most Sanskrit verbs But here the arbitrary character of many roots becomes very apparent There is some difference, in Latin, in the conjugation of *dare*, *juvare*, and *amare*, but we should be surprized to find that in order to express this difference, the roots of these three verbs were assumed to be *do*, *juvā*, and *amæ*, yet this is precisely what Sanskrit grammarians would have done We say this, not with a view to propose a new system of abstracting the roots, but simply with a view to show that in arranging the Sanskrit conjugations, the native division ought decidedly and for ever to be abandoned

The system which we are inclined to think would be the most useful, is closely connected with the nature of the various roots, and we hope we may be excused if we briefly state it —

REGULAR CONJUGATION

- I Of verbs, whose roots end in a consonant
 - 1 The root remaining unchanged in the present tense
 - a The radical vowel being long by nature, or position, as in *yach-ati*
 - b The radical vowel consisting of short *a*, as in *lash-ati*
 - c The radical vowel consisting of short, *i*, *u*, or *ri*, as in *mul-ati*, or *tud-ati*
 - 2 The root being lengthened in the present tense
 - a Without the addition of a new syllable, as in *bodhati*, or *budhyate*, root *budh*
 - b By the addition of the syllable *ay*, as in *chorayati* root *chur*
- II Of verbs whose roots end in a vowel
 - 1 In *ri*, long or short, as in *dharati*, root *dhr*
 - 2 In *u*, long or short, as in *savati*, root *su*, or *plavate*, root *plu*
 - 3 In *i*, long or short, as in *nayati*, root *ni*
 - 4 In *o*, *e*, *a* and *ai*, as in *glayati*, root *glai*, or *trayate*, root *trai*

This classification embraces all the verbs of the language, and consequently might be made to comprehend the irregular verbs

* We cannot help entertaining a suspicion that Sanskrit grammar was purposely made difficult by the Brahmins, in order to deter persons belonging to the inferior castes from attempting the study of it, just as the locks and keys of cash boxes are constructed on a peculiar plan, in order to baffle the ingenuity of thieves But whilst we confess that we cherish such a suspicion concerning the grammar, we cannot for a single moment entertain the idea that the language itself was concocted by designing men Its irregularities are too natural and too numerous for that, and after all it is a simpler language by far than the Greek

also, the more so as their irregularities only extend to a few tenses They should, however, be considered separately, in the following order —

IRREGULAR CONJUGATION

- 1 Verbs ending in *nati* and *nite*, as *krinati*
- 2 Verbs ending in *noti* and *nute*, as *chinoti*
- 3 Verbs in which *ti* and *te* are preceded by a radical vowel
- 4 Verbs in which *ti* and *te* are preceded by a consonant

This scheme gives nine regular and four irregular conjugations, instead of the four regular and six irregular conjugations now generally adopted Consequently it appears, at first sight, to increase rather than to diminish the length of the chapter on conjugation This, however, is a disadvantage amply compensated for by the introduction of luminous order into a dark chaos We have no hesitation whatever in maintaining that the grammarian who shall adopt this scheme, giving full paradigms of the nine regular conjugations pointed out above, will reduce by one half the difficulties which now appal the learner, and will succeed in making the study of the Sanskrit verb considerably more easy than that of the Greek or Latin verb

In the declension of nouns, the expedients adopted by native grammarians have been more extensively abandoned, but here also there is still room left for improvement What the root is in verbs, that the *basis* or *crude* is in nouns, with this important exception that it is not generally a fictitious word There is, however, just enough that is arbitrary in the formation of these *crudes* to have misled even European grammarians Nothing can be more clear, for instance, than that the two nouns *swámin* and *vári* are declined alike, but as the native grammarians have, in their wisdom, chosen to make one of these *crudes* end in a consonant, and the other in a vowel, they are classed by all grammarians under two different declensions, a process, which, if adopted in Latin, would lead to the separation of *gravis* from *grave* But generally speaking the *crude* or *basis* of a noun is formed in a manner which is practically useful If a similar process were applied to the Latin language, *reg* would be the crude of *rex*, *milit* of *miles*, *nomin* of *nomen*, etc., and no one can fail to perceive at once the soundness and practical wisdom of this analysis Whilst therefore we think that a few of these *crudes*, such as *varí* and *madhu* are arbitrarily and erroneously formed, we grant that this defect proves a serious hindrance to the mere tyro only, and that as a general rule

the *crudes* ought not to be rejected The declensions might be better arranged than they generally are, by the adoption of a scheme like the following —

- 1 The principal declension Example, *nara, phala*
- 2 The consonant declension
 - a The *N* declension Examples *atman, janman, swamin, vari, madhu* Contracted *rajan, naman, asthi*
 - b The *S* declension Examples *chandramas, manas ashish, chakshush*
 - c The *multiform* declension Examples *vach, harit, &c*
- 3 The feminine declension in *a* Example *tara*
- 4 The feminine declension in long *i* or *u* Examples *nadi badhu*
- 5 The masculine declension in short *i* or *u* Examples *giri, guru*
- 6 The feminine declension in short *i* or *u* Examples *mati, dhenu*
- 7 The *Ri* declension Examples *pitri, kartri*

These seven declensions embrace all the regular nouns And most of the irregular nouns will be found to combine, in their inflections, the peculiarities of two declensions, in a manner which can present very little additional difficulty The declensions, if studied in this order, will become quite as easy as they are in Greek, and probably more so

Dr Yates's idea, then, of simplifying the Sanskrit grammar by applying to it the method usually observed in the grammars of the classical languages, was excellent, and if he was not so successful as could have been wished, his want of success must be attributed to his not having followed out his idea to its legitimate extent No subsequent grammarian has accomplished this desirable task They have all eschewed some particular absurdities of the native system, but not one of them has been able to extricate himself from its trammels and THIS IS THE PRINCIPAL REASON WHY SANSKRIT APPEARS A DIFFICULT LANGUAGE The time will come, and we hope it may come soon, when the Sanskrit grammar shall be found a much easier book to study and to master than the Greek grammar

Sanskrit *lexicography*, in the ordinary sense of the word, is of more recent origin than Sanskrit grammar, but it has already attained to a very high degree of excellence And here the meed of praise is pre-eminently due to Dr Wilson, who in 1819 published the first, and in 1832 the second edition of his dictionary a work which Sir Edward Ryan has justly characterized as —

“A work which, while facilitating and accelerating the progress of all subsequent students, can hardly be appreciated justly, by any who has not some experience of this gigantic species of labour When we consider the multifarious sources from which the compilation was to be made,

(none of which, with one brilliant exception, had been before subjected to the severe accuracy of European criticism)—the boundless extent of the language itself—the quantity of research often necessary for ascertaining the precise import of even inconsiderable vocables among the thousands here enumerated and explained,—this work, so lucid in its arrangement, its interpretations and etymologies, must ever be regarded as a magnificent monument of philological skill and industry. The edition of 1819, setting aside the consideration of those additions just now published, with which your subsequent labours have enriched and nearly doubled its value—that first edition alone would amply deserve this character. Under any circumstances, it would be an excellent and valuable Sanskrit Lexicon considered as the first in any European language, it is admirable, and beyond all ordinary praise.

Dr Yates had contributed a pretty large number of words to the first edition of Dr Wilson's dictionary, and he contributed a larger number still to the second edition. He greatly admired the work, and had it always lying on his table. But deeply regretting that the *parva domi supellex* should prevent many an humble student from purchasing it, on account of the high price at which it was sold, he resolved to make an abridgment of it, which might be published at such a price as to bring it within the reach of poorer students. He communicated his intention to Dr Wilson, who generously approved of it and encouraged him to undertake it without delay. Dr Yates, who always was jealously careful to give the best of his time to the work of God, adopted a peculiar plan for carrying out his intention. When towards the end of 1826, it was determined that he should visit England, it occurred to him that he might sit down to the task of abridging Wilson's dictionary during the voyage, when he would not be able to engage in labours of a ministerial character. Consequently before his departure he had the Sanskrit words of Wilson's dictionary copied out by his Pundit in regular columns on the left hand of the pages of five blank books. These he took on board with him. During the voyage to England he could not undertake the work, being engaged in instructing his eldest son, but on the return voyage from England, in the latter part of 1828, he sat down to his task, and finished it before the ship arrived in the Bay of Bengal, at a time when he devoted a portion of every day to the study of Chinese. On his arrival at Calcutta the manuscript, though complete, was laid on the shelf for many a long year, probably at first because, hearing that Dr Wilson was about to publish a second edition of his dictionary, he was anxious not to interfere with the sale of that, but afterwards, when the current price of Dr Wilson's work had again risen to sixty rupees,

Dr Yates still felt that he had more important duties to attend to than the publication of an abridged Sanskrit dictionary. In 1840 he requested a junior co-adjutor in the mission to undertake the task, and it was only when this attempt had failed, that he, at length, towards the end of 1841, put the manuscript to press, correcting, improving, condensing and enlarging the work page for page, as it was forwarded to the printer. But lest it should encroach upon the time he felt himself bound to devote to more important duties, he proceeded very slowly, so that, when he left India in 1845, not much more than two thirds of it were printed, and the same friend who in 1840 had declined the task of editing the whole, now felt himself in duty bound to comply with his request to edit the remainder. Perceiving that the work, although containing more words than Wilson's dictionary, was yet, in the main, an abridgment of it, the new editor, after the author's death, felt that it ought not to be published without the renewed and written consent of Dr Wilson. He therefore addressed a letter to that gentleman, enclosing a specimen page, and soliciting him to consent to the publication. The following paragraph from his reply affords a noble example of that courteous liberality which ought to characterize all scholars —

“ So many years have passed since I had the pleasure of communicating with the late Mr Yates, that they have effaced from my recollection his purpose of printing a Sanskrit dictionary founded on mine. I have not the least doubt, however, that he did communicate his intention to me, and that I gave him full power to make what use he pleased of my materials. I have too high a respect for his character to conceive it possible he would have stated any thing unadvisedly or without sufficient grounds, and my concurrence in his plan would be quite consistent with my own views and feelings on the subject. I have never looked for pecuniary advantage in any thing I have done to promote the study of Sanskrit, and of all books, I conceive a dictionary, once given to the public, becomes public property, at least to the intent of enlarging or curtailing it, or modifying its arrangement. I have therefore no objection whatever to the completion and publication of Mr Yates's dictionary in the manner you propose, and I only lament that he was not spared to finish his work. The dictionary will be of use in this country to the students of the East India College. I may perhaps print an edition of my dictionary in England, but it will be the work of some time, and in the interval such a help is greatly needed, I trust therefore you will make as much progress as you can in bringing it out.

The printing of the work was finished towards the end of 1846. The following extracts from Dr Yates's preface clearly express the motive which had led him to compile it —

“ It has been justly said that necessity is the mother of invention. The ne-

cessity long felt of a Sanskrit dictionary, not too large for the hand to use, or the pocket to afford, led to the present undertaking. The author having a class of native youths to instruct, found it exceedingly inconvenient to teach, without being able to refer the young men to a dictionary, at the same time he knew that it was impossible for them to supply themselves with one, as all they possessed in the world, would not realize much, if any, more than fifty Rupees the lowest price at which Wilson's dictionary is now selling. Nearly all the native youths who study the English and Sanskrit, are students of a similar description. The main object of this work, therefore, was to bring the quarto of Wilson's dictionary to the octavo form, without diminishing the size of the type or the number of the words. This has been effected and a little more, for while the number of the words has been increased, the number of the pages has been a little reduced.

It is confidently hoped that the present performance will not in the small est degree interfere with Professor Wilson's valuable dictionary, being intended simply to supply the wants of those who are not able to purchase it. That work is so much fuller in its interpretation of words, and so much more satisfactory in its account of their derivation, that every scholar who can afford it will wish to have it in his possession.

The number of additional words inserted by Dr Yates some what exceeds two thousand, with this exception his work is, what it professes to be, an abridgment of Wilson's. The references to the grammar, however, are all based on his own grammar, a peculiarity which cannot surprize any one, although those who follow another system, may find it somewhat inconvenient.

If we may be permitted, now to offer an opinion upon the present state of Sanskrit lexicography, we would at once express our unmeasured admiration of Dr Wilson's work, not because we consider it as perfect, but because it appears incredible that he should have been able to produce one that answers the purpose so well. It may be characterized as an infant Hercules. The traces of youthful imperfection are numerous and obvious, but they are infinitely less, both in number and importance, than might have been expected.

The two principal native productions, which may be considered as preparations for a dictionary, are, the vocabulary of Amara Singha (which is commonly called the Amara Kosha), and the Dhatupatha, or list of verbal roots given, with certain variations, in the native grammars. The work of Amara Singha is, properly speaking, only one of a numerous class, but so superior to the rest as to have eclipsed them entirely. It contains no verbs whatsoever, and is in reality a metrical vocabulary, such as may be found (in prose) in most grammars of modern languages. It is divided into several parts, first the words are grouped together under different classes descriptive of their meaning, as, mythological names, geogra-

phical, statistical terms, &c Next they are arranged with a reference to certain grammatical peculiarities, as their final letters, their gender, &c In 1807 Mr Colebrooke published a critical edition of this vocabulary, which at the time was very valuable, because in it the meanings of the words were briefly given in English, and important notes appended to the text This work was subsequently honoured with the title of a Sanskrit dictionary, which is evidently a misnomer, for it is no dictionary at all, although it must be acknowledged to have been a useful substitute for one, and an important contribution towards the preparation of a real dictionary, containing, as it did, nearly twelve thousand words, explained by one who may justly be called the prince of Sanskrit scholars

Among the native lists of verbal roots (*dhātupāthas*) there is none which can claim such decided pre-eminence, as belongs to the work of Amara Singha among vocabularies But the substance of the best of them was given at length in the earlier Sanskrit grammars, as for instance in that of Dr Carey, and it has recently been embodied in a noble work by a European scholar of distinguished eminence, Professor Westergaard of Copenhagen His *Radices Linguae Sanskritae* are a list of verbal roots, arranged on the same principle as the native *dhātupāthas*, but in all other respects as superior to them as the diamond is to a common pebble He has appended to each root an account of all its compounds, and endeavoured to arrange the meanings philosophically, proving each meaning by select examples from classical authors, many of which we have verified and found to be perfectly accurate This book is a piece of first rate workmanship, and will prove of infinite value to the future lexicographer It is not without its imperfections, but its excellencies are truly astonishing Unfortunately neither Professor Wilson nor Dr Yates were able to avail themselves of it, as it only appeared a few years since, and in fact was not to be procured in this country till quite recently

A dictionary based upon the *Amara Kosha* and the *Dhātupāthas* alone, merely combining the words given in both, would, thirty years ago, have been hailed as a noble accession to the previously existing means of studying Sanskrit But Dr Wilson's dictionary, which appeared about that time, must have surpassed the most sanguine expectations of all who were in any way acquainted with the infantile state of lexicography It embodied all the information deposited in the different native vocabularies Instead of some 20,000 words, it contained nearly double that number, and the explanations of them exceeded in

fulness all that could have been reasonably hoped for. The second edition, published in 1832, contains nearly 60,000 words, and is in all other respects a great improvement upon the first. The author, it is true, was aided by a staff of native assistants, who compiled verbal indexes to the most celebrated Sanskrit books, but native pundits are so notoriously superficial and inaccurate, that it is always necessary to look very sharp after them in every thing which they profess to do, and the mere labour of this supervision, to so great an extent as must have been required, undoubtedly was immense. In short we cannot sufficiently admire the skill and industry, by which the author succeeded to produce, from such materials and with such aid, a work of so great merit as his dictionary is universally acknowledged to possess.

The achievement performed by Dr Wilson in the field of Sanskrit lexicography commands the admiration of competent judges as much as the passage of the Alps effected by Hannibal commands that of military chieftains. Yet it must be acknowledged that the roads across the Alps, constructed by Napoleon, are vast improvements upon the track which Hannibal left behind him. In like manner it can be no disparagement to Professor Wilson (and certainly we do not mean it to be a disparagement,) if we express a hope that some future dictionary may become a great improvement upon his, for it has many imperfections, which should be avoided hereafter.

In point of *completeness*, as regards the number of words, it must be acknowledged that it leaves little more to be desired. It is true that Dr Yates has added some two thousand new words, but not a few of them are compounds of such a description, that the omission of them would not have been a great loss. The facility with which compound words can be formed and explained, and the outrageous length of some of these *centipedalia* rather than *sesquipedalia verba*, make it a matter of absolute impossibility to supply a complete dictionary.

It is the *arrangement* of the words, both in Professor Wilson's and in Dr Yates's dictionary, that is particularly unsatisfactory. There are two principles of arrangement which a lexicographer may adopt. He may give all the words in their alphabetical order, after the method usually adopted in dictionaries of modern languages, which offers great advantages to the ordinary student. Or the words may be arranged etymologically, only the radical or primary words following each other in alphabetical order, whilst under each primary word all its derivatives and compounds are enumerated. This latter principle was first adopt-

ed in Europe, we believe, by Stephen in his Greek Thesaurus, of which Scapula made a celebrated abridgment. It has been followed in the majority of dictionaries of the so called Semitic languages, viz, Hebrew, Chaldee, Arabic, Syriac, and Ethiopic. Now there are two descriptions of persons to whom a dictionary arranged on the etymological principle is far more acceptable than any other. The poor school boy who has to commit to memory the vocabulary of an unknown tongue, finds it much more easy to remember words that are arranged etymologically than words that are arranged alphabetically. If therefore the "good old plan" of making boys learn a Latin or a Greek dictionary by rote, is not to fall into desuetude, or if incipient Sanskrit students are not to be debarred from this best of all methods of learning the language, it will be the dictate of kindness, or rather of justice, to furnish them with compendious dictionaries of a description which presents comparatively few difficulties. The other class of persons to whom an etymological dictionary is more satisfactory than any other, is that of thoughtful and mature scholars. Such an one was Henry Martyn, who described Golius's Arabic dictionary as "not only the best Arabic dictionary, but the best of all dictionaries, undoubtedly on account of its etymological arrangement." Now in the case of the two Sanskrit dictionaries referred to we blame them not, because they are alphabetically arranged. For Dr Yates's purpose the alphabetical arrangement was the best, and it would have been impossible for Dr Wilson to have given to his work an etymological arrangement, without delaying its appearance for many years. We blame both these dictionaries, because their arrangement is neither alphabetical nor etymological, but a medley of both. The verbs are all arranged on the etymological principle, and all the other parts of speech on the alphabetical principle. If our Latin dictionaries were similarly arranged, we should have to seek for *collectio, diligens, elegans, intellectus, negligentia, selectio, &c* in their usual places under their initial letters, but in order to find *colligo, diligo, eligo, intelligo, negligo, seligo*, we should have to look out for *lego*, where our information concerning these compound verbs would have to be fished out from an article like the following —

"*Lego, legi, lectum*, 3 To pick up or out, to pick one's way along, to read. With *con*, to collect, with *de*, to make a choice, with *di* or *dis*, to love, with *ex*, to choose, with *inter*, to understand, with *ne* (*negligo*), to neglect, with *se*, to select."

This is precisely the manner in which derivative and compound verbs are explained by Sanskrit lexicographers, and

no one will deny that it would be unsatisfactory, even if the arrangement were wholly based upon the etymological principle, and that it is much more so in dictionaries professedly alphabetical. The lexicographer who shall attempt to introduce a new plan here, will meet with some difficulties, and will have to exercise considerable courage. Many of the difficulties, however, have been removed by the industry of Westergaard, and although he has followed the usual arrangement, yet it will not be found impossible to exchange it for a better one. In an alphabetical dictionary it would be desirable to introduce the verb itself, in the 3d person sing of the Present, rather than the fictitious root. The latter need not be wholly omitted, it might be simply inserted with a brief reference to the real verb appended to it, thus, *hri*, see *harati*. This expedient would obviate every possible objection, whilst the learner would in most cases find it as easy to abstract the Present tense as the root, from any given form of a verb which he might meet with in reading. And whilst it might appear strange to introduce a word *sanhri*, it could not appear out of place to introduce *sanharati*.

We believe it is Professor Wilson's intention, if his life be spared, to publish a dictionary on the etymological plan. The appearance of such a work will be hailed with delight by every Sanskrit scholar, and if an alphabetical index should be added to it, it will prove an invaluable auxiliary to the student of any modern Indian language. For whether the Sanskrit be viewed as the mother tongue* of most of the Indian languages (excepting Urdu) now spoken to the north of Madras, or as the most cultivated sister of all the languages spoken from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin (including Ceylon), the great fact that it is closely related to them all and throws light upon them all, remains equally certain and equally important. If therefore such a dictionary were once published, it might serve for the basis of a polyglot lexicon, such as Dr Carey once projected, of the principal modern tongues of India, the Bengali, the Hindi, the Mahratta, the Telinga, &c. Supposing every page of this polyglot lexicon displayed five columns, one on the left for the Sanskrit, the next for the Bengali, another for the Hindi, &c. in which all the words which correspond with each other were placed side by side, so as to show at once the

* This is the view we take of it, most decidedly. We cannot comprehend how any one who really has studied Sanskrit, especially its Epic poems, can believe it to be a *made* language, which was never spoken.

same word (or its representative) naturalized in the five different languages, the whole would not merely be interesting as a literary curiosity, but eminently useful for practical purposes. The modern languages would throw light upon the Sanskrit,* whilst the surest or rather the only sensible method of enriching them with new indigenous words would become manifest at a single glance.

In such an etymological lexicon it would also be desirable to point out the great similarity which exists between many Sanskrit words and their equivalents in the Greek, Latin, German, Hebrew, and other languages. In many Hebrew words the similarity to Sanskrit is self-evident. And the number of Sanskrit words which appear again, with slight modifications, in Greek, Latin, and German, is very large indeed, as the merest tyro may perceive. Now it would be interesting to point out all these analogies in an etymological lexicon, and we trust the time may come when the attempt shall be made. Is it presumptuous to offer the suggestion that the preparation of such a lexicon might with great propriety be undertaken by the Asiatic Society of Bengal? Would not such a work be a suitable monument to the memory of its illustrious founder?

In the preface to the second edition of his dictionary, Professor Wilson himself acknowledges that in the first the meanings of words were arranged in a very unsatisfactory manner, and expresses a hope that this great defect has to a certain extent been remedied in the second. The improvement is, indeed, very great, quite as great as could have been expected, but much yet remains to be done in this department. It is with regret that we feel bound to state, that in this part of his work Dr Yates has not even kept pace with his predecessor. His endeavour to be brief has often led him to string the meanings together in an unphilosophical manner, where they had been better arranged by Wilson. Every one who has occasion frequently to consult a dictionary, especially one of a dead language, knows that a judicious arrangement of the various meanings constitutes the real value of a lexicon. Perhaps no lexicographer has ever been so distinguished in this respect as Gesenius in his Hebrew dictionaries. One cannot turn up

* The modern Greek language throws considerable light on several passages in the New Testament, which, otherwise would have remained somewhat obscure. Thus the phrase rendered *The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence*, becomes clear when rendered, according to the modern Greek idiom, *The kingdom of heaven is pressing on or hastening on*.

in them any word of importance, without being struck with the beauty of the philosophical order in which the meanings are arranged by that prince of lexicographers. It must be acknowledged that his task was easier than that of the Sanskrit lexicographer. The Biblical Hebrew is a language which does not even contain 10,000 words, and one volume of moderate size embraces the whole of the literature which requires to be illustrated, whereas the words of the Sanskrit language are countless, and the field of its literature is interminable. But there can be no doubt whatever that if Gesenius had undertaken the task of writing a Sanskrit dictionary, he would never have allowed it to see the light of day, until he should have introduced something like philosophical order in all his interpretations of words. In Dr Wilson's dictionary, and still more in Dr Yates's, the apparent order is frequently a mere jumble. As an example we may adduce the following from Wilson —

Samaya Time Oath, affirmation by oath or ordeal Established moral or ceremonial custom Demonstrated conclusion Agreement, covenant, contract, bargain Engagement, appointment Order instruction Sign, hint, indication Religious obligation or observance Leisure interval, opportunity Season, fit or proper time for anything Speech, declaration Limit, boundary End of trouble or distress

This really is a mere jumble of meanings. Let us now attempt to arrange them philosophically. We do so with great diffidence, but we venture to express the hope that the following series will be acknowledged to exhibit a better order —

Samaya (Laterally coming together) Coming to an agreement, covenant, contract, bargain, indication hint sign, instruction, declaration, speech, demonstrated conclusion, oath, affirmation by oath or ordeal Appointed or fixed time time in general leisure, interval, opportunity, season, fit or proper time for anything Appointed act, observance, custom, ceremony Term, end of trouble, limit, boundary, conjuncture

The word *Samaya*, which we have chosen, is one of frequent occurrence, and presents no extraordinary difficulty. It is therefore a fair specimen, by which to illustrate the defect we are desirous of seeing remedied in future dictionaries.

Not unfrequently two different words are introduced only once, because they happen to be spelt alike. An example of this is the following, also taken from Wilson —

Sayana Of good family well born Respectable, reputable, good, virtuous Arming, putting on armour Dressing, preparing *Neut* A guard, sentry, picquet A ferry *Fem* Caparisoning an elephant Dress, decoration Arming, accoutring

This should be exchanged for the following

(1) *Sayana* Of good family, well born Respectable, reputable, good, virtuous

(2) *Sayana* Accoutring, arming, putting on armour, dressing, preparing
Neut A guard, sentry, picket, ferry *Fem* Accoutring, caparisoning an elephant, dress, decoration

The two words are no more the same in Sanskrit, than the word *fuller* is the same in the two following phrases *A fuller account*, and, *The fuller's field*

We feel also compelled to state that in a good Sanskrit dictionary, adjectives and substantives should be kept more distinct than they now are We know that it is not always possible to keep them apart, but it might be done to a very great extent with ease and advantage, provided the lexicographer could be prevailed upon to divest himself of the system of native grammarians which scarcely recognises a difference between substantives and adjectives If Latin dictionaries were written after the fashion of Sanskrit dictionaries, we should find articles like the following —

Fædus, *a, um*, adj Ugly, nasty *neut (erus)* An alliance

Pugnus, *i, 2 s m* A fist. *f* A fight, battle

Bellus *a, um*, adj Fine, witty *n* War

This is not a caricature, but a fair exhibition of defects which exist in both the Sanskrit dictionaries which have hitherto been published And we honestly affirm that we make these statements solely in order to show the necessity of improving them

We hope that in process of time some future lexicographer will do for the other parts of speech what Westergaard has done for the verbs He has not only arranged their meanings philosophically, but also given examples of their use and construction in the shape of quotations from various authors It is true that his meanings are often expressed somewhat vaguely, because in Latin, and that they are rather too meagre, and his quotations do not take so wide a range as could be desired But his work is nevertheless most admirable, and will prove of great advantage to all who may succeed him Our wishes cannot be fulfilled in a short period of time Dammius made a concordance of Homer, and Passow prepared pretty complete verbal indexes of several Greek classics, in their chronological order, but death surprised him before he had accomplished one half of the work which he had chalked out for himself, and we are not aware that there exists even at the present day a Greek lexicon,

such as it was his intention to present to the world. Consequently we may expect a very long period to elapse before we shall have such a Sanskrit lexicon as scholars would wish to possess. For who will take the trouble of preparing a complete verbal index to the Mahābhārata or the Ramāyana, similar to Dammius concordance to Homer, or even similar to the Index Virgilianus which fills the 4th volume of Heyne's edition? But although such expectations may never be fully realized, yet it may prove useful to keep in view the desirableness of great improvements. The critical study of the modern Indian languages must necessarily prove a Sisyphus's task, laborious in the extreme, and yet always ending in disappointment, until we shall possess a good Sanskrit grammar and a good Sanskrit lexicon, both of which we must yet number among the *desiderata*. Scholars living in Europe who study Sanskrit simply for its own sake, may not feel very keenly the inconveniences arising from the want of these two works. But scholars living in India, who wish to use the Sanskrit language as the key to Hinduism and to the modern Indian languages, are sorely discouraged by the great difficulties which still unnecessarily obstruct their path.

In the meanwhile it would be sheer ingratitude not to admire the surpassing merits of Professor Wilson, and the humbler, though not less useful achievements of Dr Yates,—men who have not only themselves surmounted the greatest obstacles, but also removed them for ever out of the way of others. If their immediate successors should be able to accomplish one half of what they have done, the next generation will find the study of Sanskrit nearly as easy as that of Latin. And although Sanskrit literature, as a whole, may justly be called a splendid monument of human folly rather than of human wisdom, yet the study of it must always be considered as important by all who wish to become thoroughly acquainted with the languages, the opinions, the habits, the character, and the religion of the hundred millions who inhabit India.

12-2000

ART V—General principles and scheme of instruction and of discipline to be adopted in Brighton College, by the Rev Principal, Arthur J Maclean Brighton, 1847

AMONGST the admitted inconveniences of a protracted residence in the East, separation and the disunion of domestic ties with most of our readers, will be regarded with the deepest horror. We can all readily bear witness to the manifold ills and vexations of India, great and small, connected with the heat and glare, the dust and confinement, the petty annoyances of the insect race, the destructive moisture, the obtrusive reptiles, and worst of all, the slow, midnight, wasting fever, and the quick, mysterious pestilence that walks in the noon day, and defies the power of science. But if we escape the heavier of these visitations or know them but as transient and occasional evils in our path, we can, after practice, afford to laugh at the remainder. Habit reconciles us to almost all the minor calamities to the discordant cries of the feathered or four footed races to the unceasing murmur of the native bazar, the barbarous attempts at music, and the irritating bite of the pertinacious musquito. We find a remedy for almost everything in patience. But "there is no remedy," says the Hindu poet, "for a soul wounded by the sharp sword of separation, and many Indian residents are forced to acquiesce in the truth of this moral, during some period or other of their stay in the East. The advantages of improved communication have, however, done wonders for us. The days are past when Shore could twice leave his wife behind him, from a sheer dislike to expose her to the discomforts of the voyage. Our ladies and our merchants avail themselves of our monthly steamers with less hesitation than, three generations ago, they would have undertaken a voyage from Leith to Blackwall. The Bay of Biscay, is probably the worst feature in the journey. The Nile packet and the canal boat are fraught with troubles of no greater magnitude than many must have endured in a crowded Rhine steamer, or in a lumbering French diligence and the fancied perils of the desert are transformed into the unpleasant reality of a jolting of some eighteen hours duration, in the inside of a regular London built van. There is neither romance nor danger in the overland trip, and Indian wives and children, return home, re-embark, and are landed at Garden Reach, or Bombay Harbour, with far more regularity and with less of hope disappointed on the part of the expectants, than a hun-

its history is comprised in fierce Parliamentary attacks, and heavy onslaughts, directed against the Ministerial party, under the pretence of attacking Lord Torrington. We have so recently discussed the merits of this question, that we have now only the result to chronicle. Lord Torrington was accused of tyranny and the only proof, brought forward, was, that he did not believe Ceylon to be quite so far advanced in the career of civilization as Paris, or that the abolition of the punishment of death for political offences was expedient. He was accused of gross dereliction of duty and the assertion was supported by evidence that he had suppressed a rebellion, and saved the European residents from massacre. Lastly, he was accused of exciting the rebellion by the imposition of taxes, which had been ordered by the Colonial office, and of shooting a Buddhist priest in his robes, instead of shooting him naked. Lord Torrington was acquitted of every charge save one, by no means the least important, viz that he had been a Lord of the Bedchamber, and the records of the island have ever since exhibited a picture of progressive improvement. The expenditure has been reduced by £34,000, and the Governor has announced his hope of being able to effect still further reductions. The expenditure, however, is still far too large. The Honourable Company, within whose territories Ceylon geographically lies, would certainly govern the island for £200,000 a year, and relieve it at once of its ornamental Governor, and burdensome Military Staff. A Brigadier would govern the Military departments of Ceylon, and four Commissioners for the four districts, with their assistants, would be found to be much more useful than the present costly establishments. The characteristic of Ceylon, during 1849, has been profound quiet, the island can scarcely be said to have presented a single event worth recording—unless the dull squabbles of the colonists, and the duller diatribes about them in the local press, may be deemed such.

- ART V —1 *Samáchar Darpan Serampore* 1818
 2 *Sambád Kaumadi Sanskrit Press* 1821
 3 *Brahman Sebad. Calcutta* 1821
 4 *Samáchar Chandriká Calcutta* 1822
 5 *Banga Dut Calcutta* 1829
 6 *Gyánáneshwan Calcutta* 1831

THE publication of Elliot's Muhammadan Historians of India, and of Du Tassy's History of Hindustani Literature, together with other valuable works of a similar class issued of late years, indicates that a taste is springing up for Bibliographical studies, and that the statistics of Literature are considered to be worthy of investigation, even in this age so fond of seeking after mere material objects. In this field, as in others, France and Germany have taken the lead. What works has England ever produced of a Bibliographical kind, equal to the writings of Mabillon and the Fathers of St Maur?

While notice has been taken at different periods of Sanskrit and Arabic Works, very little attention has been paid to a history of the rise and progress of the different Vernacular Literatures in India. We should be glad, for instance, to see a synopsis and sketch of the books published in Tamul, Canarese, and Mahratta. Monsieur du Tassy has supplied the desideratum for Hindustani, and we are glad to learn that his work is being translated from French into Urdu, it will form as excellent a guide for the study of Hindustani, as Horne's Introduction does for Biblical pursuits. We purpose in the present article to take a cursory range over the state of early Bengali literature, particularly with reference to the periodical press, which is indirectly exercising a considerable influence on the Hindu mind, we shall also give a short notice of Bengali works, printed previously to the era of the Bengali Newspapers.

It is difficult to gain any precise information respecting the language that was used at the Courts of Gaur and Nadiya, —nor is this surprising, when we reflect on the cloud of obscurity, that hangs over the ancient history of Bengal. It is true we have certain landmarks. Dacca and Satgan flourished, as commercial emporia, in the days of Pliny, Gaur, according to Rennel, was the capital of Bengal, 750 B C, Tamluk, or Tamralipta, was the Benares of Buddhism

in Bengal, eighteen centuries ago,* and a temple was erected in honor of Kapil Muni in Sagar Island, as far back as A D 430 We therefore conclude, on this and various other grounds, that the hypothesis, started by Ram Komul Sen in the very able preface to his Dictionary, is utterly without foundation, viz that a considerable portion of Bengal, as for instance the district of Jessore, has been reclaimed from the sea within the last three centuries So far from the Sunderbund districts being of such recent origin, we believe that evidence can be adduced to shew that they formed a cultivated tract of country, at a period when England was only emerging from a state of barbarism We ourselves saw a couple of years ago, in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, through the kindness of Monsieur Jomard, a map of Bengal, made in the fifteenth century, in which we observed five large cities marked off on the borders of the sea, in what are now the Sunderbunds but these have been subsequently laid waste through Portuguese buccaneering, the effects of inundations, and a sinking of the land owing to volcanic agency We conclude therefore that Bengal was a civilized country long before the light of refinement dawned on Britain And there are various data to confirm this position, for instance, the notice of Bengal in the *Raghuvansa*—the long standing fame of Tribeni, near Hugly, as a place of pilgrimage—and the mention of Ganga Sagar in the Ramayana and Mahabharat Kali Ghât is referred to as existing in the days of king Bhagirath The *Vrhat Katha* alludes to various events of a very ancient date connected with Bengal, and, in one of the stories contained in that highly interesting work, the scene is laid in Tamluk, and one of the chief dramatis personæ is a Buddhist priest

Mention is also made of Bengal in the *Raghuvansa* At the period of the composition of that work, probably the whole body of the Ganges flowed down by way of Satgan, Sankhral Reach, and Baripur to the sea, instead of taking its present course, viz

* In proof of this, we would refer to an excellent volume, published under the patronage of the Asiatic Society of Bengal "The Pilgrimage of Fa Hian, from the French, with additional notes Calcutta. 1848 Professor Wilson has commented very favourably on this work in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, and Colonel Sykes in his valuable "Notes on the Ante Muhammadan period of India. In Fa Hian's days, viz A D 899, Tamluk is described as near the sea, and as a place of great traffic, 1,000 Buddhist monks lived in it At the close of the 5th century before the Christian era, Dharmasoka sovereign of all Jambudwipa, is said to have sent to the King of Ceylon an Ambassador who embarked from Tamluk and, as late as the 7th century, it was a town of considerable importance We have a lively recollection of the danger we encountered lately in passing it, owing to the sands and shallows with which the river is now filled Like Satgan, it has fallen into decay, partly owing to that silting process of the river, which may eventually block up even the port of Calcutta

the Padma. From these, and various other data, we infer, that Bengal may have been a comparatively civilized country for, perhaps, 2,500 years. Whether the Aboriginal tribes ever occupied the plains of Bengal, we know not, perhaps the researches, which Mr Hodgson is making respecting the Aborigines, may throw light on this point but these facts are well ascertained,—that, Tamluk, in the third century, was famous for its Buddhist Colleges, in which Fa Hian, a Chinese Priest, spent two years, that one of the towers of Asoka stood there, that, as late as the 12th century, the Pal Kings of Gaur were Budhists, that Adisur brought Brahmans from Kanauj to Bengal in the 10th century, as Budhism had infected the Hindu priesthood in the latter country, and that the Jains, whose system is a scion of Budhism, were formerly very numerous in Bengal. They were probably a lingering remnant of the Budhists.

We offer the following suggestion as a point for inquiry. Considering that the Pali language is as invaluable an accompaniment of the Buddhist rulers and priests, as Latin is of the Romish, or Sanskrit of the Brahminical, hierarchy, and that the Pali bears as close an affinity to Sanskrit, as the Bengali does,—is it not probable, that the ancient language, spoken on the plains of Bengal, was a mixture of the Pali and Prakrit, which might then have served, like the Prakrit, or Apabhransa, generally, as a kind of transition-dialect between the ancient Sanskrit and the modern Bengali, or Gauriya Bhāshā? The Pali was pre-eminently the language of the people. It was the organ of the itinerant preaching system of the Buddhist priests * it was once the vernacular of Magadha, or Bahar, and it bears the same relation to the Sanskrit, as the Dutch does to the German, or the Italian to the Latin.

In support of the assertion, that Pali, or Prakrit, has been the language of the people, while Sanskrit was used by the Brahminical class, we have the authority of Dr Muller, in his "Relation of the Bengali to the Arian and Aboriginal languages of India." He remarks, "The author of the most famous Prakrit Grammar, Katyayana, was the same, who wrote additional notes on the great work on Sanskrit Grammar by Panini, his contemporary, or immediate predecessor, and we find in one branch of Sanskrit literature, which was more than any other destined for the higher, as well as the lower, classes, viz in the dramatic compositions, a constant mixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit dialects, which unfold there an un-

* Buddhist Missionaries employed in China, Nipal, and the Eastern Archipelago, the machinery of the vernaculars and itinerant preaching for diffusing their doctrines.

expected wealth of melodious poetry Strange as such a combination of similar dialects may seem, we find a similar fact in Italy, where each of the masked persons in the *Commedie dell'arte* was originally intended as a kind of characteristic representation of some particular Italian district or town" Dr Muller, however, thinks, that, "while other modern dialects of India are of Pīakrit origin, the Bengali is almost a direct off-shoot from the Sanskrit, superseding the simple and concise forms of ancient declensions and conjugations by modern paraphrastic formations"*

What the language of Bengal was, 1200 years ago, when Gaur, its capital, was in the zenith of its glory, with its two millions of inhabitants and its princely buildings, we know not Some suppose it to have been the Sanskrit, not in its present highly artificial form, but in a simpler one, others consider that there was an aboriginal language, traces of which remain still in such words, as *ultā*, *eman*, *ekhan*, *chāl*, *chhari*, *dhāmā*, *pet*, *bhari*, *sojā*, *holā* In the admirable preface to his Bengali Dictionary, Ram Komul Sen gives a list of 128 original Bengali words, derived from no other language, "which must have been peculiar to the aborigines," and are still in general use among the lower classes, he also appends sixty-five words, spoken among the Koles, and which may be heard at present in the Thakurpūkur and other districts to the South of Calcutta

Previous to the introduction of Bengali typography into this country in 1778, there were about forty works composed in the Bengali language Among these the chief were the *Chaitanya Charita Amrita*, a work popular among the Vaishnavas, written in 1557, by Krishna Das Kabiraj, a follower of Chaitanya†, the *Mansa Mangal* by Khemanand†, the *Dharma Gana* published by order of Layu Shen, a Raja near Burdwan, the *Mahabharat*, *Ramayan*, *Subankura*, and *Guru Dakhna*, the *Chandi*,

* The Bengali characters according to Colebrooke "is nothing else but Devanagari deformed, for the sake of expeditious writing" See a valuable paper of the late James Prinsep on this subject, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal

† Ram Komul Sen in the preface to his Dictionary p 14 states 'The composition of bibliographical and historical works in Bengali commenced on the appearance of Chaitanya in Nadiya, about 807 years ago, his disciples wrote various books on the doctrines of the Vaishnava sect In 1557 Krishna Das wrote the *Chaitanya Charita Amrita* his brethren also produced several works on mythology and theology, their dramatic works are moreover excellent" One fifth of the population of Bengal have embraced the doctrines of Chaitanya and one cause of the rapid spread of this sect was probably owing to the activity with which they availed themselves of Bengali literature to disseminate their tenets We have no account of any Bengali work previous to the period of Chaitanya and yet it is singular that in Telugu certainly not superior to the Bengali in richness and expressiveness we have books, still extant, which were composed previous to the Moslem invasion

by Kabikankan, and the *Annada Mangal*, by Bharat Chandra, both written under the patronage of the Mæcenas of Hindu literature, the illustrious Raja Krishna Ray of Naba-dwip

Though the Musalmans in other countries came with the Koran in one hand and the sword in the other, yet in Bengal they generally granted toleration but, like the English, when they conquered Ireland, they acted with a depressing weight on every effort to create a national literature, and hence, though there are many MSS extant, yet a search, in order to obtain any clue to ascertain the early formation of the language, or to procure any historical information respecting Bengal in the Ante-Muhammadan period, ends in complete disappointment Either the Hindus were afraid to write, or the Muhammadans destroyed their documents

It may not perhaps prove uninteresting to some of our readers to peruse the following curious extract, relative to the early settlement of the Muhammadans in Bengal at Pandua, a place 15 miles from Hugly on the road to Burdwan, given by the correspondent of an old periodical, now very scarce, the *Calcutta Asiatic Observer* for 1824

"Traditional Account of the Minaret at Pandua"

The Minaret at Pandua is certainly one of the most ancient monuments of Muhammadan bigotry in Bengal I was given to understand by the people of Pandua that, about 600 years since, Shah Sufiuddin Khan Shahid undertook the invasion of Bengal, pursuant to the representation made by a certain Mussulman who had a little before been invited over by the Hindu rajahs to reside there, for the purpose of interpreting to them the messages or mandates, of the emperor of Hindusthan, respecting the politics of the times This man being childless, he made a vow, 'that should God grant him a son, he would make a splendid sacrifice to his honour' His prayer was granted, and he proceeded to celebrate the happy event in the first instance by slaughtering a cow by way of sacrifice, in fulfilment of his vow This circumstance gave great offence to the Hindus and exasperated them to such a degree, that by the orders of their rajahs they not only punished him in the severest manner imaginable, but they also brought forth the son of his vow, and offered him up a sacrifice to appease their deities A short time after this cruel affair had transpired the Mussulman escaped to Delhi, and petitioned the emperor to revenge him by punishing the murderers of his son The emperor, shocked at the circumstance, immediately issued a proclamation throughout his dominions, offering a magnificent reward to any person that would undertake to head an army, and proceed to Bengal to revenge the outrage

"Prince Shah Sufiuddin Khan volunteered his services and, having assembled an army of the most devout Mussulmans marched towards Bengal, carrying fire and desolation wherever he came Having subdued all the rajahs of the intermediate places he came to Pandua, a strong fortified place, the residence of a powerful rajah, called Pundrāja, and besieged it This rajah was aided by the rajah of Munad, who was a powerful ally But what, above all things, according to tradition, tended to the success of

the besieged in repelling the attacks of the invaders for a long time, was a wonderful pool at Munad called Jhinch khund. It is said that this pool had the virtue of restoring the dead to life again, and of healing the wounds of those, who were engaged in the war with the Mussulmans. The latter made repeated assaults on the besieged, but were in variably repulsed with great slaughter. Shah Sufi (being a little surprized to find, that after so many battles had been fought, and thousands of the enemy carried out of the field dead or wounded, their numbers still suffered no diminution) offered a handsome reward to any person who would trace out the cause of such a circumstance in favour of the besieged. A certain person undertook to procure him the requisite information, and, approaching the neighbourhood of some of the enemy's stations in disguise found out the secret relative to the miraculous efficacy of the Jhinch khund. Next, taking upon himself the disguise of a Hindu Jogi, he arrived at Munad where was the celebrated pool, and begged permission to bathe in it. Having obtained his request, and while in the act of performing his ablutions he threw a piece of cow's flesh into the pool undiscovered, which at once destroyed the virtues of Jhinch khund for ever. Having achieved this enterprize, he returned not a little elated at the success he had met with, and informed the general of the circumstance. The news soon spread through the army and elated them to such a degree that they took up their arms immediately, and rushed upon their enemies. The conflict was dreadful. That the healing virtues of the pool had been destroyed was a disastrous event to the Hindus who in vain cast into it their dead and dying for as they were cast in one after another so they remained struck with astonishment and shame at this circumstance, and appalled with fear, they were no longer able to withstand the impetuosity of the Mussulman troops, and were routed with a dreadful slaughter. Thus the Mussulmans got possession of Pandua, and its adjacent towns. They next erected a fortress at Pandua, and built a Minaret to perpetuate the signal victory they had obtained over the infidels. Many Hindus were compelled to be circumcised, and to embrace the Muhammadan religion.

The conquerors having established themselves in the country, built a large mosque at Pandua within the walls of the fort, which they had previously erected. This mosque has sixty domes, supported upon two rows of dark grey coloured stones, carved in a very curious style. The outer walls are ornamented with a kind of Mosaic architecture. The bricks, of which they are built are neatly and curiously moulded into a variety of chequered work flowers and leaves. The domes however, are not lofty. They increase the sound of the voice greatly, as a person speaking at one end of the wall enables those who stand on the opposite side, a distance of upwards of a hundred feet to hear every word distinctly, though spoken with a voice but moderately elevated.

"The Minaret is the most worthy of notice. It is upwards of 80 cubits in height by actual measurement. To arrive at its summit, a person is obliged to ascend by means of a narrow dark, spiral flight of stairs. In the days of the prosperity of this place, the Muazzin, or inviter to prayers, used to ascend to the highest standing place of this Minaret, and proclaim the *uzan* or invitation to prayers.

'During a former visit which I paid to this place, I was told of a circumstance of a most lamentable nature, which had taken place a short time before my arrival. The particulars were related by a resident of the place. It is usual for multitudes of Mussulmans to come to this place on a pilgrimage to the shrine of the martyr Shah Sufi, from the remotest parts of Bengal. At such times (January and April) extensive fairs are held

for the accommodation of the pilgrims. It is an invariable practice of the visitors to ascend to the highest stage of the Minaret, for the purpose of seeing an iron bar, which runs evidently through the middle of the spiral steps, from top to bottom. This, the pilgrims say, was the walking staff of the martyr. Hundreds ascend at the same time, and throng each other in a miserable manner. On one of these occasions, while multitudes were pressing through this spiral staircase, a person stumbled midway up the steps, and fell upon those, who attempted to push on, and these again, being propelled upwards by others following hard at their heels, could not avoid trampling on the person who had fallen, and, as is supposed, killed him on the spot. This created great confusion and uproar, but the cause could not be ascertained, either at the foot of the steps, or at the top. Both those below, and those above, heard the noise, but knew not the reason of it. Struck with alarm, those, who were uppermost, essayed to descend as fast as possible, and those, who were at the foot of the steps, or a little above, being shoved upwards by a multitude following from below, a most distressing struggle ensued in the middle of the stairs, in which upwards of seventy persons were crushed to death.

"Shah Sufi the conqueror of Pandua, was celebrated for the sanctity of his life. It is said, that on a certain day, he went to sleep, after having ordered one of his slaves to wake him precisely at an hour specified, perhaps the hour of prayer. The slave fell asleep likewise, but awoke after the appointed hour had elapsed. Filled with dread at the neglect of which he had been guilty, and his lord being yet in bed, he drew his sword plunged it into his heart, and killed him but immediately killed himself likewise. Thus Shah Sufi became a martyr since which he has been held in great veneration, and his shrine, which is always kept in repair, is annually visited by multitudes of pilgrims, as related above. In and about Pandua, there are also the shrines of the heroes, that fell in the battles against the infidels, and who are also held in a degree of respect, next to adoration, by the Mussulmans. They are all martyrs, so that when a person visits Pandua, he treads holy ground. The sanctity of the place is made the means of great pecuniary emolument to thousands of fakirs, and to the mutuwallis, or successors of the representatives of Shah Sufi, in whose hands the lands attached to the religious institution are retained, as well as the amounts of sacrifices collected at the fairs, which they dispose of to such purposes, as best suit their views and inclinations."

Religious reformers in all ages, whether we refer to Luther in Germany, Wicliffe in England, St Patrick in Ireland, Marot in France, or Sankar-Acharyya in India, have always availed themselves of the Vernaculars, as the media for influencing the masses, and, in so doing, have refined the "vulgar tongue," and rendered it a more powerful vehicle for inculcating new ideas. We observe a similar process in Bengal, which may be divided into four stages, that of Chaitanya about A. D. 1500, when the first Bengali works were composed, that of Raja Krishna Ray of Nadiya, about A. D. 1750,* that of

* This Raja aspired to be a second Vikramaditya, and to make Nadiya another Ujam. He gave an immense stimulus to Native Literature. Under his patronage, Kabikankan wrote the *Chandi*, a highly popular work in praise of Durga, and Bharatchandra composed the *Annada Mangal*. Learned men from all parts of the country were collected at Nadiya, and supported by rich endowments granted by the Raja, who made Nadiya as

Dr Carey and his Serampore contemporaries, and that of Ram Mohan Ray, and the *Tatwabodhini Sabha*.*

Muhammadian influence had exerted itself in checking every development of a National Literature. The officers of the Revenue Courts under the Mogul regime as a general rule would not even receive a petition in Bengali; it had to be written in Persian, which was the avenue to all places of trust and emolument. Yet it is surprising that, even under the British Government, the Persian held its ground, until the memorable 1st of January, 1839, when, by the orders of the Authorities, the Bengali was substituted for the Persian in all the courts of the Lower Provinces, and this Moslem language was deposed from its unjust ascendancy. On the other hand, though the Pandits (like those subtle trainers of the intellect, the School-men of the middle ages) kept the Hindu mind in a certain state of activity—yet it was the activity of a *class*, not of a nation, and no man dared to encroach on the preserves

celebrated for logic, as Oxford now is—the Raja being very partial to Nyaya studies, which still retain the ascendancy at Nadiya. The Raja set an example of correct diction “which encouraged the people to study Bengali with unusual diligence.” He is said to have once, on the occasion of the Durga Puja, offered a sacrifice of goats and sheep to the goddess, he commenced with one, and, doubling it by the process of geometrical progression, at the end of sixteen days, he had slaughtered 65 535 animals. He sent the carcases as presents to the Brahmins. He was a regular Alva in defence of his own religion, and once put a Sudra to death, for having intermarried into the family of a Brahman. Such was caste! Even as recently as forty years ago a case occurred near Calcutta, when a Brahman, as a punishment for having received a gift from a goldsmith (one of the lower castes), was sentenced to fast two days, to repeat a holy text 100 000 times, and to have his mouth which had been polluted through the food received from the goldsmith, purified by filling it with cow dung.

The grandson of the Raja was equally superstitious. Mr Ward relates the following anecdote of him:—“About twenty years ago, (1790) Ishwara-chandra, the Raja of Nadiya, spent 100 000 rupees in marrying two monkeys, when all the parade common at Hindu marriages was exhibited. In the marriage procession were seen elephants, camels, horses, richly caparisoned palanqueens, lamps, and flambeaus. The male monkey was fastened in a fine palanqueen, having a crown upon his head, with men standing by his side to fan him; then followed singing and dancing girls in carriages, every kind of Hindu music, a grand display of fireworks, &c. Dancing, music singing, and every degree of low mirth, were exhibited at the bridegroom’s palace for twelve days together. At the time of the marriage ceremony, learned Brahmins were employed in reading the formulas from the Shastras. At that period none of these monkeys were to be seen about Nadiya, now they are so numerous that they devour almost all the fruit of the orchards as the inhabitants are afraid of hurting them.

Those who are anxious to know any further particulars respecting the Raja, will find various interesting details in a little work published at the Serampore Press, and sold for eight annas, called *Raja Krishna Chandra Ray Charitra*. The author, Rajib Lochan, on account of the purity and polish of his Bengali style, is well entitled to be called the Addison of Bengal.

* Rammohan Ray professed to be a follower of Sankar Acharya. His acquaintance with Sanskrit contributed very much to polish his Bengali style. His writings, as well as those of his followers in the *Brahma Sabha*, have given a powerful impulse to the study of classical Bengali, and have imparted nerve and expressiveness to the language. To those, who wish to know what the expressiveness of the Bengali language means, we would recommend the perusal of the *Tatwabodhini Patrika*, a monthly publication in Bengali, which yields to scarcely any English publication in India, for the ability and originality of its articles.

of the twice born castes * The Vernacular was consequently neglected by both, and even despised, while the saying was strictly acted on, that "ignorance is the mother of devotion" Hence a writer, well acquainted with native attainments, forty years ago, states —

"If they can *write* at all, each character, to say nothing of orthography, is made in so irregular and indistinct a manner, that comparatively few of them can read what is written by another and some of them can scarcely wade through what has been written by themselves after any lapse of time If they have learned to *read* they can seldom read five words together, without stopping to make out the syllables, and often scarcely two, even when the hand writing is legible The case is precisely the same with their knowledge of *figures* —*Friend of India*, vol 11, p 392

In tracing back the progress of improvement during the last half century in Bengal, there is nothing more striking than the development and finish given to the language of the people during that period It was contemned by the Pandits as a *Pra-krit* dialect, fit only for "demons and women," though "it arose from the tomb of the Sanskrit" And, even in the early days of Fort William College, it was so despised, that the attention of students could with difficulty be directed to its study, so that Dr Carey could scarcely muster a class there Yet it has burst through all these obstacles and the era of Missionary enterprise has been also the era, when the rich resources of the

* We quote the following anecdotes as illustrative of the thralldom of the *pro fanum vulgus* "It came to our knowledge that the dust from the feet of a thousand brahmans, and even of a lakh, has actually been collected, and drachms of it disposed of, from time to time, as a specific against various diseases There is now living at Calcutta, a spice-seller, named Vishnu sah who believes that by a pinch of the dust shaken from the feet of a lakh of brahmans worn as a charm he was cured of the leprosy, and this poor infatuated man comes into the street (at Chitpore) daily, both in the forenoon and afternoon and stands and bows in the most reverential manner to every brahman who passes by him Should a brahman pass by without receiving this honor, he calls out to him, and says, "Oh! Sir, receive my salām He has now for years paid these honors to this tribe firmly believing that he owes his deliverance from the most dreadful of diseases to the virtues imparted by them to the dust shaken from their feet Amongst others, who have gathered and preserved the dust from the feet of a lakh of brahmans, are mentioned the names of Gunga Govinda sing, and of Lala babū, his grandson The former preserving this dust in a large sheet, as often as he was visited by brahmans, took them aside, and made them shake the dust from their feet upon this sheet for the good of mankind. Even the dust collected from the feet of single brahmans is given away in pinches and is inclosed in gold, silver and brass caskets worn on the body, and carried about as a charm against diseases evil spirits &c When a poor Hindu leaves his house to proceed on some difficult business, he rubs a little of this dust on his forehead, and if it remain on his forehead till he arrive at the place, where the affair is to be adjusted, he feels certain of success In addition to this mark of superstitious devotion to this tribe, we have heard that it is common, six days after the birth of a child, to rub the dust from the feet of the brahman guests upon the forehead, the breast, and other parts of the child's body as a security against disease The sudra is even taught to believe, that by eating constantly from the plantain leaves, which have been used at meals by brahmans, he shall lose the degradation of continuing a sudra, and in the next birth be infallibly born a brahman —*Quarterly Friend of India*, vol 11, pp 69 70 71

Bengali have been developed, in spite of the genius of Brahmanism, which excludes the masses from the temple of knowledge * It is a singular contrast, that while Budhism encourages the study of the Pali among its votaries, and Islam, the study of the Arabic—among the Hindus, the Sudra's sole prospect of acquiring knowledge lies in being born a Brahman in another birth † “The separation of the soul from intellect, which the Hindu philosophers have for ages attempted to establish in theory, they practically accomplished in the case of the Sudra’ But as the press, in the hands of Voltaire, Condorçet, Rousseau, and the Encyclopedists, shook the fabric of despotism, both priestly and aristocratic, in France, so, it is destined to discharge a similar office in this country Already the people are less dependent on the oral instruction of the Brahmans, who feel as strong an aversion, as Free Masons, to have their arcana disclosed to the vulgar gaze An able writer in the *Quarterly Friend of India*, vol iv, pp 152, makes the following judicious remarks on this subject —

“As the priesthood derived all their importance from the general ignorance of the people, it became their interest to neglect their language A pandit who twenty years ago, should have written the Bengalee language with accuracy, would have been treated with contempt So far indeed did the literati carry their contempt for their own mother tongue, that, while they cultivated the learned language with the greatest assiduity they, in many instances, prided themselves on writing the language of the people with inaccuracy They even discouraged the use of it among the people and set their face against its improvement When Kútibas, about sixty years ago translated the Ramayana into Bengali the literary conclave at the Court of Raja Kúishna Chundra Raya, is said to have denounced it in the following rescript, copied from the Sangskrit ‘As it is not the work of a Pandit, let it not be read † As the Bengali language is totally dependent on its parent for philological strength and beauty, and even for the principles of orthography, this system was fatal to every prospect of its improvement’

The most ancient specimen of printing in Bengali, that we

* We are happy to state that of late years, the Pandits have rendered their knowledge of Sanskrit eminently conducive to forming a standard of style and orthography for the Bengali We have just received a work, translated by a Pandit of the Sanskrit College, Ishwar Chandra Sarma from Chambers's Biography, containing the lives of Copernicus, Galileo Newton, Herschell, Grotius, Linnæus, &c This translation reflects the highest credit on the ability of the translator, and, we hope, that he will proceed with a series of works on the same plan

+ Young Bengal seems to retain a spice of this old leaven still No Kulin frowns with deeper indignation at the notion of imparting knowledge to the *people*, than he does at communicating information through the *Vernacular*

† Bidyunath, who translated an indelicate work into the popular dialect, apologizes in the preface for the use of it, which he ascribes to the imperious necessity created by his pecuniary embarrassments He is in fact so greatly ashamed of countenancing such an innovation, that he blushes to name his ancestry, whom he has hereby disgraced He then proceeds to compare the Bengali language to the hideous notes of a crow, sounding amidst the melody of the kukil

have, is Halhed's Grammar, printed at Hugly in 1778 Halhed was so remarkable for his proficiency in colloquial Bengali, that he has been known to disguise himself in a native dress, and to pass as a Bengali in assemblies of Hindus. The types for this Grammar were prepared by the hands of Sir C Wilkins, who, by his perseverance amid many difficulties, deserves the title of the Caxton of Bengal He instructed a native blacksmith, named Panchanan, in type cutting, and all the native knowledge of type cutting was derived from him He was the editor of the *Bhagavat Gita* and of a Sanskrit Grammar, and was one of our first Sanskrit scholars.

One of the earliest works, printed in Bengali, was Carey's translation of the New Testament, published in 1801 Though written according to the English idiom, and in a Bengali style, that would be considered disreputable in the present day, yet it was a great work for its time, considering the few books in the language He received considerable assistance in the translation from one Ram Basu, who had been recommended to him by Mr W Chambers This man was the author of the life of Raja Pratapaditya, and was a good Persian scholar To Carey the Bengali language is as much indebted, as the Urdu was to the untiring zeal of Gilechrist He published a useful Grammar of the language and his Dictionary, in three volumes quarto, containing 80,000 words, will long remain as a monument of his skill and industry in investigating the resources of the Bengali tongue He had in fact to pioneer his own way, and Bengali then lay before him as shapeless as was Italian, when the plastic hand of Dante undertook the moulding it into form and beauty The clumsy Bengali characters of this Testament present a marked contrast to the beauty of the existing Bengali typography

The life of Raja Pratapaditya, "the last king of Sagur," published in 1801, at Serampur, was one of the first works written in Bengali prose Its style, a kind of Mosaic, half Persian, half Bengali, indicates the pernicious influence which the Muhamadans had exercised over the Sanskrit-derived languages of India. Raja Pratapaditya lived in the reign of Akbar at Dhumghat near Kalna in the Sunderbunds his city, now abandoned to the tiger and wild boar, was then the abode of luxury, and the scene of revelry Like the Seer Mutakherim, this work throws some light on the phases of native society, and enables us to look behind the curtain The following is a summary of the contents of this interesting work.

Ram Chandra was a Bengali Kayastha from the East of Bengal, who obtained employment in an office at Satgan, where he

had three sons, Bhabananda, Gunananda and Shibananda, who, in consequence of a quarrel, retired to Gaur, which was then flourishing under Suliman, where Shibananda obtained influence and employment. Daud, the son of Suliman, succeeded to the Musnud, but, puffed up by prosperity, he determined not to pay tribute any longer to Delhi. Ram Chandra's family saw the storm impending, and quitted Gaur for a retirement in Jessore, a place full of swamps, and wild beasts, which they soon reclaimed. After a few years they erected a city there. In the mean time Akbar sent an army of 200,000 men against Gaur under Raja Tarmahal, and Daud was defeated. Daud gave orders to remove the most valuable property in Gaur to Jessore, and fled, with his family, to the Rajmahal hills, while his two brothers assumed the garb of Vairagis. In the mean time, the Mussulman Generals, Tarmahal, and Amra Sing, entered Gaur, and plundered it of whatever was left. Daud's two brothers, induced by bribes, surrendered themselves, and gave information respecting the revenue papers that had been concealed, and one of them received as a recompense the Zemindary of Jessore.

Daud himself was betrayed by his Khansamah to Amra Sing, who cut his head off. Vikramaditya then obtained a firman to be Raja of Jessore, and went and settled there. He gave on his arrival a lac of rupees to the poor, and fed a lakh of Brahmans. Many Kayastas came and lived in the place, who obtained large grants of land, extending from Dhakka to Halishar, and the Raja established a Samaj, unequalled in the country for the number of learned men attached to it, while Chaubaris and Patshalas were formed in the different villages, as well as inspectors to dispense charity every month to the poor. To this king a son was born, named Pratapaditya, who, as the astrologers predicted, would revolt against his father. He was instructed in the Persian and Sanskrit languages, music, wrestling, &c., but the king, becoming jealous of Pratapaditya, sent him to Delhi, where he received a khelat from Akbar on account of his skill in poetry. After a residence of three years there, the Raja of Jessore not paying his tribute, Akbar ordered him to be deposed, and Pratapaditya was appointed by Akbar as his successor. Pratapaditya finding Jessore too small, selected a spot at Dhumghat, south-west of Jessore, where he built a city on a magnificent scale, and a palace, furnished with every convenience of luxury, several miles in extent, the gates were so high that an elephant and howda could enter without stooping. At his inauguration, the nobles from Barhi, Gaur, and all parts of the country, were present. There

came also hundreds of palankins, filled with high caste females from Jessore, attended by their dancing girls. An elaborate account is given of the magnificence of the city, and the munificence of its founder. Undeterred by the fate of his father, he too rebelled against Akbar. A Mussulman army was sent against him, which came as far as Sulkea and Rajah Pratapaditya, being warned by his tutelary goddess, that destruction was near, surrendered himself to the Mussulman general, and was put to death. The work concludes with an account of his descendants.

On the list of early benefactors to Vernacular literature may be enrolled the name of a man, little known to fame, but whose deeds are recorded in the memory of thousands—the late John Ellerton of Malda. Though following an occupation (Indigo Planting), which at that time led men too generally to regard the natives as little better than a herd of cattle, he was the first European, who established Bengali Schools and, as the School-master requires the press as his artillery, he commenced a translation of the New Testament into Bengali, which he discontinued for a time, on learning that Dr Carey contemplated the same. In 1816, however, his translation of the Gospels was printed at the expense of the Calcutta Bible Society. The Gospel of John had been previously printed, at the expense of the Countess of Loudon, for the use of a School, founded and endowed by her Ladyship at Barrackpore. In 1820, Ellerton's New Testament was published, and has been greatly valued for the simplicity of its style, though the Bengali language has since that period acquired such a finish and polish, that his version has been superseded by that of Dr Yates. Mr Ellerton has rendered valuable service by his publishing a work called *Guru Shushya*, or conversations between a disciple and scholar, which has been very useful both for its matter and style. The author attained a standard of proficiency in Bengali, which very few Europeans have reached—he thought in the Vernacular.

Among the Institutions, which, by their employment of the press, and by pecuniary encouragement, gave an impetus to Bengali Literature and to translations, we would give a prominent place to Fort William College, founded the 4th of May in 1800, by the Marquis of Wellesley, whose masterly minute on the subject* points out the importance of an oriental training for the servants of Government, and its reaction on the Vernaculars, for, as the noble Marquis remarks, “the

* Roebruck's Annals of the College of Fort William.

Sanskrit dialect being the source and root of the principal Vernacular dialects prevalent in the Peninsula, a knowledge of the Sanskrit must form the base of a correct and perfect knowledge of those Vernacular dialects." Hence patronage was afforded to several eminent Pandits, among whom appears the name of Mritunjay Vidyalkar

In the work, called *Primitivæ Orientales*, we have the theses of the students, delivered in Persian, Arabic, Urdu, &c. at the public disputations. We give an extract from one, delivered by Mr Hunter in 1803, in Bengali, on the subject of caste —

“অন্ত শাস্ত্র যদি ভাষাতে তজ্জমা করে তবে সংস্কৃত শাস্ত্রের গৌরব হানি প্রযুক্ত তাহার অখ্যাতি হয় যেমন মহাত্মারতের তজ্জমা ভাষাতে কাশী দাস নামে এক স্বত্র করিয়াছিল সেই দোষেতে ব্রাহ্মণেরা তাহাকে শাপ দিয়াছিল, সেই ভয়েতে অন্ত কেহ এখন সে কন্ম করে না।

“হিন্দুলোকেরা যদি ও আপন শাস্ত্রের নিষ্ঠাযেতে থাকে তবে অন্ত দেশের বিজ্ঞা ও ব্যবহার যদি ভালও হয় তবু তাহা গ্রহণ করিতে পারে না যদি অন্ত দেশের বিজ্ঞা ও ব্যবহার দেখে কিছু স্বনে তথাপি কুহু করিয়া আদর করে না অতএব অন্ত লোকের ব্যবহারেতে তাহারদের জ্ঞান লাভ হইতে পারিবে না।

“অন্ত দেশের গমন ও অন্ত দেশের ব্যবহার দর্শন ও অন্য দেশের বিজ্ঞানসেতে লোকের বুদ্ধি বৃদ্ধি হয় হিন্দু লোকেরদের শাস্ত্রের মতে পশ্চিমে আটক নদী পার হইলে জাতি যায় উত্তরে ভোটাঙ্গুর এবং স্লেচ্ছদেশে ও সেই মত এবং ব্রাহ্মপুত্র পার চইলে পূর্বধর্ম নষ্ট হয় দক্ষিণে সমুদ্র পথে জাহাজে থাকিয়া ভোজন পান করিলে জাতি জার হিন্দু শাস্ত্রের মতে গোখাদকের সংসর্গ করিলেও দোষ, হিন্দু ছাড়া যত লোক সকলেই গোমাংস খায় অতএব হিন্দুবা তাহারদের সহিত সহবাস করিতে পারে না এবং যেমত নির্জন উপদ্বীপে কোন জাতি একাকী থাকে সেই মত এই একাসাড়িয়া রীতিতে তাহারদের বুদ্ধিপ্রতিভা জড়িত হইয়াছে এবং তাহারদের উদ্দেশ্য শিথিল হইয়া অবিনীততা ও স্তম্ভতা হইয়াছে, এই ইষুরোপীয়েবদের মধ্যে দক্ষ্য প্রভৃতি অধম লোক হইতে ও অধম, কেমনা ইহারা স্বস্থান ত্যাগ করিয়া অক্লিয়ান্বিত হইলে তাহারদের অখ্যাতি পুনর্বার হইতে পারে কিন্তু ইহাদের কখন ভাল হইতে পারে না হিন্দুরা শাস্ত্র ব্যবস্থা কিছা মান্য লোকেরা বাদ্ধিক আত্মা লক্ষন করিলেই অপার হুঙ্কার সাগরে পড়ে” ॥

The following is a translation of this passage —

"Again, the Hindu, who translates any part of the Shastras, is considered as insulting the sacred Volumes, and is punished accordingly. It is well known, that a Sudra named Kasi Ram Das, translated the Mahabharat, and that the Brahmans immediately issued a curse against him and his family to all eternity. This has proved sufficient to deter any other from following his example.

Further, no Hindu can appropriate to his use the sciences and customs of another country, since his Shastra not only prejudices his mind against any thing foreign, but absolutely shuts up from him that fund of improvement and knowledge, which might be obtained from travelling. It confines him on the West by the River of Attock, on the North by Bhutan and the country of the Mlechas, to the Eastward by the Brahmaputra, and to the South by the Great Ocean. It also forbids all intercourse with the eaters of beef, though they are found in every other country in the world. And in this unsocial state like a solitary being in a desert isle his energies are cramped, his industry becomes relaxed, and apathy and indifference naturally succeed. More wretched than the most guilty criminals of European nations, who expiate their crime, and often retrieve their character, by a salutary absence for a given period from their mother country, the Hindu, who has committed no crime, but only transgressed the laws of regularity, or the injunctions of arbitrary power must undergo an endless banishment, and be for ever tantalized by the sight of those who were once his equals or inferiors.

The Visitor of 1815, in remarking on the encouragement held out by the College to the study of the leading Oriental languages, observes, that, previously to the foundation of the College, "the language of Bengal was generally neglected and unknown." And even in its early days, as we have already observed, the Bengali language was so despised, that Dr Carey could scarcely form a class, however, in 1816, Lord Moira congratulated the College on an altered state of things, attributing as one reason for the change the attention paid at Hertford to the Bengali. In fact, Persian and Urdu had been the languages studied, to the most unwarrantable neglect of the language of thirty millions of people, and this neglect has hung as an incubus over our Mofussil Courts in Bengal ever since. The Civilians, from the tone given to their education, interlard all their documents and phraseology with Persian terms, to such a degree, that the language of the Courts is not now the language of the peasantry, but has become a jargon suited to the purposes of the Amlas, who wish to mystify every thing for their own advantage.

A list of Oriental Books, published under the patronage of Fort William College between 1800 and 1818, comprises, besides thirty-one in Urdu, twenty in Arabic, twenty one in Persian, and twenty-four in Sanskrit, the following Bengali works—Carey's *Bengali Grammar and Dictionary*, *Pratāpāditya Charitra*, the last Raja of the Island of Sagar, by

Rámrám Basu, 1801, *Rajah Krishna Chandra Ray Charitra*, by Rájib Lochan, 1801, *Rajavah*, by Mritanjay Vidyálankar, *Hita-padesha*, by Goluk Natna, 1801, the same work, by Ramakishorí Tarkalankar, 1808, *Batrish Singhásan*, by Mritanjaya Vidyálankar, 1808, *Totá Itihás*, by Chandí Charan, 1805, *Purush Parikhá*, by Hara Prasad Ray, 1815, *Lipi Málá*, by Ramram Basu, 1802, *Bengali Dialogues*, 1801. In 1808, Mr Serjeant, a student of the College, translated the first four books of the *Æneid* into Bengali. Mr Monckton, another student, translated the *Tempest* of Shakespear. The first book of the *Mahabharat* was printed in 1802, and the *Ramayán* in 1801. Various works, such as Carey's Dictionary, &c. &c. were issued from the Serampore Press, which would never have seen the light, were it not for the liberal patronage afforded by the authorities of Fort William College, though, in consequence of the indefatigable exertions of Dr Gilchrist, Urdu works obtained an undue share of patronage.

In 1811 the Calcutta Bible Society originated. This Society, by the stimulus it gave to the cause of vernacular translation and verbal criticism, elicited at an early period the well-merited eulogium of the Asiatic Society of Paris. It issued from its Calcutta Depository (between 1811 and 1849,) 602,266 copies of *Vernacular Scriptures*, in whole or in part, of which about one-fourth were in the Bengali language. Whoever compares Ellerton's and Carey's Bengali New Testament, published and circulated by this Society, with the finished and elegant composition of Yates, will see the important influence of Bible Criticism on a language generally, while the ideas of the Bible elevate the notions of the readers, the languages of it accustoms them to the disuse of a vulgar *patois*. What Wicliffe has done for the English language, and Luther for the German, in point of craning up their respective tongues to a certain status, the patronage of the Bible Society has done for Bengali. In Campbell's Preliminary Dissertations, and Henry Martyn's Journals, we see the philological qualifications required in a good translator, involving the highest critical powers on intricate questions relative to the standard of style, to interpretation, to the transferring or translating technical terms, the spelling of proper names, &c. All the resources of a language, grammatical and lexicographical, are called out, in order to express ideas so foreign to the Bengali mind, as those of the Jews. The language itself is elevated along with the new ideas it has to express, new words have to be coined, and thus a larger infusion of Sanskrit terms takes place. It was thus, that Luther by his

version of the Bible raised a provincial dialect to be the language of Germany. Typography has of late been improved, and prices also have been very much cheapened. a Bengali Bible cost in 1811, 24 rupees, in 1849, only six.

With a Vernacular Education, such as is represented in Adam's Reports, we could expect little from a Vernacular Press; to use the language of Douglas of Cavers, "without education, printing can effect nothing, the former is to the latter, what the female deities of India (Shaktis) were to the Gods with whom they were mated, the recipients of their power, and the medium by which their energy flowed into operation." The following ratio, deduced from Adam's Reports, shews the proportion, which the various classes of readers in Bengal bear to one another —

"The proportion of Musalman to Hindu youths under instruction is as 1 to about $10\frac{1}{2}$. Of the educated (i.e. reading) adult population, the proportion of Musalmans to Hindus is about 1 to $7\frac{1}{2}$. Taking the mean of these two data, we find that, in Bengal generally, there are to every educated Musalman about 9 educated Hindus*.

The proportion of readers of the Persian character to readers of the Bengali is about 1 to $12\frac{1}{2}$, or $12\frac{1}{2}$ †.

The proportion of Musalman readers of Persian to Hindu readers of Bengali is as 1 to 19, or $19\frac{1}{2}$.

The proportion of Musalman readers of Bengali to Hindu readers of Bengali is as 1 to $28\frac{1}{2}$, or 24.

The proportion of Musalman readers of Persian to Hindu readers of Persian is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 1.

The proportion of Musalman readers of Persian to Musalman readers of Bengali is as $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 1.

The proportion of Hindu readers of Persian to Hindu readers of Bengali is as 1 to about $31\frac{1}{2}$, or $32\frac{1}{2}$.

The dawn of improvement in this respect dates from 1814, when Mr May had flourishing Schools around Chinsura, for the support of which the Marquis of Hastings allowed 600 Rs monthly—the first grant made by Government in Bengal.

* The Report does not afford data for estimating the entire proportion of these two great classes of the community to each other throughout Bengal. In page 105, Mr A gives the following table

In the city of Murshadabad there are 100 Hindus	to 48 4 Musalmans
In tháná Danlét bázár (Murshadabad Zillá)	to 86 8 ditto
In tháná Náughá (Bírbhúm Zillá)	to 20 5 ditto
In tháná Culiná (Burdwan Zillá)	to 28 9 ditto

"These proportions" however he adds, "must be considered as strictly limited to the localities mentioned—because the proportions differ, not only in different districts, but in different thánás of the same district."

† This latter estimate is on the supposition that the Hindu readers of Persian are also acquainted with Bengali, which is very likely, as it is their own vernacular.

for the promotion of Vernacular education In 1816, the Serampore Institution for Native Schools was formed

The Press and the School both stood in need of each other —

“ Most disastrous would it be, if the schemes of education now on foot should serve only to create readers for idolatrous publications, from a lack of more useful works, yet this is likely to be the case, if we permit year after year to elapse without multiplying treatises, which may serve to fill the vacant hours of students after the season of elementary instruction is closed We owe it therefore to the consistency of our character, we owe it to our superior civilization and to the plans of improvement, which have been commenced under British influence, not to suffer minds, which have been partly enlightened at school, to relapse into the grossness of superstition * * * * * In four years more, perhaps thirty thousand additional volumes will be thrown into circulation, and unless their influence be corrected by books of a higher description, the thousands of youth, to whom the numerous schools are now imparting the faculty of reading, will have gained little by our efforts, and must grow up with an increasing attachment to idolatry ’

The Calcutta School Book Society, which has contributed so much to infuse a healthy tone into native literature, was established in 1817,* chiefly by the Marchioness of Hastings,† who herself prepared and sent to press several elementary works, at a period when it is stated that “ the country itself could not supply a single native child’s book, although schools in almost every considerable village had existed for ages ” This is too sweeping a remark, as we have now before us a list of sixty-five indigenous works, which had issued from the native presses previous to 1819 half of these are on mythological and amatory subjects, but the other half contain matter for more useful reading Works of fiction are of benefit to Society in a certain stage, indeed, one of the greatest Orientalists of the time, the late Dr A Clarke, acknowledges how much he was indebted to the reading of “ the Arabian Nights.”

Among the early contributors to the book list of the Society was Captain Stewart, the founder of the Burdwan Church Mission He compiled Elementary Bengali Tables, the *Upadesh Kathā*, and contributed very much, by his example and influence, to raise the standard of Vernacular education in the Burdwan district, by the introduction of such subjects as Natural History and Geography into the Schools

* The year 1817 was a memorable year while, on the one hand this Society then came into existence, on the other hand, the Hindus, in order to avert the pestilence of Cholera, which broke out for the first time that year, added *Ula Bibi*, or the goddess of Cholera, to the catalogue of their Divinities

† The Marquis of Hastings gave a donation of 1,000 Rs and subscription of 500 Rs to the Institution, and patronised it in other ways also

Mr May, the active superintendant of Vernacular Schools at Chinsura, wrote Arithmetical Tables for the Society. He laboured enthusiastically in the cause of popular education in the villages on the banks of the Hugly, and very probably the desire for studying English, which is now so strong there, received its first stimulus from his labours. Mr Pearson, also of Chinsura, compiled for the Society a collection of easy Bengali Lessons, and the *Bakya Bah*: the latter work has been one of very great utility to those anxious to acquire the colloquial idioms of Bengal.

The name of Ram Komul Sen stands foremost, as one of the early co-operators with the School Book Society, and as a warm friend to Vernacular Translation. His Dictionary—the result of 20 years labour—will long remain as a monument of his diligence and critical acumen, and entitles him to the epithet of the Johnson of Bengal. He commenced his studies, at a period when “the Tales of a Parrot,” and the Arabian Nights, were the chief class books in schools. He began his career, as compositor, on a salary of eight rupees a month, in the Hindustani Press of Dr Hunter. At the close of life he was in the receipt of 1500 Rs a month, as Dewan of the Bank of Bengal,* and bequeathed ten lakhs to his family. Brougham like, he was a most zealous friend to the diffusion of useful knowledge. He planned the Sanskrit College, and the Patshala, and, with the view to diffuse medical knowledge through the Vernacular, he composed, and published at his own expense, the *Ausadabali*. Rajah Radhakant Deb also compiled a Spelling Book, part of the *Niti Katha*, and a treatise on Female Education. In common with several other leading natives, he was a warm friend to the institution. Out of 200 subscribers in 1818, no less than eighty were Babus; but, a few years subsequently, there was a great falling off in this respect.

Previously to 1821, the following works in Bengali had been printed by this Society —

“Stewart’s Elementary Tables, 10 Nos in sets, 3,850 copies
 Pearson’s ditto, or Introductory Lessons, (cards,) 8,000 ditto
 Keith’s Bengali Grammar, (by Question and Answer) 500 ditto
 Pathsalār Bibaran or Pearson’s School master’s Manual, 500 ditto
 Bengali Vocabulary, of Ram Chandra Sarma, (Abhidhan,) 4,400 ditto
 Pearson’s Familiar Letters, (Patrikaumadya,) 1,000 ditto
 Arithmetic, Native model, (May’s Ganita,) 2,000 ditto
 Harle’s Arithmetic, (mixed model,) 1,000 ditto
 Nitikatha, or Moral Tales, Part I, 7,000 ditto

* The Babus of Calcutta are generally *parvenus*, and have, for the most part, risen from humble circumstances. One of our *millionaires* began life on a salary of 10 rupees monthly, and the father of another on 5!

Nitikatha ditto, Part II (Pearson's Reading Lessons,) 4,000 ditto
 Nitikatha ditto, Part III (Ram Comul Sen's ditto,) 5,000 ditto
 Tarachund Dutt's Pleasing Tales, (Manaranjan Itahas,) 2,000 ditto
 Stewart's Tales of History, (Apodes katha, &c,) 2 000 ditto
 History of England (Goldsmith's) by F Carey, 500 ditto
 Pearce's Geography, in Nos (1 to 5 printed—6th in press,) long form,
 10,000 ditto
 Account of the Lion, &c (Singher Bibaran,) 2,000 ditto

It has taken the lead in being *the* society for diffusing useful knowledge among the Bengali speaking population. To appreciate the value of its labours, it is only necessary to examine Adams Reports on Vernacular Education, or to look into the class of books, which have been used by Hindus, either as translations from the Shastras, or adapted for the occupiers of a bazar.

In 1818, the *Digdarshan* in Bengali was commenced at Serampore. Its plan was similar to that of the Penny and Saturday Magazines of late days. It embraced subjects of the following kind, the discovery of America, the Load Stone and Compass, Columbus, the Commerce and Productions of India, Ancient History, Sketches, Steam, Notices of England, Metals, Natural History, &c. It was continued for 3 years, and has proved a very useful work, calculated to open and expand the minds of young Hindus. We have at present no work of a similar class.

When we contrast the improvement in euphony and expressiveness, that has taken place in the Bengali language within the last thirty years, though it has had no Dante to raise it at once to its full powers—we must ascribe much of this progress to the Periodical Press, which has afforded such scope to young writers. Compare the *Pratapaditya Charitra* of 1802, and its semi-Persian style, with the exquisite beauty and elegance of the *Betal Panchabingsati*, published by a Pandit of Fort William College, and one would scarcely suppose that it is the same language. Or contrast the Grammars of Halhed and Yates, and a similar observation can be made. In the days of Halhed, people “scarcely believed that Bengal ever possessed a native and peculiar dialect of its own, distinct from that idiom, which, under the name of *Moors*, has been supposed to prevail over India.” And to the perpetuation of this error the influence and untiring advocacy of the Urdu language by Gilchrist greatly contributed. He published his Urdu Dictionary in Calcutta in 1787, and, by editing a series of useful works, he gave the impression that the Bengali was a mere patois, and that the Urdu was to be the only medium of literary and social intercourse between natives and Europeans.

The present may be characterised as the age of “the Press,”

as contrasted with former days, when in Bengal, as well as in Europe, knowledge was doled out to a few through the costly channel of MSS and so scarce had even these become in this country, that of the *Rajtarangini*, which enshrines so much historical information concerning the early settlement of the Brahmans in *Ariavarta*, only two copies escaped destruction. The days of Vikramaditya and of Raja Krishna Ray—though called an Augustan age,—were, like the oasis of the desert, or the time of Louis Quatorze, surrounded by blackness and desolation as far as the masses were concerned. We look therefore to the Vernacular Press as a grand means for working on the *masses* in this country, and quite concur in the following sentiments of Douglas in his *Advancement of Society* —

“ Newspapers communicate to a whole country the advantage, which was formerly peculiar to a city, and spread the same impulse from province to province with as much rapidity, and more precision, than it could formerly have been circulated from one quarter of a large town to another. But the power of Newspapers consists, not only in the rapidity of the transmission, but in the reiteration of their statements. Burke thirty years ago, had the sagacity to perceive, that they, who can gain the public ear from day to day, must, in the end, become the masters of public opinion and the rapid increase of the numbers, and of the influence of Newspapers more than justifies his prediction. It was no bad observation of Fletcher of Salton, that, whoever made the laws of a nation he cared not, provided he had the making of their ballads. But now that nations are less addicted to ballad singing and more to the reading of Newspapers, the high office of moulding institutions, and amending manners, is devolving upon the editors of daily or weekly journals.”

When we consider that the Vernacular Press continues the instruction of the School, that it is, in fact, an adult School-master, that even in the poorest of the Bengali Newspapers there is a considerable amount of geographical, political, and historical information imparted, which must form an intellectual link between Hindustan and the land of the Mlechhas, and that the editorials, though very feeble, yet, by the process of perpetual reiteration, are producing a strong and deep impression on the native mind, and are moulding the opinions of thousands of intelligent and influential Hindus,—we cannot consider it an uninteresting subject to trace the rise and progress of this new power, which seems destined hereafter to play an important part on the stage of Indian Society. It presents no stirring events, such as the cases of Buckingham and Arnott, who, in defence of what they considered the freedom of the Press, braved the strong arm of Government. The Editorials of the Native Papers are never noticed by the authorities, yet they work their own way quietly and gently, forming a public opinion among na-

tives, but we must say this there has been far less of personality, railing against Government, scandal, and scurrilous remark in the Native Press of Calcutta, than there has been in the Calcutta English Journals.

We believe the Native Newspaper Press is destined to have a mighty influence hereafter in this country, and that the language of Bulwer will be applicable to it, "The Newspaper is the chronicle of civilisation—the common reservoir into which every stream pours its living waters, and at which every man may come to drink The Newspaper informs legislation of public opinion, and it informs the people of the acts of legislation The Newspaper is the familiar bond that binds together man and man—no matter what may be the distance of climate, or the difference of race The Newspaper is a law-book for the indolent, a sermon for the thoughtless, and a library for the poor It may stimulate the most indifferent it may instruct the most profound"

The first Bengali Newspaper, that broke in on the slumber of ages, and roused the natives from the torpor of selfishness, was the *Darpan* of Serampore, which began its career on the 23rd of May, 1818 * The Marquis of Hastings, instead of yielding to the imaginary fears of the enemies to a free Press, or continuing the previous policy of Government by withholding political knowledge from the people, gave every aid to the *Darpan*.† On the publication of the first number, he wrote a letter with his own hand to the Editor, expressing his entire approval of the paper, a considerable number was subscribed for, and sent, at the public expense, to different native courts, and the Editor was encouraged to publish a Persian Edition to circulate for one-fourth of the postage charged to English papers The Marquis avowed in public, that "it is salutary for the Supreme authority to look to the control of public scrutiny"

The plan of the *Darpan* embraced news (both Indian and English) likely to be interesting to natives, as well as local descriptions. The Bengali style was simple When we consider the

* The year 1818 was remarkable in various respects The School Society was formed, which introduced a new class of Vernacular books into its Schools, and Serampore College was founded As long as it continued in operation, it gave a considerable stimulus to the study of Bengali, by making it the medium for conveying information on various subjects

† Under the regime of the Marquis, the first impulse was given to the Vernacular Newspaper Press He himself afforded every encouragement to native education, as he was not one of those who thought the safety of British India depended on keeping the natives immersed in ignorance He was a man that did not shrink in 1816, when addressing the students of Fort William College, from avowing the noble sentiment, "It is humane, it is generous to protect the feeble it is meritorious to redress the injured but it is a godlike bounty to bestow expansion of intellect, to infuse the Promethean spark into the statue, and waken it into a man

amount of historical, political, and geographical information, that this, along with other Bengali papers, poured in on the Hindu mind, which previously seldom extended its range of inquiry beyond the affairs of the neighbouring Pargunnah, or at furthest beyond the land bounded by the Indus, and "within the antelope's range," we must assign a very prominent position to the native Newspapers, and to the *Darpan* in particular, in having roused the adult mind from its long continued state of apathy. We have perused the *Darpan* with much pleasure, and quite concur in the following eulogium passed on it "through means of its correspondence, it elicited a great deal of valuable information regarding the state of the country in the interior. An agrieved man felt half his burden removed, when he had sent a statement of the oppressions he lay under to the *Darpan*, and thus brought them to the knowledge of the public. The native officers of Government felt it as a check on their misconduct, and dreaded its exposures. It was also the only channel of information to the natives in the interior, and has in its day done some service to Government, by counteracting unfavorable rumours, and strengthening the principle of loyalty." Religious controversies were avoided.

In the early volumes we have various topographical notices. As a specimen, we insert the following account of Sagar island. We give the original, in hopes that some of our antiquarian friends may be able to throw light on this difficult but interesting subject —

“ গঙ্গাসাগর উপদ্বীপ ।

পূর্বে সমাচার দর্পণে লিখা গিয়াছে যে গঙ্গাসাগর উপদ্বীপে লোক বসতি ছিল এমনত অসম্ভব হইয়াছে । এইক্ষণে পদ্ম পুর্বাণের অন্তর্গত ক্রিয়াযোগসারে দেখা গেল যে গঙ্গাসাগরে চন্দ্রবংশীয় সুষেণ নামে রাজা রাজধানী করিয়াছিলেন । তাহাতে দিশস্তী নামে নগরের স্থাপকর রাজার কন্যা আলোচনা দায়গ্রস্তা হইয়া এই রাজার আশ্রয়ে পুরুষ বেশে কাল কেপণ করিয়াছিল । পরে ভালধ্বজ নগরের রাজা বিক্রমের পুত্র মাধব পূর্বে স্বত্র ক্রমে সেই স্থানে আসিয়া আলোচনাকে বিবাহ করিয়া এবং এই চন্দ্রবংশীয় সুষেণ রাজার এক কন্যাকে বিবাহ করিয়া এই রাজ্যের অর্দ্ধ প্রাপ্ত হইয়া এই গঙ্গাসাগরে রাজধানী করিলেন ও অনেক কালপর্যন্ত বসতি করিয়া পরে পুত্রাদি রাখিয়া মরিলেন” ॥

The meaning is to the following effect, that Ganga Sagar was formerly inhabited, that the Padma Purana mentions that Sushen, a King of the Lunar race, erected his metropolis on it,

and that Sulochona, the daughter of the king of Dilyanti, being oppressed with misfortune, disguised herself as a man, and went there, where she afterwards married the son of the king of Táladjya, who also made it his residence

Ram Mohun Roy commenced in 1821, a Bengali Periodical, the BRAHMANICAL MAGAZINE "Its career was rapid, fiery, meteoric. And both from want of solid substance, and through excess of inflammation, it soon exploded, and disappeared" It was mainly an attack on Missionaries, thus p 10 it states—"that it is ungenerous to do, as Genghis Khan and the Arracanese did—abuse the religion of the conquered. In consideration of the small huts in which Brahmins of learning generally reside, and the simple food such as vegetables, &c which they are accustomed to eat, and the poverty which obliges them to live upon charity, the missionary Gentleman may not, I hope, abstain from controversy through contempt of them, for truth and true religion do not always belong to wealth and power, to high names, or lofty palaces" He endeavours to argue for human responsibility on the following grounds "As the reflections of the sun, though without light proper to themselves, appear splendid from their connexion with the illuminating sun, so the soul, though not true intellect, seems intellectual, and acts as if it were real spirit, from its actual relation to the universal intellect and, as from the particular relations of the sun to the water placed in different pots, various reflections appear, resembling the same sun in nature, and differing from it in qualities, and again, as these cease to appear on the removal of the water, so, through the peculiar relation of various material objects to one supreme spirit, numerous souls appear, and seem as performing good and evil works, and also receiving their consequences, and, as soon as that relation ceases, they at that very minute cease to appear distinctly from their original Hence God is one, and the soul, although it is not in fact of a different origin from God, yet is liable to experience the consequences of good and evil works, but this liability of the soul to reward or punishment cannot render God liable to either" He next proceeds to argue, that though God created the world by *máyá*, as the wind raises the bubbles on the water, yet that God is not subject to *máyá* for "though God pardons the sins of those that sincerely repent through his attribute of mercy, this cannot be taken as an admission of the Deity's subjection to his own mercy The followers of the Vedant say that *Máyá* is opposed to knowledge, for when a true knowledge of God is obtained, the effect of *Máyá*, which makes

‘ the soul appear distinct from God, does immediately cease ” He then reasons that the Hindu incarnations are as little opposed to our notion of God, as the Christian incarnation, and that “ if we admit that the worship of spirit possessed of a ‘ material body (i. e. of Jesus Christ) is worship in spirit, we ‘ must not any longer impute idolatry to any religious sect ”

The lamentable defects of the Native Vernacular Schools excited the attention of various friends of education, and gave rise to the Calcutta School Society The following remarks of one, who well knew the state of the country, will shew the need for such a Society, he observes respecting the Hindus —

“ If they can *write* at all, each character to say nothing of orthography, is made in so irregular and indistinct a manner, that comparatively few of them can read what is written by another, and some of them can scarcely wade through what has been written by themselves after any lapse of time If they have learned to *read*, they can seldom read five words together, without stopping to make out the syllables and often scarcely two, even when the hand writing is legible The case is precisely the same with their knowledge of *figures*.

The first Annual Meeting of the Calcutta School Society was held in 1820; the report was read both in English and Persian At that period the total number of indigenous schools in Calcutta amounted to 188, containing 4,146 children, the subscriptions and donations reached 15,910 Rs. The Society continued in operation for several years.

The *Friend of India* gives the following list of works that were printed previously to 1821 —

“ *Ganga-bhakti-tarangini*, History of the descent of Gunga.

Jaya deva, History of Krishna

Annada-mangal, Exploits of several of the gods

Rasa manyari, Description of the three kinds of men and women in the world.

Rati-manyari, On the same subject

Karana nidan bilas, Account of a new god recently created by an opulent native

Vihva mangal, Exploits of Krishna.

Daya bhag, A treatise on law

Jyotish, An astronomical treatise

Chanakya, A work containing instructions for youth.

Sabda-snda, A Dictionary

Abhidhan, ditto

———A treatise on the materia medica of India.

Rag-mala, A treatise on music

Batrish-singhasan, The thirty two-imagined throne

Betal Pachisi, Account of Raja Vikramaditya.

Vidya-mnda, A treatise ridiculing physicians

Bhagavat gita, A translation in Bengali of the work formerly translated into English by Wilkins

Mahimani stava, The praises of Shiva

Ganga stava, The praises of Gunga.

Shukhi charitra, The duties of men

Sanit satuk On contempt of the world

Shringar tilak, A treatise on women.

Usuha-panchak, A treatise on the days termed impure by the Smṛiti

Adi ras, A treatise on women

Chandi, The praises of Durga &c

Chaitanya-charitamṛta, Account of Chaitanya'—*Quarterly Friend of India*, vol 1, p 124

He makes the following observations on the subject —

'If we admit that 400 copies have been printed of each of these works, including the second and third editions of some (and this will be considerably within the mark), we shall have *Sixteen Thousand volumes printed and sold among the natives within the last ten years*—a phenomenon to which the country has been a stranger since the formation of the first, the incommunicable, letters of the Vedas. Many of these works have been accompanied with plates which add an amazing value to them in the opinion of the majority of native readers and purchasers. Both the design and execution of the plates have been exclusively the effort of native genius, and had they been printed on less perishable materials than Patna paper, the future Wests, and Laurences, and Wilkies of India, might feel some pride in comparing their productions with the rude delineations of their barbaric forefathers. The figures are still and uncouth without the slightest expression of mind in the countenance or the least approach to symmetry of form. They are in general intended to represent some powerful action of the story and happy is it for the reader that this action of the hero or heroine is mentioned at the foot of the plate for without it the design would be unintelligible. The plates cost in general a goldmohur, designing engraving, and all, for in the infancy of this art, as of many others, one man is obliged to act many parts. Thus Mr Hari Har Banerjya, who lives at Jorasanka, performs all the requisite offices, from the original outline, to the full completion but though he, with true eastern modesty styles himself, in one corner of his plates the best engraver in Calcutta we doubt his ability when left to his own resources —*Quarterly Friend of India*, vol 1, pp 125 6

These books serve as an index to the popular taste, and, as such, though composed chiefly of tales, they are not to be despised, as straws they pointed out the course of the current nor must we forget that, even in England itself, the press in its early days multiplied principally copies of the old Romances.

"The taste for works of this description, continues the editor, "was then in its maturity, and successive editions were printed, till a superior taste, produced by the operation of that very press transferred them from the libraries of the people to the shelves of the antiquary. We may fairly expect a similar regeneration in India more especially when we consider the approximation of that great body of scientific and philosophical knowledge possessed by the European community, and their anxiety to bring it fully to bear on the natives

'The very increase of mythological tales has a tendency to stifle the avidity for them. Being now placed within reach of the great body of the people they lose much of that veneration with which they were invested by their being scarce, and, though the flame may for a time burn with

increasing ardour, this very circumstance naturally leads to its final extinction Printed works will gradually constitute a powerful source of influence works of real utility will be brought into the lists to combat with those of vain amusement,—and the issue cannot be doubtful Even in the infancy of the Indian press it has not been exclusively occupied with works of trifling value two dictionaries of the Bengali language, a treatise on the law of inheritance, another on the materia medica of Bengal, one on music, two or three almanacks, and a treatise in Sanskrit on astronomy which have all issued from the press within the last ten years, are indications of improvement not to be despised, if we consider the darkness and ignorance of the community, among whom they have found patrons ”

These works are all *sold*, and the observations on this point we commend to the notice of the friends of Bible and Tract Societies in this country —

“ One work of real utility, purchased by the natives, will produce a greater change than five distributed gratis What a native purchases he wishes to read, and thus his very avarice is turned to the account of general improvement A work, obtained without any pecuniary sacrifice, he is disposed to underrate and neglect, but such is the reluctance with which he parts with his money, that he is anxious to draw an equivalent value from every book it procures him

In 1823 a book was published in Calcutta, called the *Pran Toshana*, being a compilation of the precepts and doctrines of the Tantras, selected from eighty-four works, by Pran Bishwas of Kharda We give our readers the following extracts in order to shew what the nature of the Tantra Doctrines is

“ The vowel *अ*, is an astonishing letter It is bright as the shell of Vishnu it is full of the three gods, and of the five souls it is in fact Bhagavati herself Of the letter *क*, the stroke on the left is Brahma, the lower stroke is Vishnu, the perpendicular line Shiva, the horizontal, Saraswati the curve is Bhagavati The space in the centre is Shiva The color of the left stroke is red, like the Juba flower the right is the color of the moon in the month Ashwin, the lower stroke, the color of the great Muni Mahamukt the horizontal line is white, like the pubescent jasmine flower, the curve resembling the hook used in guiding the elephant is like ten millions of flashes of lightning, the vacant space is brilliant as ten millions of moons It bestows liberation, it produces wealth and holiness it is the root of all letters, it is the feminine energy of nature, and the mother of all gods In the upper angle resides the wife of Brahma, in the middle angle Vishnu's wife, Jaistha, in the lower, Shiva's wife, Rudri It is the soul of all knowledge, the soul of the four castes, the origin of Brahma's power to desire, of Vishnu's power to know, and of the active energy of Shiva therefore it is to be perpetually praised * * * * *

“ Write not letters on the earth, or the muntras in books never leave a volume open, nor receive one open from another person He whose books or letters happen to be on the ground at the time of an earthquake, or of an eclipse, becomes ignorant through every future transmigration He who writes with a bamboo pen, will undoubtedly suffer He who uses a copper pen, will enjoy undecaying splendor, a golden pen procures prosperity, a Brahman nul, ensures wisdom and knowledge, a wooden

pen, ornamented with figures bestows children grand children and wealth He, who writes with a brass pen, obtains immortal prosperity but the use of a kasa* pen, occasions death The pen must be either eight or ten fingers in length, he, who uses one only four fingers long, loses as many days of his life as he writes letters A manuscript written according to the directions of the Shastras, will secure knowledge It must be in length either one hand (equivalent to a cubit) or one hand deducting the fingers or a whole arm and either twelve or eight fingers in breadth, but never less

* * * * *
 ' He who studies a volume of the Veda which he himself has copied, commits a sin equal to the murder of Bramha, and he who having copied a work himself deposits it in his library, or keeps it at home, his dwelling will be struck with lightning

His analysis of the name of Guru equals in absurd refinement any thing penned by the Jewish Cabalists —

" Of this word, the *g* is the cause of fruition the *r* destroys sin the *u* is Shiva himself the whole word *guru* is the eternal Brahma excellent and inexplicable He, whose lips pronounce the sound ' guru,' with what sin is he chargeable? The articulation of *g* annihilates the sin even of killing a brahman, the sins of birth are removed by pronouncing *u* of ten millions of birth by the pronunciation of *ru* Parasarama murdered his mother and Indra destroyed a brahman yet they both obtained absolution by pronouncing the word *Guru*

And yet, as a writer in the *Friend of India* remarks respecting this Guru —

' This religious guide invested with so awful a responsibility, on whom the Tantra shastras have devolved the task of piloting men through the sea of this world and conducting their steps to final bliss, the only teacher of men, is allowed five kinds of wives He is permitted to seize a female in open day, and detain her at his house, he is allowed a plurality of prostitutes, and even to revel in a brothel, without the least diminution of his spiritual authority and to complete this system of morals and virtue, which Shiva sent down to the holy sages by his son Ganesh for the benefit of the human race, the woman, whom the spiritual guide has debauched, or the prostitute whom he retains, is to receive from the disciples that adoration and worship, which is due to God alone

He directs that the letters of the Alphabet should be worshipped —

" The first vowel *अ*, is to be adored as a female divinity, of the color of the Ketaki flower, with two hands, the one elevated as though with the intention of dispelling fear, the other stretched out as in the act of bestowing a blessing, adorned with a necklace of pudma flowers, and clothed in white garments made of hemp, with a serpent for a pita The letter *इ*, is to be worshipped, under the form of a woman of the colour of blood, with four hands, three eyes, her bosom swelling like the bud of the kudumba flower, and her person ornamented with precious stones'

He further directs that the cat should be adored, and also the jackal —

" On the day of the new moon, let the disciple catch a jackal and strike him dead with one blow, then seat himself on the carcase, and continue

in divine meditation, repeating the holy text, appropriated to the jackal, till he return to life, and the goddess, who was the object of worship manifest herself in bodily shape. He may then ask and receive whatever he desires even a beautiful wife, and hear of past, present, and future events and above all, understand the meaning of every howl of the jackal.

In contrast to this mass of literary rubbish, in the same year 1823, a Society, which exercised a beneficial influence on Native Literature, and which will ere long, we trust, provide a Christian Vernacular Literature for Bengal—the Calcutta Tract Society—came into existence. In 1823, it had published the following tracts in Bengali —

"Memoir of Phutick Chand	
Mental Reflection, and Enquiry after Salvation	
Christ's Sermon on the Mount	
Harmony of the Four Gospels,	Part III
_____	Part IV
_____	Part V
_____	Part VI
Life of William Kelly	
Dialogue between a Durwan and Mah	
History of Christ the Saviour of the World	
Dialogue between Ramhari and Shaddha	
On the Nature of God	
Dialogue between a Scotchman and a Native Gentleman	
Extracts from the Gospel Magazine,	No I
_____	No II
Reward Book for Schools	
Scripture Extracts—Parables	
The Picture Room	
Catechism First	
_____	Second
Watts's First Catechism	

But, in the same year, the cause of Bengali translations sustained a severe loss in the death of Felix Carey, who was one of the best Bengali scholars of the day, and edited the following works —

Vidyahara Vali, in Bengalee, a work on Anatomy, being the first volume of a Bengali Encyclopedia in octavo, with plates. A large Bengali Dictionary in the press, edited by Mr Carey and Sri Ram Komul Sen. A work on Law, in Bengali, not finished. Translation into Bengali of an Abridgement of Goldsmith's History of England, printed at the Serampore press for the School Book Society. The Pilgrims Progress, translated into the Bengali and printed at Serampore. Translation into the Bengali of a Chemical Work, by Rev John Mack, for the students of Serampore College. Translation into Bengali of an Abridgement of Mills's History of British India, for the School Book Society.

We give the following statistics of the number of tracts and other publications, printed and published by the Calcutta

Tract Society, between 1823 and 1835,* in the Bengali, Urdu, Hindui, and Uriya languages —

"It extends from 1823, when the first Tracts were printed, to June 1835, the date of the last Report, and, including second or third editions of the same publications, gives a total of *A Hundred and Thirty-one* publications, containing *Four Thousand Eight Hundred and Eighty-two* pages, and printed in editions, which give an aggregate of *Four Hundred and Eighty-four Thousand Three Hundred and Fifty* Tracts, and *Eleven Millions, Five Hundred and One Thousand Four Hundred* pages of letter press, in the following proportions —

	Tracts	Pages	Copies	Pages
In Bengali	78	3,222	331,700	7,593,500
„ Hindustani,	30	1,003	100,000	3,043,000
„ Hindui	10	265	42,150	591,300
„ Uriya,	2	92	5,500	154,000
Total,	120	4,582	579,350	11,381,800

ALMANACS form a class of works, that were compiled at an early period in Bengali. The Almanac, issued from the Court of Raja Kristna Ray of Nadiya, was the one held in highest repute, next to that, the Bali one. There were Almanacs published also at Gunpur, Khanakul-Krishnaghur, Dighai, Bikrampur, Bakla, Chandra dwip, Berhampur and Bagri. Previous to 1820, those Almanacs were in manuscript, and were copied and sold by the Daivagya Brahmans, for two annas each but they have been superseded by the printed Almanacs, though the latter often sell for one rupee a number. These Daivagya Brahmans are a kind of itinerant astrologers, who vend their knowledge of futurity, as the bards of old derived a profit from

* For the following account of the Press between 1820 and 1835 we are indebted to certain data in the *Quarterly Friend of India*. The native newspapers had increased from one to six, viz four in Bengali and two in Persian, the latter "chiefly occupied with extracts from the pithless Ukhbars, or papers issuing from the native courts, and detailing with minuteness the daily uninteresting and unimportant actions of the native princes." These six papers had probably about 100 subscribers, and five readers to each paper, with a subscription of one rupee monthly. The following books were printed—*Panchanga Sundari—Din Kaumadi—Ananda Lahari—Rati Manjari—Tarpan—Radhika Mangal—Ganga Bhakti Turangini—Padanka Dul—Mulakhara Darpan—Butrish Singdsun—Ohanakya Tutti Nama—Kakchari—Bdya Sundur—Nala Damayanti—Kalanka Bharyan—Prabodh Chandraday—Gydn Chan drik—Pran Toshan*.—Other works of the same class, to the number of thirty one, were published of these eleven works were of a useful kind, that would afford profitable reading the rest were mythological, astrological, &c —

"The number of copies, which have been printed of each, is not so easily ascertained. Of some more, of others less, than a thousand, have been sold, but if we take that number as the general average, we shall be near the truth. It is a general remark among the printers and publishers of the native press, that no work remains long on hand, and we have reason to believe that they have in no instance suffered a loss by the printing of any of the works above named. Nearly Thirty Thousand volumes have thus been sent into circulation within the last four years.

It is calculated that, in 1822, thirty works were published, 1,000 copies of each of which were sold, giving 30,000 volumes in Bengali in one year

their skill in song They may be known by their having under their arm an Almanac wrapped in cloth They receive contributions from the poorest, and are admitted even into the recesses of the female apartments—as the women, true daughters of Eve, are very fond of prying into the future

We find that the Hindu Almanac for 1825 was printed by one Gangadhar at Agardwip (where the first press was established that was conducted by natives) and is dedicated to the Raja of Krishnaghur It gives the events of the year in the following proportions, Rain 8, Corn 6, Grass 4, Cold 5, Heat 7, Wind 5, Kings 11, Diseases 15, Cures 6, Flies 9, Mosquitoes 17, Poison 13, Holiness 3, Unholiness 15, Truth 2, Falsehood 12 Among the presiding regencies of the year are *Mars*, who will cause war, bad crops, and disease, *Venus*, who will multiply the number of subjects, *Sambarta*, the ruling cloud, which will increase the fruits of the earth, *Kulera*, presiding among snakes, who will cause men to be destroyed by their poison, *Pundurika*, the regent of elephants, through whose influence men will be destroyed both in the West and East, *Nakula*, the regent of doctors, “and under his influence the words of men will be excellent as the waters of immortality” An account is next given of the *Satya Yuga* “when the principle of life resided in the brain men died when they wished their stature was $31\frac{1}{2}$ feet they lived to the age of 100,000 years, and dined off golden vessels” In the *Treta Yuga* “the principle of life resided in the bones the human stature was twenty-one feet, men lived to the age of 10,000 years, and dined off silver dishes” In the *Dwapar Yuga*, “the principle of life resided in the blood, the human stature was reduced to $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet, men lived a thousand years, and dined off copper dishes.” In the *Kali Yuga*, “the principle of life will reside in food, men will be $3\frac{1}{2}$ cubits in stature, live a hundred years, and dine from dishes without rule” There are twenty-seven Nakshatras,* or lunar mansions, given in the Almanacs By ascer-

* Respecting those Nakshatras in the Almanacs, the *Quarterly Friend of India*, vol. iv, pp 196, 199, 200, 201, states —

‘The figure of a man is rudely sketched, and the twenty seven different lunar mansions allotted to its different members, hereby any one is enabled to ascertain the monthly complexion of his destiny, and to avert the approach of misfortune. In the first month of the year, seven stellar mansions are allotted to the head, three to the mouth, five to the heart, three to the right hand, three to the left, three to the right foot, and three to the left. These seven portions of the body have the following significations during that month the head betokens the enjoyment of happiness, the mouth excellence, the heart and the right hand denote the obtaining of wealth, the left hand signifies great distress, the right foot, moderate gain, and the left, a disposition to wander The enquirer turns to the figure, and, having found to what member of the body his natal mansion is attached, and what that member predicts, ascertains the fortune which is to befall him for that month To avert the calamities, which some portions of the body presage, he is directed to make a ball composed

taining the natal mansion of the enquirer, the astrologer professes to tell his fortune, thus the third mansion denotes poverty, to avert which the Brahmans should be presented with umbrellas, the sixth indicates death, which is to be avoided by giving the Brahmans a donation of rice, ghi, and a golden kulsī

A man's Nakshatra is to be known by the initial letter of his name "if he has two or three names, that, by which he may be waked from sleep, is to be used on such an occasion"

In the year 1825, according to the Almanacs, the auspicious days for marrying were 22 for feeding an infant with rice, 27 for commencing the building of a house, the 10th of Baishaka for bringing a bride home, the 14th of Baishaka for putting the chalk first into a boy's hand to teach him to write, the 17th of Baishaka, and the 7th and 14th of Asarha for boring the ears, the 7th and 14th of Asarha

of mûrumangsī buch,* kur† bitumen, turmeric, darhuridra, dried ginger, chum puk,‡ and mutha, in this ball the universal remedy against misfortune, the proportion of the ingredients must be equal It is to be dissolved in water, in which the enquirer is to bathe, after having mixed with it some dhusthur§ and pronounced two sacred texts The number of stellar mansions affixed to each member of the mysterious body, as well as the signification, differs monthly

* There is a great serpent in the universe, although we cannot perceive it, which continues for three months of the year reposing with its head to the east, its tail to the west, its back to the north its belly to the south in the second quarter its head is turned to the south, in the third to the west, in the last, to the north Its quarterly movements direct the natives in the erection of their houses The Hindoo houses are, with few exceptions, built round an open square the different sides being placed at right angles with each other When therefore a new house is to be erected, it is necessary to consult the position of the serpent, to ascertain on which side the architect is to begin The sides, to which its tail and belly are turned, are auspicious, and a commencement is therefore made in either of those quarters But if a single house be erected or if the four sides of a quadrangular mansion be commenced at the same time, the position of the serpent signifies nothing

* To regulate the journeys of the natives, the brahmans, or the shastras, have called into birth Yoginī a goddess of celestial power, who resides in the eight quarters of the universe on different days, in the east on the first and ninth of the moon, and thus respecting the other quarters It is reckoned auspicious to commence a journey with this goddess situated either towards the back, or on the left hand.

* The duration and malignity of fevers depend on the solar and lunar days, and lunar mansions on which they commenced, if a fever begin on either of five nakshatras which are mentioned in the Almanacs, the patient will die, if on six others, life will be preserved with difficulty, if on four others the fever will continue four days, and thus do all the lunar mansions influence a fever The lunar days are still more inauspicious than the mansions, for a fever will always continue twice as many days, as the number of the lunar day on which it commenced, thus, if it came on the eleventh, it will remain twenty two days, if on the day of the full moon, one month if on the day of the new moon, two months But if the moon be at an inauspicious distance from the natal mansion on the commencement of a fever, not even the waters of immortality can preserve the patient's life A fever beginning on Sunday will continue seven days, on Monday, nine, on Tuesday, ten, on Wednesday, three nights, on Thursday, it will occasion great danger for twelve days, on Friday,

* Zinziber Zêdoaria † A drug said to be the dried root of *Costus speciosus*

‡ *Michelia Champaca*.

§ *Datura Metel*

Few of our readers are perhaps aware of the ceremonies, which weigh so heavily on the Hindu, and of which details are given in various Bengali works. We mention a few. The first day of the month Baishaka (April) is inauspicious for travelling, because Agastya Rishi on that day reached the banks of the Nerbudda, when the Vindya mountains bowed their heads to him as a sign of respect. On the same day the followers of Krishna bring calves and cows before the image of their God, and feed both them and the Brahmans, as Krishna on this day played with cows. In the worship of Annapurna, during this month, the women adore the Asoka-tree, and eat seven of its flowers as a charm against snakes. At the end of Baishaka, the women worship the Kasandi, a favorite Indian pickle, half a dozen families worship it at the river, while the priest blows the *cancha*, or shell, to bring the Gods to the spot. In *Jaista* (May), widows offer to a Brahman a pair of shoes, an umbrella, a fan, food, and a waterpot, to preserve them from disease. In the same month is a ceremony for deceased ancestors, when a Hindu is not allowed to speak or work before its completion. A few days subsequently, Hindu women worship their sons-in-law, in order to be certain of having grand-children. At the *Shan Jatra*, it is prohibited to cook on the ground, to plough it, or even to touch it, as it is then considered unclean for four days.

In Aswin is a great feast, the origin of which is thus stated —

"In this iron age, sins had multiplied to such an extent as to give birth to a *pap purush*, or a monster of iniquity every member of whose body consisted of some sin, his head and neck consisted of the sin of slaying brahmans, the stealing of gold constituted his hands, drinking wine formed the heart, the loins arose from the sin of injuring the wife of the spiritual guide, the two feet consisted of those who have been accessory to the crime, all the toes and fingers were distinct sins, and the hairs little peccadillos. This is of course metaphorical. Vishnu, having ordered all mankind to fast on this first day of his slumbers, and promised exemption from sin to the obedient, it is on record that all men fasted and became sinless, whereupon this monster came to Vishnu in a doleful mood, saying, Since thou hast created me, where am I to reside? for all men are become sinless. Vishnu directed him to enter into food, during this one day of universal innocence. Hence, on this day, all the sins, that man can commit, reside in food, and he who eats, is guilty of every sin, and incurs every curse."

The whole genius of Hinduism (forming a strong contrast with the encouragements to popular instruction among the Chi-

it will continue seven or three nights, on Saturday, fourteen days. The day and night are also severally divided into eight portions, of which some are auspicious, others the reverse, on those which are unfavourable, no undertaking whatsoever is to be commenced."

nese) is anti-social No contact with *Mlechas* is its motto A vernacular newspaper therefore, which enlarges the circle of the social sympathies, found no place in its system The Courts of the Great Mogul, and of the Chinese Emperor, employed men on high salaries to chronicle the events of the empire but we have no account of any such plan among the Hindu Rajahs There was not even a graduated scale of a hierarchy among the Brahmans to centralize their operations. Hence when the *Chandrika*, as the orthodox exponent of Hinduism, sprang into existence, it must have seemed as strange to the venerable pandits of Nabadwip and Santipur, as the following account now does to a Musalman, of what occurred on a recent occasion at Peshawur, on the celebration of the Mohurrum "Among the tazihs, the laskars of the Fusilier regiment paraded a model steam boat, with sails set, and smoke issuing from the funnel" This steam boat was as much a type of revolution among the Moslems, as a Bengali newspaper is with the votaries of Vyas and Valmiki Since the days of Raja Krishna Ray of Nadiya, little had occurred to produce any excitement in Hindu Society battle-fields had been won, and Europeans had come as birds of prey in flocks to India but these things produced little effect on the Hindus It was the press, the fourth estate, which began to ruffle the stagnant surface of Hindu life

The *Chandrika* started in 1821 It has ever proved to be the consistent advocate of thorough-going Hindu Orthodoxy, and has been the enthusiastic friend of the Dharma Sabha—a Society which was founded in order to defend the *right* of the Hindu widow to be roasted alive on the pyre of her deceased husband

The *Chandrika*, in marked contrast with many of its contemporaries, is now (1850) in the twenty-ninth year of its existence, while the generality of Native Papers have their short day of popularity, and then burst like a bubble on the stream

We give a few extracts from some of the early numbers of the *Chandrika*, as a specimen of the general nature of the contents.

1822 —A woman's husband died near Gya The judge forbade the widows burning with him, on which she thrust her finger into the fire to shew that she had no dread of pain, she was then permitted to offer herself —A correspondent asks, if the cause of an earthquake be owing to the snake Vasaki, who supports the earth, changing sides to ease himself of its weight, why all countries have not the earthquake at the same time, as the snake agitates all at once?—A girl in the twenty-four Per-gunnahs, sixteen years old, the daughter of a Brahman, has half

her body of a black, and half of a white, colour — In making the new road by Pataldanga, a number of trees were found by the Golpukur they crumbled to dust on the touch, and were so low down that the soil must have risen considerably — A Sipahi cut his tongue off at Kali Ghat, as a sacrifice to Kali — At the inundation in Burisal, several women brought forth children on the trees to which they had fled — The *Padanka Dut* is advertised at one rupee, with the promise annexed that all the *bhadra lok* (gentlemen), who keep it in their houses, will hereby have their sins destroyed

1823 — A correspondent complains of a babu, who attended a public auction, dressed in women's clothes. — A meeting of the Gaurya Samaj was held, and addressed by Ram Komul Sen the object of it was to investigate ancient Hindu literature and history — A Brahman's wife, in the Burdwan district, finding that her husband spent all his time with a courtesan, determined on revenge accordingly she invited this courtesan to dine with her, providing several savoury dishes, and while she was in the act of eating one, the wife came behind her, and cut her nose clean off with a large knife — A person bathing at Errada was dragged into the water by an alligator, but, raising loud cries, his neighbours came to his help, and holding him by the hand, succeeded in snatching him from the monster's jaws, after however he had lost the flesh of his side — Such an inundation took place in Bengal, that the pandits of Nadiya had to abandon their colleges, which were soon occupied by alligators, and tortoises — About the same time a snake, twenty-two cubits long, was seen near Santipur — Kali Shankar Ghosal advertises that he has published at his own expense a book called the *Byabakar Mukur*, which he will give gratuitously to any person applying for it — but shortly after he puts in another advertisement, that he will charge four annas for each copy, because people do not value a book they receive for nothing, and even imagine that some injury would arise from the reading of it — A Kulin Brahman died, who had twenty-two wives living separately in their fathers houses on hearing of his death, four of them were burnt on the funeral pile

1824 — A meeting was held in Calcutta for the purpose of encouraging the reading of the Vedas by paying professors and scholars. Radhakanta Deb, and Dwarkanath Tagore took an active part in the proceedings — Seven persons died, in a village in the Burdwan district, from the bites of a jackal — In Puri they have the peculiar practice in a Sati to dig a pit containing the corpse and the wood when the latter is fully ignited, the woman, encircling the pile three times, throws herself in, she is

soon dead Then they extinguish the fire, and consume the bodies separately on another pile, having previously taken a bone to be thrown into the Ganges —At Putkhali, near Budge Budge, a woman was brought to bed of three children one of them had its hinder parts like those of some unknown animal —At Mulgher, a woman, seventeen years of age, hearing of the death of her husband, determined to burn herself with his shoe, as the corpse had been previously consumed Her relations resorted to every means to prevent her, but all was of no avail

1825 —A Musalman boy near Calcutta has two left hands —Bishop Heber gave a party to the elite of Calcutta Many of the native gentry, the Malliks, the Raja of Andul, &c were present. Mrs Heber gave with her own hand atar and rose-water to the babus, who, after some agreeable conversation with the ladies, retired —A good account of the different Zillahs in Bengal is given —Kashikanta Goshal, with the aid of pandits, is preparing a translation of the *Smritis* into Bengali, price 100 Rs —“A boy was born lately in Katak having two heads, a subject of rejoicing, as the English say, two heads are better than one” —A work is advertised at Nilkanta Haldar's Press, Serampore, on Astrology, price eighty rupees —A subscription list has been made by Europeans and natives at Chitpur, for conducting a series of weekly wrestling matches during the season

The *Kaumadi* Newspaper was first published in 1823 It was the organ of Ram Mohan Ray's party, and was designed to counteract the influence of the *Chandriká*.*

The following are the heads of the leading articles in the first eight numbers of the *Kaumadi* No 1 contains an appeal to Government to establish a Native Charity School, with an account of a Prince, who was a miser No 2 The advantage of Newspapers to natives The propriety of a subscription for watering the Chitpur road Faith in the Guru Suggestions for having twenty-two, instead of fifteen, years of age, fixed as the period for succeeding to an inheritance Ridicule of these babus, who never give any money in charity, but on their death immense sums are lavished No 3 An appeal to Government to grant more ground for a ghat to burn the dead bodies at—the Christians having such a space of ground for burials No 3 An appeal to Government to prohibit the exportation of rice, the chief article of Hindu food An appeal to Government to grant European medical aid to poor natives A remonstrance of the furious driving of Europeans, when idol processions are passing No 4 An exhortation to native Doctors to have their sons instructed

* “The Literary Chronicle,” a monthly magazine got up by some natives in Calcutta, gives a notice of the present state of the Vernacular Press

by European physicians The evil of Kulin marriages The sums lavished by babus in folly, and the little given for education. No 5 The evil tendency of the dramas lately invented A certain class of babus, called captains, and their evil practices. No 6 A nach and supper given by Chandra Kumar Tagore, in honour of the departure of the Chief Justice The extraordinary proficiency of a Hindu boy, five years old, in English and Bengali Essay on the advantages of learning Account of the Taj at Agra Essay on truth On apprenticing native youths to English doctors. On raising a fund to burn the dead bodies of the poor On establishing a fund for destitute Hindu widows. No 7 A thief robbing a corpse at a burning ghat. On certificates given to servants On the high price of fire-wood, ten mands of wood when could be had, a few years previously, for a rupee On the importance of boys knowing Bengali Grammar, before they study English No 8 An infant carried away by a bird The importance of the Hindus practising some mechanical art. A new drama called Kali Raja's Jatra is being performed Abhoy Charan Mittra gave 50,000 rupees to his Guru The adventures of a Brahman, learned in the Shastras, among the wealthy babus of Calcutta

1824 — The Editor is surprised at the wife of a *shoemaker* having three sons at a birth, while so many rich Hindus, after all their vows and pilgrimages, have none, and are obliged to *adopt* a son — The Raja of Burdwan's wife being near her confinement, the Raja supported two astrologers in the house, who professed to predict the time of the birth of a son, though each foretold a different day — An account is given of a woman, at Chitpur (according to the custom of Sanyasis) being buried alive with her deceased husband, who was a Sanyasi — A native woman, eighteen years old, swims across the river at Nimtala ghat — A Brahman came to Serampore, pretending to predict a gentleman's fortune he also offered to discover treasure hidden in his house, for which he was to get 20 Rs reward while the gentleman went out for a moment, the Brahman hid a brass pot in the earth, and pointed it to the Sahib as the treasure the other discovered the trick, and had him bound hand and foot, and flung out into the street — A snake was caught in Hatapur pergannah, whose roaring was so loud as to shake the trees. — A Sanyasi at Tarakeswar killed a man, who had intrigued with his mistress — At Jagannath ghat, Calcutta, where Sanyasis usually assemble, a Sanyasi performed the penance of holding his right foot in the air, and standing silent in this position, day and night.

The *Timur Násak* Newspaper (destroyer of darkness) ill answered to its name Its chief object seems to have been to pander to Hindu credulity to the utmost extent,

though it acknowledged itself the offspring of the Serampore *Darpan*

The *Banga Dut* commenced on *Sunday*, the 10th of May, 1829 but, in the next number, the day of publication was altered to *Saturday*. It is singular how with respect to newspapers, and schools, so much deference is paid to the Sabbath, by natives who are hostile to Christianity. It was seen, even in the early days of the French revolution, that a day of rest is required on physical and mental grounds. This newspaper started under the management of Mr B. Martin, Dwarkanath Tagore, Prasanna Kumar Tagore, and Rammohan Roy. It was written in two languages, Bengali and Persian, as the latter would be understood by the mahajans of the Bara Bazar.

The length, to which this cursory notice of the early Bengali Press has run, forbids us from entering on an account of the newspapers published since 1830.

We have now before us a list of the Bengali Newspapers, published in Calcutta at the present time, which comprizes sixteen, viz three dailies, the *Prabhákar*, *Chandraday*, and *Mohájan Darpan*, one tri-weekly, the *Bháskar*, two bi-weekly, the *Chandriká*, and *Rasaraj*, seven weekly, the *Gyandarpan*, *Banga Dut*, *Sadhúranyan*, *Gyan Sancharini*, *Rasaságur*, *Rangpur Bartábahu*, and *Rasha Mudgar*, two bi-monthly, the *Nitya Dharmánaranyká* and *Durjan Daman Maha Nabam*, and last, though not least, the monthly publication, *Tatwa Bodhini*, which, both for the excellency of its language, and the literary talent displayed, is highly to the credit of its conductors, who have employed the powerful agency of the Bengali language to convey European ideas.

All these publications have a decided Anti-Christian tone, and must produce a considerable sapping effect on the minds of their 20,000 readers, who shew the value they attach to them by *paying* for them. Though the Serampore *Darpan* was the *first* Bengali Newspaper, and was started under Missionary auspices—yet, strange to say, Missionaries have at present no organ in Bengali to exercise an influence over the native mind, and reply to the various misrepresentations that are given on Christian subjects. We hope that ere long we may see a Bengali Newspaper started under Christian influence. The Native Christians are feeling the Athenian curiosity for the “*τι καίριον*,” and (in several cases we know) receive injury from the perusal of these papers. Missionary Schools are well, but the present Bengali Newspapers in many cases destroy much of the prospective fruit from them.

ART VI—1 *A Penal Code, prepared by the Indian Law Commissioners, and published by Command of the Governor-General in Council Calcutta, 1837.*

2 *Report on the Indian Penal Code Calcutta, 1846*

3 *Report on a Scheme of Pleading and Procedure, with Forms of Indictment adapted to the Provisions of the Penal Code Calcutta, 1848*

4 *The Code of Regulations for the Government of the Presidency of Bombay, with notes, shewing the alterations made by subsequent enactments, a Key, Index, Interpretations, and Eptome of the Acts of the Legislative Council of India. Edited by William Henry Harrison, Esq, Bombay Civil Service, and late Register of the Suddur Adawlut at Bombay London Pelham Richardson Cornhill, 1849*

5 *Evidence, forming a title of the Code of legal Proceedings, according to the plan proposed by Crofton Unacke, Esq By S B Harrison, Esq, of the Middle Temple London Henry Butterworth 1825*

THE Presidency towns have of late been ringing with indignant declamation, through every local organ, for the expression of opinion, at certain Acts,* now before the Legislative Council, for bringing British-born subjects under the jurisdiction of the East India Company's Courts, and the laws administered by them, and we feel ourselves called upon, as members of the free Press of India, briefly to express on this opportunity our first impressions, reserving (if need be) for a future occasion a more full and deliberate discussion We must then state that we concur, to a certain extent, in the opposition to the measures alluded to, but only partially on the popular grounds while at the same time—what may seem paradoxical—we concur with the Government in the objects desired to be attained through these Acts, and, under proper conditions, after fit preparation by means of various reforms of the law and courts, we should generally and cordially approve them On reference to the local annals of past time we find, that a party, including some of the popular leaders, has ever op-

* Draft of an Act for abolishing exemption from the jurisdiction of the East India Company's Criminal Courts

Draft of an Act, declaring the Law as to the privileges of Her Majesty's European Subjects

Draft of an Act for the protection of Judicial Officers

Draft of an Act for trial by Jury in the Company's Courts

man could have had a higher sense of the external importance of his office, or stickled more rigidly for the due observance of the ceremonials, which he conceived to belong to it. He had a decided taste for salutes, and struggled manfully for precedence. In all this he was sincere. It was not personal vanity that inflated him. Self was not dominant over all. But he had an overweening sense of the dignity and importance of his office. He believed that it was his first duty to suffer nothing to lower the standard of episcopal authority, or to obscure its exterior glories. His zeal as a Bishop shot ever in advance of his fervour as a Christian. This peculiarity was not without its uses. The externals of religion had been too much neglected in India. It was desirable that something more of dignity should be imparted to the priestly character. Lord Wellesley was described by Sir James Mackintosh as a *Sultanised* Anglo Indian, Bishop Middleton would have *Sultanised* the episcopal office. He was not without a motive—and a good one—in this. But we would fain have seen in his career a little less of the Bishop, and a little more of Catholic Christianity. He was an able and an active labourer in his way, blameless in the relations of private life, and, as a man, to be greatly respected. In Mr Whitehead's book he stands labelled as "India's first and greatest Bishop. India's greatest Bishop is her *last*, and we thank God that he yet remains to labour amongst us.

difference of race Many plausible facts, too, might be brought forward in support of the Hellenistic connection, and consequent (?) Egyptian origin,—and none of them were neglected Thus there was a Greek Trinity of Zeus, Poseidon, and Dis, and there is a Hindu Trinity of Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, and, that great fact being proved, it mattered little, that the functions, attributes, and powers of the Hindu divinities differed in every essential particular from those of their Grecian prototypes The supposed resemblance was still further carried out, and generally with the same inapplicability—both coins were of the same metal, and the learned instantly arrived at the conclusion, that they were both struck from the same mint, and scarcely troubled themselves to notice the difference of image, character, and superscription In reality, we believe, esoteric Hinduism differs greatly, both from the popular Hellenistic worship, and the philosophical deductions, which were subsequently drawn from the original forms of belief The Greek, with all his finely wrought theories on the immortality of the soul, and although able to prove almost to a demonstration, that there was within him an essence, distinct alike from the body and the life, never firmly believed in his own reasoning He thought of the whole discourse, particularly if it was his own, as a piece of graceful rhetoric and convincing argument but the idea of carrying his theory beyond the Academia never entered his imagination He had allowed the assertion, that he himself possessed a soul, had proved the proposition, that the soul was immortal, but neglected the corollary, that his own soul must be immortal also The lowest Coolie in Bengal, on the other hand, firmly believes in a state of reward and punishment, though his ideas on the subject are perhaps not so clearly cut, and sharply defined as those of the Muhammedan It is possible to make a Bengali talk like a Deist, a Theist, an Atheist, or any thing else, for his mind is plastic enough, but he never really loses his fear of a hereafter reckoning, and never abandons the hope, that his good actions will ultimately be rewarded The Greek never *believed*, either the one, or the other His shadowy “Shade land” was a place, about which he had heard much in very magnificent poetry, and he had an undefined idea that he might possibly find himself there at some future period but all was as vague as a half forgotten nightmare With the Bengali of the lowest grade, the future life is all in all It regulates his downsitting and his uprising, it burdens him with an endless succession of trifling observances, and its accredited ministers,—those who sprang from the mouth of the Creator—must be held in reverential awe,

And Gunga's wave they drink ,
 The wielders of earth's sceptred sway,
 Whom fate has placed too far away
 Before their greatness shrink.
 Gaya, Benares fair,
 Dwarka, Mathura there,
 With Gererajos* cave,
 They all are sacred, I have said,
 Like Vishnu, for they all are made
 By Gunga's holy wave

The earlier Missionaries also, who were of all men perhaps the best acquainted with Hinduism in its external forms, brought to the investigation of its creed a horror of the idolatrous system, which, though in itself perfectly just and righteous, was not exactly the frame of mind, best fitted to understand the depth and breadth of the esoteric mythology. Whoever reads Mr Ward on the Hindus, will perceive at once, that, if his pictures are correctly painted, society must instantly go to pieces from the force of its own wickedness. Yet every syllable of fact, that Mr Ward has asserted, may be proved from the evidence of eye witnesses. His error was, that he made no allowance for counteracting circumstances, and ascribed far too high a degree of social importance to the licentious criminality, which is characteristic of eastern creeds. He looked upon the system with that peculiar iconoclastic spirit, which would appear to have been natural to the Missionary, and which, though an important element of success, was unfavourable to the development of a fair spirit of enquiry. To understand the native character, we must remember that the Asiatic who does evil deeds, is not therefore reckoned necessarily an evil man. The deed may be bad, but it is not judged so, and its effect upon the man's social relation, in England and in India, is widely different.

Another fact, necessary to the comprehension of Hinduism, is, that a native is perfectly capable of believing two falsities, or a falsity, and a truth, one of which directly destroys the other. Thus the pandits declare Siva to be *Sorboshokteman*, Omnipotent, but, in the same breath, deny him the first place in the Triad, as if the Omnipotent could be less than first. Many pandits will acknowledge the truth of Christianity, but they affirm, and, what is more important, believe, that Hinduism is equally irrefragable. These, and many other peculiarities of the Indian mind, Europeans, in general, do not practically recognise, and these, together with their indisposition to examine into the ulterior reasons for native superstitions, incline them rather to

* A mountain of the Himalayan range

laugh at "the Hindu's foolery, than either to understand, or to remedy it. We may give one instance for the sake of illustration. One of the names of Siva is *Nīlakanta*, or "the blue throated," and almost all Europeans, who notice the fact, ridicule the idea. It cannot be denied that there is something absurd, to a European mind, in the idea of a blue throated Deity. Such is not the effect upon a Native. He sees, in the image, the impersonified God, who, in love for the world, swallowed the poison evolved in the foam with the Amrita, and saved the Universe and the blue tinge is to him, the living evidence, that the God, he adores, is also a World Preserver.

The whole basis of exoteric Hinduism rests upon those dogmas, which (having regard to the authority of the hereditary priesthood) are called Brahminical, and of all the divisions of the system, the nature and extent of the Brahminical power appears to have been most unfairly treated. The Brahmins are invariably represented, as a proud and dominant caste, whose only weapon was fear, and who, while they punished severely all recusants from their faith, left to their humbler countrymen but few of its advantages. To understand, however, the very peculiar position at present held by the order, we must recur for a moment to its earlier history.

That a successive importation of conquerors has taken place in India, and that the system of caste is of gradual establishment, must, we think, be evident from the physical disparities, which exist between the races, and which cannot be accounted for, on the supposition, that the modifications were all made from some previously equal race. The general (and we believe the most correct) theory is, that the Sudras, entering India from the North-West, about 3,500 years ago, cleared the country alike of its forests, and of the aboriginal races who inhabited them, and finally settled down to the quiet and permanent occupation of the soil. The second race, the Kshetriyas, one of the great warrior tribes, another branch of whom had founded the empire of Darius, poured into India like a flood, and fertilized more than they destroyed. With the hereditary gregariousness, which they have displayed in every corner of the globe, they raised and beautified enormous cities, and the ruins of Kanouj and Magodha, and the lost Palibothra, attest the architectural genius of those, whose forefathers may have founded Babylon and Nineveh. The Brahmins, or third family, brought with them a more northern blood, and a creed disfigured by all the wild extravagancies of northern imaginations. Another division of the same tribe, it is

supposed, and probably about the same time, traversed Europe, and occupied the great islands of Scandinavia. The difference between the severe climate of the northern forests, and the enervating miasma of the eastern jungles, gradually affected creeds originally, perhaps, the same, and the nature of the change is well represented in their ideas of heaven. The Northern, burning with martial instincts, and the peculiar enthusiasm, which springs from a powerful physical organization, pictured his heaven, as a Walhalla, or an Elysium of eternal battle and eternal drunkenness. The Oriental realized his idea of bliss in the half sleeping Narayana, borne on the lotus blossom over the ocean of eternity, and gazing with half closed eyes at the luxurious movements of the ballet girls of heaven. The struggle immediately commenced between the disciplined and civilized Kshetriya, and the more energetic Brahmin, and its first development appears to have been in Kanouj. At first, either the nature of the Kshetriya worship, or their superior learning, rendered them alike insensible to the reasoning, and to the swords of their Brahminical enemies. The latter however found means to detach from them a portion of their number, whom they designated the sons of flame, (Ugnikul), and vanquished the warrior caste throughout Northern India, from whence they gradually spread southward, greatly assisted by the series of catastrophes, which form the subject of the Ramayana.

In the midst of this theory, however, the antiquarian is perpetually perplexed by the recurrence of the Buddhist creed, under various forms, and in such widely separated districts, that he is led to believe it was once a dominant religion. We are told that Buddhism must have been the earliest creed, and extant before the arrival of the Brahmins, with whose faith it carried on for years a long and destructive contest. We scarcely think that the theory of those, who assert that Buddhism is an original creed, or one of the earliest, of which we have any information, can be now maintained. Strong as the evidence of monuments and sculptures may be, those of the human mind are still stronger, and a rationalistic faith can never precede superstition. It invariably grows out of it, and is nourished by peace and luxury. We may imagine that the faith of the Sudras, at the time of their first entry into India, was one of the vulgar kinds of paganism, such as exists in Borneo, and the Eastern Archipelago, while the original Kshetriya belief was a kind of Zoroastrian idolatry, that is the worship of the Supreme Being, under the symbol of fire, but mixed with rites of a more degraded character. Of this some traces still exist. The worship of Indra, or the sun, is evidently much older than that of any other Deity,

and the pandits frequently fail to reconeile his powers, as described in the elder writings, with his insignificance in the Puranas. The story of his formal deposition, too, has never been fairly examined. In the lapse of years, when the tribe had become wealthy, and comparatively peaceful, the rationalistic creed of the Buddhist crept in, and, from its peculiar adaptation to the consciences of an evil race, spread rapidly over Northern Hindustan. On the arrival of the Brahmin, with his dogmatical belief, he found it impossible to grapple with this intangible faith, and proclaimed its extermination by fire and sword. As we have before said, the treachery of a portion of the Kshetriyas threw the sceptre into the hands of the new race, but the Buddhist still relied upon his co-religionists of the extreme south. The king of Lunka-dwipa, or Ceylon (and perhaps Travancore), advanced to the aid of the Northern Kshetriyas, and the balance of power became so equal, that Rama, the Lord of the sons of Flame, found it necessary to rouse the wild tribes of the Deccan, the Hunuman and his monkies. The Buddhist prince was driven back to the south, and Rama, with the assistance of the Deccan tribes made use of, and probably improved the causeway, called Adam's Bridge, and, passing into Ceylon, defeated Ravan in his own stronghold.

The victorious Brahmins, with a salutary dread of a renewal of the contest, conceded to the remains of the Kshetriyas a place only second to their own. The Sudras still formed the bulk of the nation and the more wealthy and powerful of their number were raised from their fellows, invested with a divided poita, and formed into a separate caste of Voisyas, or merchants. Then the system began to roll itself up, and the Brahmins, by constructing their genealogies, for ever shut out from themselves the moving power of most religions—the principle of propagandism.

It was now that the era of law making may be presumed to have begun and, as the Brahmin was, through the predominance of his creed, in possession of all religious power, and through the swords of the Ugnikul, nearly omnipotent in temporal matters, it is natural to suppose he would legislate for his own benefit. The priests did so, but, like Olive in the treasury of Murshedabad, considering the temptation and the opportunity, we wonder that they took so little. They established, in the very outset, a regulation, which distinguishes them from every other hierarchy, that has ever existed in the world. They demanded nothing from the state. Possessed of illimitable power, they condemned themselves and their successors to perpetual hereditary beggary, and gave the first great example of the sys-

tem, which has been styled in Europe the Voluntary Principle.* They demanded no treasures, save those derived from the attachment of the people, and no defence, save their own sanctity. To support the latter in the popular estimation, they filled the literature of the country with wild fable, or wilder reasoning, the whole argument of which turns on the majesty of the Brahminical order. By these means, and by a firm belief in their own assertions, which is peculiar to the Brahmin, they gained a controul over the minds of their countrymen, which is only to be paralleled, by that of a general of the order of Jesus over his subordinates. It has been usual to represent the dominance of the Brahmins, as an unmitigated despotism, detested by the subordinate castes, and only submitted to from fear. We doubt it greatly. The Asiatic in all countries, and in India in particular, had much rather have his faith settled for him, than reason about it for himself, and it is far more suitable to his idiosyncrasy to consult the ever ready monitor, than to examine into the question in dispute. A native loves indolence in religion, as well as in physical action, and with the same sudden bursts of frantic excitement. He loves the regular order of society, and the external observances, which constitute his devotion, and which render him continually dependant on the Brahmins. Natives resign themselves wholly to that feeling, which has held sway even in England—the reverence for authority, simply as such, which chains the intellect under the title of implicit faith. Moreover the Brahmins have for ages stood in the place of a middle class, of a permanent public opinion, emanating from a body revered by the people, and one, which, as a body, the sovereign dares not touch. In this respect they correspond with the Roman Catholic hierarchy of the middle ages. They stand between the armed bureaucracy, who in all ages have ruled India, and the mass of the people, and their voices, though individually impotent, were all powerful in their collective strength. Bad as the dominion of the superior caste might be, and very bad it was, still it was better than none at all, and, in a time of general disorganization, when the Hindu had no motive, either in his creed, or in his social circumstances, to abstain from crime, he did abstain, because of the repressing influence of the Brahminical order, and thus society was held together.

* It must be confessed, however, that they took care that their appeal to this noble principle should be a *safe* one. They engrossed all knowledge, they made the other castes dependant on them for almost all the acts of life, and they established, as the faith of the people, that all belonged of right to the Brahmin, and that the highest duty of religion was to restore to him what was his own. It was much that he consented to forego the use of any part of it. In this the Brahmin was condescending to the Sudra—the god to the slave.

We have been led to make these remarks, partly because they form an appropriate introduction to the review of a work which is essentially Brahminical, and partly because we would suggest a few ideas, which may be worked out at leisure by more learned men, upon an important caste—important because they are the earthly gods of one ninth of the whole human race, and even more important in their connection with the development of the human mind. That they are evil, and the cause of much evil, we do not venture to deny, but they are not so evil as Hindus would have been, if deprived of their repressing authority, and without a better one substituted in its place. They may be, at the present moment, a chain upon the Hindu intellect but as a body, they are still in advance of their countrymen in civilization, in learning, and in physical qualifications.

Turn we to our book. We have said, it is essentially Brahminical, and written chiefly to support Brahmins. The original has, from various circumstances, excited unusual interest among the European philologists but the Bengali translation is the book now under dissection. It was made about 120 years ago by a pandit, named Kirtibas, who takes the opportunity of closing each paragraph by some sentence of magniloquent self-glorification. It was first printed and published at the Serampore Press, where an old pandit, named Joygopal Torkolunkar, added many valuable emendations. As a translation, it is simply contemptible. Kirtibas has availed himself of all the stories originally composed by Valmiki but his work is no more a translation, than Milton is of Dionysius the Areopagite, or Gulliver's Travels of Lucian's *Vera Historia*. It is written, too, in a jingling word catching metre, that is far inferior, even in harmony, to the sonorous march of the Sanscrit couplets. This metre, which is a rhymed hexameter, is interrupted by bursts of poetry, into which the whole power of the poet appears to be expended, and in which there is a faint approximation to lyric excellence. If we could imagine Milton's *Paradise Lost* translated into rhyme by a half educated cobbler, with some of "Watts Divine Songs" stuck in various places, and the whole recited to a jury of critical tailors, we should gain some idea of the Bengali *Ramayana*. Its stories are more offensive, its language more indecent, than in the original, and the whole is tainted with an air of downright vulgarity, which would have made Valmiki turn aside in disgust. It has however a peculiar excellence of its own. It is rhymed prose of the most perfect kind. We cannot call to mind a single instance of a rugged verse, or one in which the words are inverted from their most

ordinary prose order. By a law peculiar to Bengali, the language in poetry recovers its Sanscrit original, and the stopped consonants are removed. The constant presence of the inherent vowel, or liquid "o," is thus made to impart a softness to the measure, which the most uncouth words cannot wholly remove. It is to be regretted that neither this work, nor its kindred Mahabharata, has ever been translated. It is perhaps too immense as a whole, as it contains 28,000 lines—more than twice as much as Homer's *Iliad*. but portions might still be translated, and give a fair picture of Bengali poetry. Moreover a great many of the Bengali books would, if translated, expose the translator to a charge of offending against public delicacy, though the said public puts Lempriere's Dictionary into every boy's hand, but from this evil the Ramayun is, to a great extent, free. With the exception of a few passages, which could not be rendered into a modern tongue, there is nothing which might not be laid on every drawing room table in the country. We have however little hope that such an undertaking will ever be accomplished, although it would undoubtedly throw a flood of light on native ideas. Almost every Bengali, in Bengal proper, is acquainted with this poem but as nine tenths of the people cannot read, they are obliged to rely upon the services of rhapsodists, like the Hellenes in the time of Homer. These rhapsodists, or *kot haks* (talkers), as they are popularly styled, take their stand upon any vacant space, and erect a small awning, under which they ensconce themselves, and there, for hours together, they pour forth, or rather scream, the Ramayun, Mahabharat, and other popular poems. The multitudes, who crowd to these exhibitions, instead of crushing round the speaker, as the bores do in England, sit down in a circle, and give themselves wholly up to the inspiration of the rhapsodist. The latter never attempts anything like mannerism, though he sometimes "tears a passion to rags, but allows his words, as it were, to pour out of his mouth, without attention to any thing save their obvious meaning. The people, sitting around, evidently accede their full and implicit belief to the prodigies related, and frequently the whole crowd makes some sudden impulsive gesture, illustrative of the progress of the story.

Of the whole story, we shall say little or nothing. It has been sung, and written, and dinned, into the ears of every person interested in Indian affairs. It has already been twice detailed in these pages, and we have no intention of inflicting it a third time. Our business is with the poetry, and the spirit of the poetry, and we can best illustrate both by somewhat copious translations. The scene opens in heaven, and here we may observe, that the

Bengal's epic, so far as we know, never begins with an invocation, but presents the 'dramatic persons' at once upon the stage—a feature in which it differs materially from its Sanscrit prototype

Above all things on earth do they, the heavenly lands, appear,
Where the mighty "wielder of the club" is by Lakshmi seated near .
There rears its head aloft in air the wondrous matchless tree,
"The tree of purpose," that all gifts to all mankind gives free ;
There sun and moon by day and night in ceaseless lustre shine,
And, at its foot, there riseth up an edifice divine
Sri Vishnu's bright and lustrous throne is raised up above ,
There Vishnu sits in cross-legged form* "the guardian of the grove "
A wish was in the secret heart of Vishnu deep compressed,
"I, who am one sole Godhead, I in four will be expressed."
Shri Rama, Bharat, he became, Satrugna, and Lakshmun,
One godhead in four parts expressed, sat Vishnu Narayun ,
And Sita too, in Lakshmi's form, was Rama seated by ,
The umbrella gilt o'er Rama's head, Shri Lakshmun held on high ,
And Bharat and Satrugna wave the cowstail chowries near,
While worship there, with folded hands, the reverent wind-lord Seer

The wind-lord is Narada, who is surprised at the sight, and enquires of Siva what it may mean Siva informs him , and Brahma and Narada descend to the world below, to seek the man, who is to sing the history of the Avatar They find him in a wood, in which he prowls, as a dacoit, and, true to his profession, endeavours to slay them Brahma however contrives to awaken his remorse, by pointing out the guilt he has incurred in slaying Sunyasis

Whoso one cow has impiously slain,
Whoso one hundred on the battle plain,
Their guilt shall equal be, their punishment the same
Who dares an hundred cows deprive of life,
Who kills a woman, be she maid or wife,
Guilty are both alike, both lead a guilty life.
Who slays one hundred of the female race,
Who kills one Brahmin,—destitute of grace,
Equal in guilt, shall share an equal resting place
Who kills a Brahmachari let him fear ,
Great are his sins but thou, Ratnakur, hear !
The murder of a Sunyasi, what punishment can clear ?

The scale of crime, and the graduated value of human life, is here somewhat singularly exemplified

One hundred soldiers	=	one cow
One hundred cows	=	one woman.
One hundred women	=	one Brahmin.

A Brahmin's life is therefore worth that of ten thousand soldiers, which is very nearly the popular acceptance of their relative value Ratnakur is terrified at his guilt, but, after a while, bethinks himself, that, as his booty is shared by his

* More strictly, squatting like a Native

parents, his sin ought to be so too. He explains his life to Brahma, who sends him to consult them. They answer in the negative; and Ratnakur, in terrible remorse, throws himself at the feet of Brahma, and demands assistance. Brahma enables him, after some difficulty, to utter the name of Rama and, the instant the holy words had escaped his lips, the guilty dacoit is absolved. Brahma departs to heaven, and Ratnakur addresses himself to a terrific course of penance.

The name of Ram he still repeats, in one place, still he sate,
And all his fleshy outward parts wild ants and insects ate
His flesh consumed, they dug within, and ate his heart for food,
The kushi grass and prickly thorn grew round him as it would.
They ate the flesh, they ate the skull, they scarcely left the bones
The Muni still within the Mound the name of Rama moans.

Brahma once more descends, changes the name of Ratnakur to Valmiki, the "ant eaten," and instructs him in the plan of the Ramayun. After the argument, which is not worth translation, the poet celebrates the pedigree of Rama, and the following extract may be taken as a fair specimen of the imbecility of the stories scattered through the book.

Before this nether world was made, the Holiest Being lived,
Brahma, Narayun, Siva s self, from him their life derived.
These godheads three one sister had, a female deity,
The godheads three bestowed on her the name of Kandini.
Jarut, the holy Muni's son, Narad by merit tried,
They summoned, and to him they gave their sister as a bride
Then danced and sung the godheads all, and Narad with the rest,
And with a daughter, Bhāna named, the couple soon were blest.
A Raja, Jamadagni named, received her as his wife,
On earth, incarnate in her house, Sri Vishnu sprung to life

And so on. Be it understood the deggrel of the translation is not among the sins of the translator. It is simply a copy of the original. This dull list rolls on for about five hundred lines, after which we arrive at the main point of interest in the first canto, viz the descent of the Ganges. Passing over Sagor, his sixty thousand sons, the pans of milk, in which they were nourished, and the spades, with handles, eight miles long, by which they dug their way through the tortoise back, we come to the birth of Bhagirath, who finally succeeded in bringing down the Ganges.

Childless the sorrowing Rajah is, no comfort can be brought
With his two beauteous wives once more his capital he sought.
The Gunga to obtain the king a mighty effort made,
For many a fasting year of pain his strict devotions paid.
And now with biting hunger faint, and now half dead with thirst,
An hundred million years he spent, in Brahma's praise immersed,
And Ayodhya's wide spread realm was left without a king
Then Brahma, the creator, deep reflects his minds within.
"I've heard that of this solar race Narayun shall be born,
Yet how can that be, if the race is childless left forlorn?"

In deep and earnest thought reflect the bright celestial train,
 And Siva the Destroyer send to Ayodhya's plain.
 Alive the monarch had possessed in his own land two brides,
 And on his wondrous bull to them the stern Dread-giver rides.
 The two wives gently he addressed, the stern Asuras foe,
 "Ye twain shall have a beauteous son, my blessing I bestow"
 His blessing on them then bestowed the stern Asura's foe,
 Glad hearted at his word to bathe the wives of Dilip go.

In due time one fair wife again a mother's pains begun,
 But a shapeless lump of flesh she bore, instead of a fair son.
 Their son upon their lap, the two in mighty trouble rave,
 "O Siva triple-eyed ! is *this* the beauteous son you gave ?
 It is but flesh, it has no bones, it cannot even walk,
 And all the sneering world will see, and all the world will talk "
 The women took it on their laps within a basket placed,
 And angry to the river's brink to drown it went in haste
 It chanced a learned Brahman did the women going view,
 And, deeply meditating, he the will of Siva knew
 The Muni them addressed, "The child upon the road place ye,
 And he will pity, whoso'er th' afflicted child shall see."
 At his command they placed the child, and forthwith parted home
 In his eight limbs decrepit, there to bathe a sage had come.
 The holy sage could scarcely walk, his limbs were bent awry,
 He gazed upon th' afflicted child, while slowly passing by
 The Muni, in eight limbs diseased, the boy viewed haughtily,
 And in his heart he angry said "That child is jeering me,
 If thus in ridicule he laughs at me, that shapeless boy,
 My heavy curse, by Brahma's might, his body shall destroy
 But if from earliest birth his form has thus distorted been,
 My mightier blessing shall restore his body wholly clean"
 Like Vishnu in his power he stood, though thus decrepit all,
 On whomso'er his blessing came, no evil could befall
 He, in eight limbs decrepit, spake, and saw, in high surprise,
 The son of Dilip rise in health, all healed before his eyes
 The queens the Muni called the two heart-grieving queens obey,
 Heart glad they took their son again, retook their homeward way
 Then all the neighbouring Brahmins came, and made high festival,
 And, from his wondrous monstrous birth, him Bhagirath they call.
 I pandit Kirtabas, who am first poet on the earth,
 In this first gentle canto sing of Bhagiratha's birth

The boy is insulted at school with the name of bastard, and his mother, with many tears, informs him of his parentage. We pass over sundry other adventures, and come to the story of the bringing down of the Ganges, which, as a favourable specimen of the poem, we shall extract at some length, preserving the irregular rhymes of the Bengali translator —

Thus Bhagirath contented, heard, and looked right merrily,
 And to his loving mother's face thus merrily spake he.
 "These mighty kings of Solar race were mighty fools I deem.
 Who, without labour, hopes to win from heaven bright Gunga's stream?
 If such in truth my name, and you a true descendant do trace,
 I'll bring bright Gunga down, and win salvation to my race
 Weeping, his mother answered him, "I crave of thee, my boy,
 Such worship thou'lt not pay, alone thou art thy race's joy"
 He turned to go, he would not hear his pleading mother a word;
 In legal form at once the King of angels he adored.

But as his mother's tearful face before his mind awoke,
 His eyelids quivered tearfully, and back to her goes ;
 Before his grieving mother's feet obeisance he preferred,
 And then departed forth, and prayed into the angel's Lord.
 Fasting from all, to Indra's praise mysterious runes he said,
 For sixty thousand hungry years to Indra worship paid.
 The mighty runes the God constrained, he dared not stay within ;
 Forth Indra came, the Lord of Fire, and blessing gave to him
 " Raja, whose progeny art thou ? of what race dost thou spring ?
 I grant thy wish, whatever it be ask what thou wilt O king "
 He, meet obeisance humbly made, to Indra gave reply,
 " Of Solar race is my descent, king Dilip's son am I.
 Of sixty thousand mighty sons was Sagor king the sire,
 And all a heap of ashes fell at Kupi's flaming ire,
 O angel-monarch ! grant to me to take bright Gunga's stream,
 And in that glorious act wilt thou my family redeem "
 Quoth the Fire lord again, " Hear, thou of royal progeny,
 To give to you bright Gunga's stream, O king, rests not with me
 If I my blessing give to thee, bright Gunga thou wilt bring
 To Siva worship pay, adore the great destroying king
 Within a mountain's darksome cave must Gunga first remain ;
 Then call on me, O King, and I will set her free again "
 At Indra's feet the King again his meet obeisance paid,
 Then to the " Monster slaying lord, to Koylas mount he sped
 Fasting he prayed, and fasting still repeats his earnest prayers,
 And fasting ever worshipped thus for twice five thousand years
 Said the Destroyer, " Hear, O thou of royal race the son,
 Wherefore such painful sacrifice in hunger hast thou done ?
 Now Siva's blessing be on thee the stream shalt thou receive
 To Vishnu go, and once again thy heartfelt worship give."
 At the Destroyer's feet the King a meet obeisance paid,
 To Vishnu's heavenly seat once more, to Lakshmi's lord, he sped
 Within twelve circling hours the King a million texts repeats,
 Intrepid with his head all bare he faced the solar heats
 For four months in the cold within the gelid river stayed,
 In heat and cold for forty years a painful worship paid.
 The mighty runes the god compelled, he dared not stay within,
 Vishnu came forth, and gently thus his blessing gave to him.
 " At thy high penances and deeds amazement seizeth me,
 What wouldst thou, son of mighty kings ? what can I give to thee ?"
 " Full sixty thousand mighty sons from Sagor king were sprung,"
 (So answered Bhagirath the king, of Solar race the son),
 " By Kupi Muni's flaming ire they all of them were slain
 But, Gunga once obtained, on earth they all would live again."
 The Wielder of the quoth replies, a smile within his eye,
 " Am I the Gunga's sire, O king ? of Gunga what know I ?"
 Swiftly replied the king " If thou the Gunga wilt not give,
 Low at thy feet my soul I yield, I will no longer live
 Narayun heard content, on him bestowed a solace kind,
 " In holy Brahma's glorious heaven, thou Gunga's stream shall find "
 What common water there renamed on Brahma's holy seat,
 Narayun took, and bore away in innocent deceit.
 Narayun forthwith went, and stood before the Maker's face,
 And the Creator reverently arose, and gave him place,
 And water for his feet he sought within his house was none,
 The Kalasis were empty all, as dried up by the sun.
 Of Gunga's water then a thought within his mind awoke,
 And speedily, the stream to bring, himself the Maker goes.
 The water on his feet he poured, to Vishnu worship paid ;
 And from this act is Gunga named " the foot-produced" man.

Vishnu, the "wielder of the Quot," unto the Rajah said,
 "Go now with holy Gunga's stream be blessings on thy head!
 Whe, impious, shall a bull or Brahmin slay,
 And yet on Gunga's wave one blade shall lay
 Of holy Kushi grass, his sins shall pass away
 Whoso in Gunga bathes his mortal leaven,
 How many sins are unto him forgiven,
 That much to say transcends the power of heaven,"
 "Go," said Vishnu, "O holy one;" take Gunga down with thee,
 And free at once king Sagor's sons thy grandsire's family
 "And Gunga, thou," Narayun said, "go thou now down with him,
 And free the nether world immersed in seas of deadly sin.

* * * * *

This carriage I on thee bestow,
 High seated onward shalt thou go,
 And ever in thy march thy glorious conch shall blow"
 The king, high seated on the car, the conch shell sounded ever,
 And after him rolled on the Gunga's rushing river
 I pandit Kirtibas have sung the fall of Gunga famed,
 Of Gunga, who in heaven above was Mandakini named,
 When Bhagirath had left the sky the plains below to seek,
 With Gunga fell he down, and stood on high Sumeru's peak
 Within the mountain's pathless top a cavern deep appears,
 There Gunga wandered to and fro for twelve long weary years

She is released at last from durance, at the prayer of Bhagirath, by Airavut, the far famed elephant of Indra —

To Airavut he told the word,
 The mighty beast, to action stirred,
 With long continued effort strave,
 Four separate open ways he clave,
 Within Sumeru's mountain cave,
 Through which the Gunga leaping rides,
 And in four streams abroad right joyfully she glides
 Basu rolled south unto the Ocean wide,
 Bhadra rushed onward on the northern side,
 Sweta, another, sought the Western Sea,
 Over the broad earth rolled along Alaknanda the free

Passing over her further progress from Sumeru to Koylas, from Koylas into Siva's hair, and thence to Hurdwar and Benares, through the ever potent penances and prayers of the unwearying Bhagirath, we extract a well known episode, illustrative of her virtues —

An evil Muni once there was, and Kamdur was his name,
 A man more basely bad than he is yet untold to fame
 Now, and so on upwards from his birth, an harlot he obeyed;
 To her his soul was bound in chains, and in her house he stayed.
 One day the jungle's deepest shades he sought to get some wood,
 And there a tiger rav'ning seized and slew him as he stood.
 The prowling ministers of Jom, Hell king, the soul embraced;
 To Yama's house in hell they bore the destined soul in haste.
 The hungry tiger eats the flesh, and then departs again,
 Within the jungle's deepest shade the whitened bones remain
 A carrion crow pounced down on them, and o'er the Gunga flew
 A vulture, as it hovered o'er, the carrion chanced to view

Her whirling flight she envious saw, to seize the crow she sped,
 The screaming crow in deadly fear along the Gunga fled.
 And as they quarrel, angry there, and fight, and rend, and scream,
 The dead man's bones, for which they fought, fell into Gunga's stream.
 The instant that the evil bones in Gunga's stream were laved,
 Like Vishnu innocent of soul, the sinful sage was saved.
 Narayun gazing sat within the pleasant bowers of heaven,
 And swiftly from the demon's hands the Brahmin's soul was riven.
 They screamed with rage the servants they of Patal's haughty lord,
 Then flew to Yama's feet, and thus their angry prayer out poured,
 "No more of work do we, our power from us has Vishnu torn;
 This day, O Lord of hell's black plain! great insult have we borne
 Kamdûr by name, a Brahmin man of sinful soul, we seized
 To take this justly punished one from us has Vishnu pleased."
 The Lord of Patal, Yama, heard in mingled rage and grief,
 To Vishnu's feet he raging sped, and made him question brief
 And Yama wept full sore, as he at Vishnu's footstool fell,
 "My power away from me has passed, I am not Lord of hell.
 O'er all the sinful souls of men extends my wide spread away
 Then why, Narayun, this disgrace thou'st put on me to day?"
 Narayun heard his wrathful speech, and gently laughing spake,
 "Gunga to nether earth has gone all sins away to take
 The worth of Gunga's mighty river,
 I, high Narayun, cannot tell
 Giver of penance, hear me well!
 As far as Gunga's wave shall sound,
 And o'er earth's fertile plains resound,
 So far, if thou approachest ever,
 My spirit shall rush forth the doomed ones to surround,
 And whoso's bones to Gunga have been given,
 Though from his body has his soul been riven,
 Like Vishnu faultless he shall spring to highest heaven
 Who Gunga's wave shall drink, that act alone
 For all his sins most amply shall atone,
 His body, hear, O king, his body is mine own
 Let not your rav'ning slaves go there the instant they appear,
 The very air shall ring with shrieks of high Narayun's fear."
 Yama, the Lord of Patal, heard this sentence with affright.
 I pandit-poet Kirtibas in my first canto write,
 When Kamdûr's sinful soul to heaven
 By Gunga's power had thus been given,
 To Gaur the Gunga's waters bright
 Rolled onward in their God and man redeeming might.
 Pudma, a sage, before them went,
 And Gunga followed, rolling free
 The monarch last, his hands he bent,
 To Gunga wild petition sent,
 "Go not the Eastern road, there is no path for me."
 Instant the Muni Pudma took the Pudma stream away,
 And holy Gunga with the king straight onward took her way
 And Gunga angry muttered low a curse upon the stream,
 "From this time forth no man shalt thou from punishment redeem."

These extracts will give a sufficiently accurate idea of the spirit of the Ramayun, and, as we have no intention either of recounting, or condensing, its interminable episodes, or of victimizing our readers by any recapitulation of its well known story, we will proceed to sum up its character in as few words as possible, and then return to our main subject, Brahminism, as we see it in Bengal. In the first place, the whole poem is

totally deficient in anything like elevation of sentiment Kirtibas narrates a crime, or a virtuous action, in the same mellifluous wishwash, and never pauses for one instant, either to praise the virtue, or reprehend the villany, of which he is so faithful a narrator Every one of the Rishis and Munis, who constitute his favourite characters, is ill tempered, cruel, and treacherous, almost all the kings are vindictive to the last degree. while Siva, the omnipotent destroyer, descends from heaven to incite two persons to a crime, for which the English language has not even a name The holy sage, whose power and wisdom have won a sceptre from Harischandra, refuses to alleviate the distress of the man, whom he has ruined, by the gift of one single acre of ground, and almost the whole succession of characters are supercilious in prosperity, and craven in adversity, while ingratitude appears to have been even a virtue in the eyes of the poet The very words, in which his ideas are couched, though often sweet and liquid, lack manliness and energy while the constant recurrence of puns, in the midst of pathos, is a conclusive evidence of his want of sympathy with real distress It is the more singular that such should be the case, as the original Sanscrit, from which Kirtibas professes to have drawn his inspiration, is distinguished by the bold freedom of its style, and, if we may so speak, by the massiveness of its language Listen to the invocation which opens the Sanscrit poem,

Lakshman's bright brother, Sita's Lord, hail Rama Raghúvide !
 Kakútstha's son, a sea of good, hail element, Brahmin loved !
 Hail, holy Rajah, bound to truth, hail Dasaratha's son !
 Thou hyacinthine, moveless one, thou world-delighting king !
 Light of thy race, Ravana's foe, hail Rama Raghúvide !
 High son of Raghu, victory ! Hail Kaushal's bliss bestower !
 Slayer of Him ten-headed, hail ! Hail Dasaratha's child !
 Thine eye is like the lotus flower that blossoms on the waves
 And hail, Valmiki ! nightingale, who gently warblest forth
 The pleasant sound of Rama's name on metre's branches borne
 Honour to thee, O Muni Lord, ascetic, blessed indeed !
 Thou home of every wisdom, hail, Prostration be to thee

Or, for we must give one instance more to prove our proposition, take the speech of Bramha to Valmiki in the Sanscrit, and in the Bengali In the Sanscrit, it runs thus,

Whatever Ram has seen or done, in secret or abroad,
 Sing thou, and Rama's comrades brave, and sing the Rakshuas tribe,
 And sing of her of Vaideha,* and all or known or hid ;
 For all, that is to thee unknown, shall be to thee revealed,

As long as on the earth shall stand the mountain and the stream,
 So long the song of Rama's might shall circulate around
 As long as Rama's song shall live, that song by thee composed,
 So long shall height and depth exist ; as long as these remain,
 So long within the heavenly bowers shalt thou, Valmiki, dwell.

Here is the Bengali—

Saraswati, O seer, shall stand upon your loosened tongue ;
A well-twined string of words shall be by thee, O poet, sung
Whate'er it be, that you may write, that shall a Shashtra be ,
And that shall Ram on earth perform, I, Brahma, swear to thee

We fear Valmiki's indignation would not have confined itself to words, could he have guessed the mode, in which his poetry would be murdered by this worthy (so called) poet, sprung from the clime of Bengal

But, leaving for the present Valmiki ' the ant-eaten, and his clever and self glorifying Bengali transformer, we wish to say a few words on the present condition of Brahminism and its disciples in Bengal Has the estimation, in which the Brahmins were formerly held, been weakened or increased by the advent of the British, and the introduction of a more extended system of education ? The question is important, for it involves, in a great measure, the probability of the Hindus ultimately escaping from the trammels of an absurd* superstition We know it is usual to assert, that education has broken down the only real distinction between the Brahmin and the Sudra, and that a diminution of the respect formerly paid to the former must necessarily result from an increase of knowledge In the great towns this statement may be considered as partially correct but it is far otherwise with the millions of the country, who constitute the real people of Bengal In Calcutta, and other towns of the same class, many of the alumni of the College are the wealthiest, as well as most intelligent, portion of the population, and, being concentrated within a small space, they embolden each other in their defiance of the Brahminical chain The wealthy Baboo, who has learned to read English, and can comprehend, though he cannot *feel*, the verses of Shakespeare and Milton, can afford to despise the poor (and perhaps ignorant) priest, who has nothing to recommend him but his sacred birth and superior intellect—the latter uncultivated by education, and the former secretly mocked at by the man of wealth and knowledge The number of Europeans too, who hang about the wealthy natives of the metropolis, tends to inspire them with European habits of thought, and to make them affect a degree of independence beyond what they really feel, which is frequently displayed in an appearance of insulting con-

* We use this word advisedly in preference to the usual epithet ' debasing ' All idolatry debases the soul, and fetters the intellect, but the Hindu system is emphatically an ocean of absurdities From the sleeping Essence, to the Demons who haunt the jungle, its assertions are not only false, but absolutely incompatible with the evidence of our senses Its Theogony, its Geography and its laws are more like those, which might be concocted by a group of children, than by reasoning and sensible human beings

tempt for the Brahminical order In the country, however, the Brahmin still reigns supreme In the country too, though the acquisition of European knowledge is frequently accompanied by a species of theistic philosophy, it is not usual to find that belief openly expressed The reverence for his order never forsakes a Brahmin, and as an avowal of his liberal principles would shake that feeling of respect, he conceals them in his own breast, until time and growing selfishness gradually eradicate them altogether, and he sinks into an "orthodox Hindu, with a full belief in the surpassing virtue of the Gunga, and in the existence and power of three hundred and thirty millions of preposterous deities Every Brahmin too is a gentleman The consciousness of being first in whatever society he may be thrown, and the feeling of perfect security from insult or impertinence, impart to his manner that easy dignity, which we generally conceive to be peculiar to the finished European gentleman, and which conduces in no slight degree to his influence over the minds of the masses

On the other hand, every circumstance of his life, even the most minute, tends to confirm the subjection of the Sudra He is still inferior to the Brahmin in knowledge—a circumstance of much more importance in the East than among the brutalized peasantry of Europe—and perceives strongly the disparity (both in reality, and in opinion) between his own class, and that of the haughty priest He has been taught by his mother from his infancy to make a deep reverence as the Brahmin passes by, and, even in his maturer years, the sight of the *Pasta* elicits from his lips the almost involuntary '*Pranam, Mahashai*, that is, Prostration, Sir and the outward action is a fair index to the emotion Again, all questions of caste—of the never ending social disparities, which cripple the Hindu from the instant of his birth—can only be determined by one, in whose veins runs the sacred blood, and the influence of that mysterious principle, which answers in the East to the European idea of apostolical succession To understand the number and importance of these questions, and thereby gain a clue to the necessity for ceaseless Brahminical intermeddling, we shall state what these castes are and the following detail may be the more interesting from the ignorance, which still prevails among Europeans on the subject

The popular idea we believe, even among Anglo Indians, with respect to caste, is that it is comprehended in four great divisions, each of which has its separate privileges, and individual duties to perform In reality, there are upwards of forty, each of which is, for all social purposes, a distinct and separate order,

and possesses as complete an individuality, as that which divides the Englishman and the Kalmuk In the first place, there are many grades, or *Sreni*, even of Brahmins, although all may be ranged under three great divisions

I The **BARHI**, or Brahmins of Raur, so called, from the district in which they were settled, who are thus subdivided

1 The **KULINS** The signification of this word is simply "famed" and it corresponds more nearly with the Spanish *Hidalgo*, or "son of somebody," than with any word of English derivation Instituted by Bullal Sen, to infuse new energy into the Brahminical priesthood, they have ever since held themselves haughtily apart, alike from their own caste, as from all others The Kulin *par excellence*, he whose family has never been tainted by the admixture of any inferior race, the pure "blue blood" of India, possesses immense privileges, and it is well for his countrymen that the number of his equals is so limited Of these privileges, the most known, and (socially) the most iniquitous, is, that the Kulins can marry any number of wives they please, without the expense of maintaining them and the father of the twentieth bride is equally bound with the father of the first to pay a dowry to the noble bridegroom

2 The **BHANGAS** Literally 'the broken,' so styled from being the children of a Kulin, who has married the daughter of an inferior Brahmin, and thus broken his *kul*, or line of descent They are however nearly as honourable as the former, and possess the same privileges of marriage and relationship

3 **BANGSAJA**, "of good family" The descendants of such broken Kulins, as have married girls of their own caste

4 **SROTTRIYA** Those who are skilled in the *Shastras* This class possesses only eight of the nine qualities appertaining to a Kulin—viz good conduct, respect, learning, renown, fondness for pilgrimage, piety, asceticism, ability to read the *Veds* and liberality The *Srottriyas* possess no liberality The names of the principal families of these four grades are *Mukhapádhya* (*Mukerjea*), *Bandapádhya* (*Banerjea*), *Chattapádhya* (*Chatterjea*), *Gangapádhya* (*Ganguli*), and *Ghosál*

II The **BARENDRAS**, or Brahmins of Barendra, are also named from the district, and, in like manner, subdivided into four grades, similar to the former ones, but under somewhat different names The family appellations most common are *Maitra*, *Rudra*, *Sandel*, *Lahuri*, *Bhāduri*

III The **SAPTASATIS**, or original Brahmins of Bengal These are now denominated *Vaidiks*, literally, those skilled in the learning of the *Vedas*, an accomplishment however to which they cannot now lay claim They are also subdivided into two

grades, the Pasch-atty, or western, and Dakshin-atty, or southern, each of which is, for all social purposes, a separate caste

THE KSHETRIYAS

The warrior caste Of this great caste no representative exists in Bengal, as the few who claim that honour, though called Kshetriyas, are not allowed by the pandits to be of pure descent *

VAISYAS

The merchants Of this caste there are none in Bengal

SUDRAS

The best pandits, and especially those who are skilled in genealogical learning—the Indian Burkes and Debretts—declare that there exist no families of genuine Sudras in Bengal, as they have all become corrupted by intermixtures By that universal system of forbearance, however, without which the restraints of caste would be intolerable, the name of Sudra is accorded to them, and the various *Sréni* take rank, as though they really belonged to the fourth class

Among the Sudras, the Kayasthas are decidedly the first in point of rank, not only from their superiority of birth, but from the eminence, which many of their members have attained It has been a custom among them, for a considerable period, to allow their children to remain under tuition longer than is usual among Hindus, and hence the saying has almost become a proverb, that when we see a Kayastha, we see a clever man The Kulin, or more aristocratic, Kayasthas are divided into two branches, the Uthar and Dakshin Barhi, or northern and southern divisions, the names of whose principal families are Mitra, Basu, and Ghosh the Bangsaja Kayasthas are also of the first rank, but the only name of eminence among them is Guha

The ordinary Kayasthas are nearly as honourable as the Kulin Kayasthas, while the names of their most numerous families, De, Dutt, Singh, Palit, Dhar and Kar, are all well known in literature and science Rajnarayun Mitra, a Kayastha gentleman, has published one of the best antiquarian works ever composed by a Hindu, to prove that his tribe are descended from the Kshetriya, and have therefore a right to the *Patta*, but the claim is disallowed, though supported by several of the pandits of Nuddea The following list contains most of the principal subdivisions of the Sudras

The AGURIS and MAHESYAS are not numerous, and the same may be said of the KANARAS

* The Rajah of Burdwan is very generally allowed to be a Kshetriya.

SHUTAS These are chiefly coachmen and grooms ; but Brahmins are allowed to visit their houses, and eat fruit and water at their hands

MALAKAR This grade derives its name from the garlands, or *málas* of flowers, which are hung about the necks of the Gods and Brahmins on festival days The occupation is considered not only honourable but meritorious, and must not be confounded with that of the ordinary Mali, or gardener Brahmins eat fruit in their houses

The NABASAK This division, though nominally consisting of nine *Srént*, contains in reality fourteen, all honourable, and in whose houses Brahmins can sit and eat fruit Though all belonging to one great division, they are totally interdicted from inter marriage, or any other form of social equality

KARMMAKAR Ironworkers This is one of those castes, the greater part of whose members have adhered to their original trade

TILI Spice sellers They employ themselves however in all kinds of professions, and number many rich men among their ranks

TANTRABAYA, or Tanti Weavers Many have abandoned this employment, and are found in all kinds of trades

KUMBHAKAR Potters

MALI These are the ordinary gardeners , but the trade is followed by almost all grades of husbandmen

GANDHABANIK Perfumers

KANGSAKAR Braziers

SATGOP Husbandmen

TAMBALI Chiefly Bazár men, sellers of pan and betel

BARUI Preparers of pan and betel

NAPIT Barbers

MAIRA Confectioners, or sweetmeat makers These are a most important class of men, as every Bengali, young and old, is only limited in his consumption of sweetmeats by the length of his purse

GOALA, or **GOPA** Herdsmen

The following are those castes, into whose house no Brahmin of character will enter , but they may still be servants in the houses of the priests

DHORA Washermen These are so degraded that they can not even perform the meanest offices for the priests

TELI Oil pressers Equally low

HARI These even sell pigs, and are, *par consequence*, considered on a level with the animals, in which they trade , they are chiefly cooks among Europeans

MUCHI Shoemakers So deeply is leather abhorred among the Hindus, that the more orthodox always wear their slip-

pers down at heel to escape the profanation of touching them The shoemaker is therefore the lowest of all castes, save the

Doms, who are scavengers and basket makers, as also are the Doklas

The CHANDAIS, or Outcasts, are held to be the lees of Hinduism, wretched beings, whom it is pollution for a Brahmin even to look at, much less to touch The bare contact of their garments compels the Brahmin, and the other two higher castes, to wash themselves in the river *

* The popular belief is that the Sudras are divided into thirty six castes, and the following list, differing in some respects from that in the text, has been kindly furnished to us by a young native Christian It is compiled and arranged by himself

A GENERAL VIEW OF THE THIRTY SIX CLASSES OF THE VARNA SANKARS

No.	Names	Profession
1	Baidya	Medicine
2	Kāyastha	Writer caste
3	Gopa	Husbandry
	{ 1 Sata	Dairy
	{ 2 Pallava	Spicery
	{ 1 Gandha	Brazier
4	Bank	Dealer in Shells
	{ 2 Kāyangsa	Banker
	{ 3 Sankha	Jeweller
	{ 4 Sharna	Goldsmith
	{ 5 A garoala	Blacksmith.
5	Sharnakār	Florist.
6	Karmakar	Barber
7	Mālakar	Weaver
8	Pramānik	Confectioner
9	Tantubaya	Husbandman
10	Madak	Carpenter
11	A'guri	Spiceseller
12	Sutradhar	Husbandman
13	Tili	Fisherman.
14	Kaibarttya	Dealer in cloth
	{ 1 Chāsī	Ditto in betel nut &c
	{ 2 Dhubar	Distiller of spirits.
15	Jugi	Potter
16	Bāru	Spiceseller
17	Soudik	Oilman
18	Kumār	Washerman
19	Tambali	Maker of mats
20	Teli	Ditto of baskets
21	Rajak	Shoe maker
22	Baiti	Dealer in leather
23	Dom	Fisherman
24	Charmakār	{ 1 Muchi
	{ 2 Charmakar (proper)	Menial servants *
25	Dhāyoā	{ 1 Tetuliā
	{ 2 Kushmetia	Seller of medicinal plants.
26	Bādiyā	Dealer in rice, &c
27	Chāsādhobā	Maker of lime.
28	Chunari	Palki bearer, &c
29	Dule	Day laborer
30	Vodh	Tank digger
31	Korā	Attendant on sacrifices,
32	Bhāi	Ditto ditto
33	A charyya	Undertaker, &c
34	Hārī	Outcast.
35	Chaudā	

It is so impossible for a European to become perfectly acquainted with all the mysteries of castes, that the foregoing list may contain a few inaccuracies, but it will be found to err rather in its omissions, than commissions. When it is considered that in each of these castes there is a multitude of subdivisions, that each ramification has some customs peculiar to itself, of which every infraction is a breach of the laws of caste, and that a great portion of the litigious spirit of a litigious race is spent upon these quarrels, we obtain a great clue to the source of Brahminical influence *

It is well known that this influence is still very powerful, and that it operates as a formidable check to national improvement, but one of the many subjects upon which Europeans, who have written upon Indian customs, are apparently in the dark, is the nature of the process, by which the Brahmin exercises that portion of direct authority, which belongs to him, and which constitutes the ultimate basis of his ecclesiastical power. Let us suppose any man in ordinary circumstances to commit an offence against the laws of caste, which renders him impure, without absolutely severing him from Hinduism, let us suppose, for instance, a Kayastha detected eating pig's flesh the circumstance comes to the ears of the Brahmins through some party intimate with the offender, and the case is at once subjected to the most rigorous scrutiny. The delinquent will probably make the most solemn asseverations of innocence, and call all the Gods to witness, that he was, at the time, performing puja but all this goes for little in Bengal at any time, and, in matters of caste, a man's word is considered as absolutely valueless. The Brahmins, having satisfied themselves of the truth of the charge, at once publish it abroad, and prescribe a form of *Prayaschitra*, or purification, adapted to the degree of the crime committed. This purification involves, not only an expenditure, that in many cases reduces the offender to hopeless poverty, but also a number of difficult and disgusting ceremonies. It sometimes happens therefore that he resists, and he is then declared *ABYABAHARJYA*, an outcast. The effect of this sentence far surpasses that of the terrible Romanist excommunication. The man remains in his own house solitary. No man, but the vilest of the populace, will enter it none will address him,

* Upon the subject of breaking caste we must say one word. We have frequently been amused by hearing servants complain to their mistress, that such and such an act would break their caste, and the said story, very often, implicitly credited. For instance, we have seen a bearer refuse to remove a cup of tea, upon the plea of caste. The fact is that no cause on earth can break a man's caste, except eating with an infidel, or eating cow's flesh. The minor breaches may all be made up for by rupees, and, as for those alleged by servants to escape work, they are almost all lies, or at best such disgrace is incurred, as an English butler would experience, if he were to sweep the floor. In Calcutta even the major breach is of little moment. We have known cases of young men coming to a missionary for baptism, sleeping, eating, and drinking with native converts, —and received back without censure or punishment.

unless compelled by absolute necessity, his relatives, who have resided in his house perhaps for twenty years, abandon it, and even the females of his family, who are unable to depart, overwhelm him with reproaches. Should any one, influenced by the love of gold, frequent his dwelling, he also must perform a *Prayaschitra*. Add to this the torment of his own conscience,* and we may easily conceive, that it is impossible for the haughtiest spirit to hold out for more than a month. At the end of that time, the offender generally sends for his *Purohit*, or Brahminical Father Confessor, and declares his intention of submitting to the *Prayaschitra*. It is seldom that matters proceed as far as this, but every man is well aware, that this terrible sentence may be pronounced on the refractory. Towards the Brahmin, as towards the Sudra, these rules are equally strict; but the Brahmin is in general more heavily punished for his offence. Thus, if a Sudra becomes intoxicated, he is reprimanded, but, if a Brahmin is guilty of the same offence, he must perform the ceremony of purification for a whole year, by macerating his body, by alms giving, and by fasting. The maceration consists in sleeping, and sitting, always on the bare ground, and in wearing coarse or heavy clothing, while fasting, he may eat only just sufficient to support life, and his almsgiving must not be less than Rs 300 †. The only advantage, which the Brahmin has over the Sudra, is the greater difficulty of procuring evidence against him, and the probability that the funds, necessary for his alms giving, will be supplied by some Sudra Baboo.

Of the work performed by the modern Brahmins, and the duties which they most affect, it is almost impossible to obtain any correct account. They may be found in the army, in trade, and in almost every profession connected with the use of the plough. A great number still adhere to their original trade of beggary, and a still greater serve as *Purohits* in the houses of the middle and wealthy classes. The office of the *Purohit* is a compound of that of a secretary and a confessor. He performs almost all business for his protector, writes all his letters, and prescribes all his necessary worship. Generally well paid, he is always much revered, and we may safely say, that, throughout Bengal, there is no body of men, who possess the powers of the Brahmin *Purohits*.

* We do not mean to assert that this is very great. The feeling of utter solitariness, and the influence of a creed, which he has obeyed (at least outwardly) for the greater part of his life, produce a sensation much resembling that which we have described. It is the impossibility of producing this perfect isolation, which, as we have before observed, so much weakens the authority of the Brahmins in the great cities.

† We are exceedingly sorry to hear that the rapid increase of drunkenness has compelled the Brahmins to suspend this regulation, and that the intoxicated priest now escapes with only a reprimand.

ART III—*The Oriental Astronomer*,—being a complete system of Hindu Astronomy, accompanied with a translation and numerous explanatory notes With an appendix Jaffna. 1848

THE subject of the Hindu Astronomy is one, which, both on the ground of its intrinsic importance, and on account of the many curious questions that have originated in connexion with the study of it by the Western philosophers, claimed a prominent place in our pages. The claim was allowed, and it was one of the earliest subjects that we thought proper to bring to the notice of our readers, in the days when the *Calcutta Review* was very young—*animosus infans* (See vol I, p 257) In the article to which we now refer, we treated the subject, and various questions connected with it, at considerable length, and our present purpose is not to go afresh over the ground that we then traversed, or to renew the discussion of any of the disputable matters, that we then either considered at length, or barely hinted at,—but simply, and *bonâ fide*, to give a notice, and not a very long one, of the volume now before us

The *Oriental Astronomer*—our typographical resources do not enable us to present the alternative title in the Tamil language—is a work, or more properly a collection of works, in Tamil, with an English translation and numerous explanatory and corrective notes, by the Rev H R Hoisington, an American Missionary, who has long been at the head of an important Educational Institution, established at Batticotta in Ceylon. The work has been prepared for the use of the students in that institution, and, at the outset of this notice, we cannot but congratulate them on the privilege they enjoy—of being directed in the study of this important science by so capable an instructor, as Mr Hoisington's annotations in the volume before us evince him to be. One of the very questions, as we remember, that we considered in the course of the article to which we have just referred, was the suitableness of native works on astronomy to occupy the place of text books in the educational establishments designed for the education of native youth. We shall, however, strenuously adhere to the promise we have made, and not re-open that question on the present occasion. In fact it does not legitimately come before us at present, as Mr Hoisington's object, as stated by himself, is a very different one from the system advocated by Mr L. Wilkinson, which we then controverted. The purpose of the present volume is not to serve as a text-book, to the super-

cession of European treatises, but to furnish those who have made good proficiency in the European system, with the means of instituting a comparison between that system and the native one. This we reckon not only a legitimate object, but a highly desirable one

But, apart altogether from the merits of the work as an educational manual, and from any consideration of the place that its study should occupy in an academical course, we feel it due to Mr Hoisington to express our cordial thanks, in which we are sure that many who take an interest in the study of a highly important subject, will as cordially concur, for the achievement of a laborious task. We cannot but think that he has laid the scientific world under no small obligation, by rendering accessible one of a class of works, that have been hitherto almost unknown, and by presenting in so clear a form the merits and demerits of a system, that has been extravagantly lauded on the one hand, and unduly depreciated on the other, by those who had not the means of estimating it aright. Mr Hoisington has well merited a place in the honorable list of those, who, having come to India for the purpose of proclaiming the blessed gospel, and elevating the minds of the people of the land, have done much to diffuse, amongst their own countrymen, correct and important information respecting the people amongst whom it has been their lot to labour, their religions, their languages, their customs, their history, and their sciences.

The volume before us consists of four parts,—1 An introduction, in Tamil and English. 2 A treatise on Astronomy, according to the system of Ullamudian, with an English version. The epoch of the treatise is A D 1284. 3 A modern treatise on Eclipses, by a native astronomer, with an English translation. 4 An appendix, containing certain tables, astronomical problems, and a glossary of Hindu astronomical terms. We cannot do better than take a cursory review of these parts in their order, briefly noticing any thing that strikes us as meriting attention. And, at the outset, we must so far violate editorial etiquette as to confess ignorance—total ignorance, of the Tamil language. It is with the translation only that we can occupy ourselves, and we shall take for granted, as in such a case we may pretty safely do, that, when any passage in the translation contains *sense*, it is *the sense* of the original.

The introduction is chiefly historical, and contains a very brief notice, abridged from Bentley, of the various Eras in Hindu Astronomy. Although we agree in the main with Mr Bentley, as to the comparatively recent date of this branch of

Oriental Science, and the utter groundlessness of the pretensions, advanced on behalf of the Hindu treatises and tables, to a remote antiquity, yet we do not feel our sympathies quite going along with Mr Hoisington, when he states didactically, as if they were unquestioned and unquestionable verities, the conclusions which Bentley deduces from most ingenious, and generally very convincing, reasonings. We would not have recommended that, in such a work, matters should have been introduced controversially, but we think that the actual state of our knowledge of the subject scarcely warrants so dogmatical a statement of various chronological matters, as Mr. Hoisington has made.

We shall refer to one passage in the sketch of the history of the Hindu astronomy, which will at once illustrate our meaning, as to the too dogmatical character of the statements, and will give us an opportunity of pointing out what we conceive to be a misapprehension, on Mr Hoisington's part, of Mr Bentley's meaning. We shall first give at length the passage from Bentley, and make a few remarks upon it, and then we shall give Mr Hoisington's abstract of it, and make a few more remarks upon it.

The passage in Bentley is as follows —

“ Early in this period, that is to say, about the year A D 51, Christianity was preached in India by St Thomas. This circumstance introduced new light into India, in respect of the history and opinions of the people of the West, and concerning the time of the Creation, in which the Hindus found they were far behind in point of antiquity, (their account of the Creation going back only to the year 2852, B C which was the year of the Mosaic flood), and that therefore they would be considered a modern people in respect of the rest of the world. To avoid this imputation, and to make the world believe they were the most ancient people on the face of the earth, they resolved to change the time of the creation, and carry it back to the year 4225, B C —thereby making it older than the Mosaic account, and making it appear, by means of false history written on purpose, that all men sprang from them. But to give the whole the appearance of reality, they divided the Hindu history into other periods, carrying the first of them back to the autumnal equinox in the year 4225, B C. These periods they called *Manwantaras*, or patriarchal periods, and fixed the dates of their respective commencements by the computed conjunctions of Saturn with the Sun, in the same manner as those of the former ages, already given, were fixed by the conjunctions of Jupiter and the Sun. This, no doubt,

' was done with a view of making the world believe, that such conjunctions were noticed by the people, who lived in the respective periods, and therefore might be considered as real, genuine, and indisputable periods of history, founded on actual observations

"The following table contains the periods, with their respective dates of commencement, &c

<i>Patriarchal Periods, or Manwantaras</i>	<i>Dates.</i>	<i>Moon's age</i>	<i>Errors in the Tables used</i>
1st	25th Oct. 4225 B C	9th Tithi of Aswin	30° 58' 42"—
2nd	13th Nov 3841 "	12th do of Kartik	28 12 17 —
3rd	11th Apr 3358 "	3rd do of Chaitra	24 43 14 —
4th	29th Aug 2877 "	3rd do of Bhadra	21 14 38 —
5th	25th Mar 2388 "	30th do of Falgun	17 42 55 —
6th	23rd Dec. 2043 "	11th do of Pausa	15 13 6 —
7th	2nd July 1528 "	10th do of Ashadh	11 30 8 —
8th	6th Jan 1040 "	7th do of Magh	7 58 22 —
9th	28th July 555 "	23rd do of Sraban	4 28 28 —
Do ended	23rd June 31 A D	15th do of Asadha	0 13 34 —

"The mean annual motion of Saturn was $0^{\circ} 22' 14'' 2'' 48''$, and the error in the mean annual motion = $26'' +$, therefore the year, in which there would be no error in the position of Saturn, would be A D 64, shewing the time when this division of the Hindu history was invented

We have various remarks to make upon this extract. First of all, we do not reckon it an ascertained point that the Apostle Thomas was ever in India. It is certain that the gospel was preached in India at an early period by one Thomas, but it is not certain, that that period was the first century, or that that Thomas was the Apostle. To us it appears, that the preponderance of evidence is in favor of another Thomas, a Nestorian of the fifth century. And then, supposing the fact to be as stated, and that the extension of the Hindu chronology was made for the purpose indicated, is it at all likely that the Hindus would have been contented with extending it only two centuries beyond the period assigned by the Mosaic account to the creation? Would it not have been much more in accordance with Hindu usage, to have thrown it back to an overwhelmingly remote period, as, according to Mr Bentley's own shewing, was done five centuries later, when, he says, "the Creation was thrown back 1972947101 years before the Christian era?"

Now let us turn to Mr. Hoisington's abstract of the above passage. It is as follows —

“ ‘ About A D 51, Christianity was preached in India by St Thomas. This gave rise to the periods called *Manwan-taras*, or patriarchal periods, the dates of their respective commencements being fixed by the computed conjunction of Saturn with the Sun, in the same manner as those of the four ages given above were fixed by the conjunction of Jupiter and the Sun

“ This was done in order to extend the numbers in the Hindu chronology beyond those of the Christian

Now this abstract is liable to both the exceptions that we have taken to the passage from which it is abstracted, and to one or two more. Be the reason of the extension of the Hindu Chronology what it might, Bentley gives a reason— which can scarcely fail (his data being admitted) to commend itself to all who are capable of appreciating such evidence,— for believing that the extension took place at the period stated, viz near the beginning of the latter half of the first century. The only uncertainty is as to the correctness of the estimate of Saturn's mean annual motion. We question whether, even now, it is so accurately ascertained as to serve as the basis of so delicate an argument. But as Mr Hoisington states the matter, we have nothing for it but a bare assertion. It would no doubt have extended his introduction too far had he given a full statement of the reasons on which his historical assertions are based, but he might at least have introduced them with such a phrase as—“ There is good reason to believe, —or “ Mr Bentley has shewn, —or words to the same effect

We suspect also that Mr Hoisington has considerably misapprehended Mr Bentley's meaning. At all events, he has stated the matter so that all his readers, who do not refer to Bentley's work for themselves, will certainly misapprehend it. Mr Bentley states, that the Hindu Chronology was extended in order to evince that the Hindus existed as a people, and had a history, before the period assigned to the Creation by the Mosaic chronology, and that, *this extension being made*, the Astronomers determined the commencement of nine epochs, by calculating the times of certain conjunctions of Saturn with the Sun. But, as Mr Hoisington states it, it would appear that the substitution of Saturn for Jupiter was made with the view of *effecting this extension* as if the Synodic period of Saturn, or the time between two of his conjunctions with the Sun, were longer than that of Jupiter, whereas it is in reality

shorter, in the proportion of 378 to 599. Probably however, this may be an inadvertence, not an inaccuracy, and we are sure that, if our present notice should fall into Mr Horsington's hands, he will regard as a kindness our pointing it out.

We have dwelt at greater length than we intended upon the Introduction to the volume, which occupies only 19 pages in both Tamil and English. It is therefore full time that we should proceed to notice the next department of the work,—the PARAKITHAM, or system of Hindu Astronomy.

As the main object of the Hindu Astronomy was the rectification of the Calendar, and the ascertainment of chronological epochs, the present work, as might be expected, sets out with rules for the calculation of various periods of time, and indeed this seems to be the main object that has been in the author's mind throughout. There is an apparent inconsistency in the second and third problems, of which not only the third assumes the result of the second to be known, but the second seems in like manner to proceed upon the result of the third. Thus the second teaches to find what year of the "Salivakana era" any given year is, and the rule is to multiply by sixty the number of "cycles of sixty years," passed from the introduction of that cycle, to add the number expressing the given year's place in the current cycle of sixty, and then to add 349, the year of the *Salivakana* era corresponding to the introduction of the cycle of sixty. Thus the present year 1850 is the forty-third year of the twenty-fourth cycle of sixty. Hence its place in the *Salivakana* era is $23 \times 60 + 43 + 349 = 1772$. By the converse process, the place of a given year in the current cycle appears to be found from its place in the *Salivakana* reckoning. But this, as we have stated, is not the case. The third problem is not merely the converse of the second, for the "cycle of sixty years," spoken of in the third, differs very materially from "the cycle of sixty" years spoken of in the second. That employed in the second is a cycle of sixty *solar years*, commencing with A D 427, or the 349th year of the *Salivakana* period, while that spoken of in the third is a cycle of sixty *mean periods of Jupiter's remaining in a sign of the Zodiac*, (or sixty twelfth parts of his revolution) commencing two years, three months and thirteen days before the *Salivakana* era, or A D 78. We know not whether in the original these two cycles are called by precisely the same name. The translator, in a note, furnishes us with a hint of the difference, but so obscurely expressed, that it required no small expenditure of thought to enable us to reconcile what seemed so glaring an inconsistency at the very outset of the system. It is well worthy of remark, that these

years, (or rather twelfth-parts of Jovian years) are taken, as implied in the technical rule, to be to Solar years as 1875 to 1897, in other words, 1897 of these are equal to 1875 Solar years. Now, taking the Solar year at 365 $\frac{1}{4}$ days, this makes Jupiter's revolution be performed in 4,382 2 days nearly, whereas Laplace gives it at 4,382 6 *à fort peu près*. This, it must be acknowledged, is a tolerable approximation to correctness on the part of the Hindu Astronomers, and creditable to them withal, when we consider the paucity of instrumental aids that they enjoyed in the ascertainment.

We are next instructed to ascertain the place that we have reached in the Kuli Yuga, which dates from 3179 before the *Salivakana*, or from B C 3101. Here also we have an opportunity afforded us of testing the accuracy of the Hindu determinations. We are directed to reduce years into days by multiplying the number of years by 1,416,106, and dividing the result by 3,877. This gives us the length of the year = $\frac{1416106}{3877}$ days = 365d 6h. 11m 47 $\frac{1}{2}$ s. Now as the Hindu year is determined by the entrance of the Sun into a Sidereal Sign, we must compare this, not with the tropical, but with the Sidereal year, the length of which, as given by Laplace, is 365d 6h 9m 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ s nearly. Hence, supposing the most accurate European determination to be correct, the Hindu errs by 2m 36s in excess. Another method makes 576 years equal to 210,889 days, but this is less accurate than the preceding, and is probably meant only as a rough approximation. It should be stated, however, that the Sidereal year is subject to a very small secular variation, so that it may have been somewhat longer in 3101 B C than at present.

The next subject is the method of finding the moon's true longitude for any given day. As this is a very fair specimen of the Hindu methods of proceeding, we shall explain it at length, and this, we believe, will be best accomplished by means of an example. Let it be required then to find the moon's true longitude for the two millionth day of the Kali Yuga. It is first assumed that the moon's mean motion in longitude is 13° 10' 35" per day, and that the mean daily motion in longitude of her apogee is 6' 41", the difference of these = 13° 3' 54", is the mean daily motion of the moon from her apogee. Now it is assumed that, at the instant of the Kali Yuga, the moon was in the first point of Aries, and that her apogee was in longitude 6' 29' 43". The next assumption is, that, after a period of 1,565,411 days, the moon and her apogee return to the same position with reference to each other and the ecliptic. Consequently, at the end of this period, we have the longitudes of the

moon and apogee precisely the same as at the beginning. We have therefore now only to find the change of longitude in $(2,000,000 - 1,565,411 =) 434,589$ days. Next, we find that, at the mean daily rate of motion of the moon and her apogee, the former in a period of 3,031 days passes over 110 complete revolutions, and $11^{\circ} 7' 38'' 5''$, and that, during the same period, the apogee passes over $11^{\circ} 7' 37'' 11''$. They therefore, at the end of this period, come within $54''$ of the same relative position, which they occupied at the beginning. Now this small difference may be neglected, and we may consider that they return to the same relative position at the end of each successive period of 3,031 days. In 434,589 days there are contained 143 such periods, and 1,156 days over. Consequently, 1,156 days before the two millionth day of the Kali Yuga, the *relative* positions of the moon and her apogee were the same as at the beginning of the Kali Yuga, although their *actual* position differed by upwards of $11'$. Once more, we find that in 248 days the moon goes through 9 complete revolutions, and $27^{\circ} 44' 40''$, while her apogee passes over $27^{\circ} 37' 28''$. These differ by $7' 12''$,—a considerable difference certainly,—but this is neglected, and we consider that the moon and her apogee return to the same relative position, after each successive period of 248 days. In 1,156 days there are contained four such periods, and 164 days more. Hence we conclude that, 164 days before the given day, the moon was at the same distance in longitude from her apogee that she was at the beginning of the Kali Yuga. Now we have a table giving the true motion in longitude of the moon in any number of days up to 248—her mean motion corrected by the equation of her centre. Referring to this table, we find that in 164 days the moon gains $2^{\circ} 25'$ of longitude. As the difference of longitude at the Kali Yuga was $6^{\circ} 29' 43''$, we have the actual distance of the moon at the two millionth day thereafter, from the apogee at the $(2,000,000 - 164 =) 1,990,816$ th day $= 6^{\circ} 27' 18''$, the moon being by that amount behind its apogee. We have now to find the actual longitude. Now the longitude of the apogee at the Kali Yuga, and at the 1,565,411th day thereafter, was $6^{\circ} 29' 43''$. In 3,031 days the apogee advances $11^{\circ} 7' 38'' 5''$ of longitude, multiplying this by 143, and rejecting the complete revolutions, we get an advance of the longitude of the apogee of $1^{\circ} 11' 46''$. Again, in 248 days the apogee is supposed to advance $27^{\circ} 44' 40''$; and consequently in four such periods it advances $3^{\circ} 20' 58'' 40''$. These three quantities added together will give the longitude of the apogee 164 days before the two millionth day of the Kali Yuga, thus, $6^{\circ} 29' 43'' + 1^{\circ} 11' 46'' + 3^{\circ} 20' 58'' =$ (re-

jecting a complete circle) $0^{\circ} 2^{\circ} 28'$ From this we have now to subtract $6^{\circ} 27^{\circ} 18'$, above found, and the result is $5^{\circ} 5^{\circ} 10'$, the true longitude of the moon on the given day Although the process seems tedious, when thus explained in detail, it is in reality very short in practice

The question naturally suggests itself, what is the use of making so many successive rejections of complete periods, since it would evidently be a much neater operation to calculate the motion at once, by multiplying the mean daily motion by the number of days elapsed? But the periods rejected serve the purpose of corrections, inasmuch as it appears from the example, that the first and third periods differ from the numbers that would be deduced from the assumed rates

We may notice, in passing, the following estimates of various important elements in the moon's revolution, comparing them with the European determinations of the same quantities

	Ullamudran	Laplace
Moon's Anomalistic period	27d 18h 18m 8s	27d 18h 18m 49s
— Tropical revolution	27d 7h 43m 6s	27d 7h 43m 11s
Revolution of Apsides	3281d 22h 5m 5s	3282d 18h 48m 53s *
Greatest equation of centre	$5^{\circ} 8'$	$6^{\circ} 17' 64''$

The latter column of the table we have calculated from the data furnished in Laplace's *Système du monde* It has been ascertained that the moon moves more rapidly now than she did formerly—the acceleration amounting to nearly 11 seconds in a century At this rate the Hindu tables are very considerably in error It is to Lagrange that we owe the important knowledge that this acceleration is secular, and that it will ere long reach its maximum As to the third item in the above table, we have deduced the Hindu estimate of it from the mean daily rate of the motion of the moon's apogee ($6' 41''$) but we have already stated that various corrections are introduced, and in a subsequent part of the work, we find these corrections comprehended in a single one, the application of which makes the revolution of the Apsides to be accomplished in 3282d 18h 48m 29s, differing from Laplace's estimate by only twenty-four seconds There is a large error in the maximum equation of the moon's centre, which will affect all the equations, and will render the determination of the moon's place erroneous, at all times, except at apogee and perigee This will of course render the determination of eclipses erroneous, excepting when they

* Sir J. Herschell makes it 3282d. 18h 48m 29s—agreeing exactly with the estimate of the Hindus

occur very near the apogee or perigee of the moon. This error proceeds from under-estimating the eccentricity of the moon's orbit.

We have next rules and tables for determining the longitude of the sun and the planets, corresponding with those that we have spoken of for the moon. As the principles of all these are identical, it is not necessary to say aught about them. We shall only state a few of the elements assumed. The greatest equation of the sun's centre is taken at $2^{\circ} 10\frac{1}{2}'$ at the beginning of the present century it was $1^{\circ} 55' 16''$. It diminishes at the rate of about $17''$ in a century, so that it would correspond with the Hindu estimate about 50 centuries ago. But it were too rash to conclude that this is the period when the equation was ascertained, as it is much more likely that the ascertainment was made at a much later period, and made erroneously. The sidereal period of Mars is taken at 687 days, but a correction is introduced of $46'$ of arc in 280 years, or $12''$ a year, which will reduce it by a very minute period. Laplace gives it as 687 days *à fort peu près*. Mercury's sidereal period is reduced by a correction to 87 9621 days, which is very accurate. The period of Jupiter's revolution has been already stated, and compared with the corresponding period as given by Laplace. The periods of Venus and Saturn are also sufficiently correct.

We must pass over all else relating to the planets, the nodes of the moon's orbit, and several other subjects, and reserve what remains of our space for some notice of the methods given for calculating eclipses, the grand *terminus ad quem* of Hindu Astronomy.

There are three methods, given in the volume before us, for calculating an eclipse, whether of the sun or moon. They do not differ very widely from each other, but as the last, while it is essentially native in its method, is yet very considerably improved, in consequence of the knowledge of the European system that its author had picked up in the course of intercourse with individuals connected with the Batticotta Seminary, we shall confine our attention to it. It may be regarded as a very fair specimen of the mode in which Mr. Hoisington expects the influence of the Seminary to operate, in stirring up its students to enquire into the *reasons* of the empiric rules contained in the native treatises, and so to discover in what respects these are defective or erroneous, and to introduce the necessary improvements and corrections. The treatise, to which we now refer, is that of which we have formerly spoken, as forming the third part of the volume before us. It is compiled by Visvanatha Sastri, son of Narayana Sastri, of

Batticotta, near Jaffna, Ceylon It is for the epoch 1756 A D which seems to have been the year of its author's birth, although it was not actually composed until 1788, and seems to have been constantly improved, as its author acquired more accurate information, up to the time of his death in 1845 Like all other native treatises, this consists of detached rules, or precepts, each directing merely the performance of an arithmetical process, without the slightest hint of the reason why the process should be performed Mr Hoisington has, by his notes, generally made the matter pretty intelligible, and we believe we shall do an acceptable service to some of our readers by sketching a detail of the process prescribed

The treatise consists of thirty-three of these precepts, of which the first twelve relate to principles common to eclipses of the sun and moon, fourteen to solar, and seven to lunar eclipses We shall give these precepts in detail, with such explanations, as may seem necessary for making them intelligible to those, who possess a moderate amount of knowledge of astronomical subjects

1 *An eclipse may be expected in those months, when the Sun is in or near to the sign in which Rahu or Kethu is If, in those months, a conjunction of the sun and moon occur in the day time, there may be a solar eclipse, but if an opposition occur at night, there may be a lunar eclipse*

Rahu and Kethu are the ascending and descending nodes of the moon's orbit From this precept, we see, what will appear more clearly hereafter, that the treatise takes account only of eclipses visible at the place for which it is composed European astronomers first ascertain whether an eclipse will occur, and then whether it will be visible at a given place, or, more generally, over what portion of the earth's surface it will be visible But the Hindus proceed strictly on the principle, *De non apparentibus, ac de non existentibus, eadem est ratio*

2 *Set down the Sutta Tinam to the time of sun rising on the day in which the conjunction or opposition of the sun and moon occurs From this subtract 1,774,192, the remainder is called Kadam This Kadam should be considered as beginning on Monday*

The *Sutta Tinam* is the number of days, hours, minutes &c, from the commencement of the Kali Yuga The 1,774,192 is the *Sutta Tinam* of the epoch for which the treatise is composed, viz some Monday in 1756, for which day the places of the sun, moon, and moon's nodes are known, and from which their motions up to the given day are to be ascertained

3 *Divide the Kadam successively by 12,372, 3,031, and 248, and set down the quotients, marking also their respective*

divisors The last remainder will be the Kethu Vakya, i. e. an argument for the Panchanka Vakya.

Multiply by the quotients (found above) the following numbers respectively, viz. $9^{\circ} 27' 48'' 16''$, $11^{\circ} 7' 31' 1''$, and $27^{\circ} 44' 6''$.

Take the sum of these three results, and add it to $2^{\circ} 1^{\circ} 14' 27''$ (which is the Mula Dravam, or moon's epoch longitude), and you obtain Sasi Dravam, i. e. the longitude of the moon's apogee at the beginning of the Panchanka Vakya.

This is precisely the process, which we have already explained and illustrated by an example, for finding the longitude of the moon's apogee for a given time, the only difference is that another divisor (12,372) is introduced, but exactly on the same principle on which the other divisors are used

4 *To the Sasi Dravam add the Attei Vakya, (the moon's tabular longitude,) and the correction, called Maniyathi, the sum will be the moon's longitude*

The Sasi Dravam, being the longitude of the moon's apogee for an ascertained number of days, less than 248, before the given time, the Attei Vakya is the progress that the moon makes in that number of days The correction is for the difference of meridians The result of this precept will be the moon's longitude, when the sun rises at the first meridian The table gives the correction for the place where the system was constructed It will not be difficult to form a table for any other place, whose longitude is known

5 *To make the correction called Senakala*

As this correction is merely on account of the numbers 12,372, 3,081, and 248, not being strictly accurate multiples of the period of the moon's anomalistic revolution, we need not give the precept at length, nor make any remark upon it The result is of course the moon's true longitude at sunrise on the first meridian, called *Sutta Santiran*

6 *To calculate the Sun's longitude,*

Set down the number of months passed, and the day of the month, as so many signs and degrees From this sum subtract the Sankrama Nalikeis, and Vinalikeis, considering them as minutes and seconds, if the beginning of the month happen in the day time, but if the month begin at night, add to that sum the difference between these Nalikeis, &c and sixty Nalikeis

From the Yokyathi Vakya take the equation corresponding to the given day, and subtract it from the above result, if it falls within seven signs of Pisces, but if it be within five signs of Libra, it must be added to the same The result obtained will be the sun's Pudam, or true longitude

A month is the period of the sun's continuance in a sign,

the number of months passed is the number of months passed in the *Kandam*. The *Sankrāma* is the precise period elapsed between sun-rise of the given day, and the beginning of the month. The *Yokyathi* is a table containing the correction of the sun's daily motion, which is to be added or subtracted, according as the motion for the given day is greater or less than the mean motion of 1° .

7 Subtract the sun's true longitude from the *Satta Santirāma* (see No 5), and find the number of complete *Tithis* passed, reduce the remainder to minutes, and multiply them by 80. Divide this product by the difference of the daily motions of the sun and moon, and the quotient will be *Nalikeis*. Multiply the remainder by 80, and divide by the same divisor, for *Vinalikeis*. The *Nadis* and *Vinadis*, thus obtained, are called *Prathamī Nadi* and *Vinadi*. The difference between this result and 60 *Nalikeis*, will be *Satta Paruva Nadi* and *Vinadi*, i. e. the time of conjunction or opposition of the sun and moon.

This precept requires little or no explanation. A *tithi* is a lunar day, or a thirtieth part of a lunation. The precept therefore amounts simply to this,—divide the difference of the true longitude by the difference of motion in longitude, the result will be the time elapsed since last conjunction or opposition, and the complement to a lunation will be the time to elapse till the next.

8 To calculate the longitude of *Rahu*, i. e. the ascending node,

Divide the *Kandam* in No 2 by 6795, and reject the quotient. Multiply the remainder by twelve, and divide by the same divisor, the quotient will be signs. Reduce the remainder to degrees and minutes by multiplying by thirty and sixty, and dividing by the same divisor. Divide the same *Kandam* by 818, and the quotient will be minutes. These minutes must be added to the above found result.

Take the sum of this quantity, and $7^{\circ} 18' 45''$, which is *Rahu's* epoch longitude, and subtract it from 12° , the remainder will be *Rahu's* longitude for sun-rise of the given day.

Divide by 19 the number of *Nalikeis*, intervening between the time of sun rise and the time of conjunction or opposition, the result will be minutes. Subtract these minutes from the longitude above found, the remainder will be the longitude of *Rahu* for the instant of conjunction or opposition.

This precept is sufficiently distinct. The period of revolution of the moon's nodes is assumed at 6795 days, and a correction is applied, which reduces it to 6792.37,—as thus, a being any number of days, we have, for the number of revolu-

tions $\frac{a}{8795} + \frac{a}{813 \times 60 \times 360} = \frac{17567595}{119325680000} + \frac{11932568000}{17567595} = 6792.37$ days. Hence we have, for the length of a revolution, $\frac{11932568000}{17567595} = 6792.37$ days. At the commencement of the present century, it was, according to Laplace, 6793.39 days but it is subject to great variation. As it is an important element in the determination of eclipses according to the present method, its erroneous estimate must considerably vitiate the results. As the motion of the nodes is retrograde, it is the complement of the fraction of a revolution that is to be taken. The motion of the nodes is assumed to be 1' in 19 Nadis.

9 To calculate the precession of the equinoxes —

Divide the number of years passed in Kali Yuga by 615, and the quotient will be signs. Multiply the remainder by thirty and sixty successively, and divide each product by the same divisor, the result will be degrees and minutes.

Reduce the signs, &c. to Bhujas* as usual, and take out the equation from Yutta Nathi Vakya.

This equation, raised to the higher denominations, will be the Ayana Pudam, i. e. the precession of the equinoxes.

YUTTA NATHI VAKYA

3° 45'	Precession	3° 45'	Precession	3° 45'	Precession.
1	91'	9	783'	17	1284'
2	182	10	859	18	1324
3	274	11	933	19	1359
4	362	12	1062	20	1388
5	450	13	1068	21	1410
6	537	14	1129	22	1426
7	621	15	1185	23	1436
8	708	16	1238	24	1440

On a comparison of the precept with the table it will be observed that the precession of the equinoxes is made to be (1440' =) 24° in (615 × 3 =) 1845 years. This gives the mean annual precession = 46" 8.

Now it ought, according to Laplace, to be 50" 1. The error has been introduced, we doubt not, in this way. The Surya Siddhanta proceeded on the supposition that the Zodiacal and Sidereal signs coincided at the beginning of the Kali Yuga.

* It is elsewhere explained that Bhujas means the first or third quadrant, and Kods the second or fourth. To reduce the result, we have therefore, if it be in the second quadrant, to subtract from 180°, if in the third quadrant, to subtract 180° from it, and, if in the fourth quadrant, to subtract it from 360°. The table embraces a quadrant of the epoch, or 1845 years, taking 3° 45' as the unit: thus 3° 45' × 24 = 90°.

but this was not the case. The author of that treatise, in order to absorb the error, supposed the annual precession to be 54," which gave him the correct position of the equinox for his own epoch. Now the author of the present treatise, finding that an error would accrue if he calculated the position of the equinox at the rate of 54," set himself to correct the rate. He must have assumed that the increase in precession, which he found to exist, had accumulated from the Kali Yuga, whereas it had in reality accumulated only from the era of the Surya Siddhanta, accordingly he made the rate too small.

10 *To calculate the Ascensional Difference —*

To the Sun's longitude (No 6) add the precession of the equinoxes above found, and ascertain whether this quantity falls within six signs of Aries or Libra, and reduce it to Bhuga, if it be in Kōdi.

If this reduced quantity be less than a sign, multiply it by 48, then reduce the product to the higher denomination, and divide by 30. The resulting quotient is called Sara Vinadi, or ascensional difference.

When the reduced quantity is greater than one sign, but less than two, multiply the degrees and minutes of the same by 38, and find out the Sara Vinadi, as before, remembering to increase the result by 48 Vinadis. When it exceeds two signs, the degrees and minutes of the same must be multiplied by 16, and the result, found as before, must be added to 86 Vinadis.

The Ascensional difference is the quantity by which the semi diurnal arc of the Sun is greater or less than a quadrant. As this depends upon the latitude of the place, as well as the Sun's declination, the numbers given in the text are therefore applicable only to the place for which the system is constructed, or places of the same latitude. It is not the ascensional difference, but double of that quantity, that the precept directs us to find.

11 *For the duration of the day — To 30 Nalikeis add the ascensional difference found, if the sun's longitude be within six signs of Aries, but subtract the same, when it is otherwise. The sum, or difference, will be the duration of the day, called Tivamanam.*

This requires no explanation. The length of a day is equal to 30 Nalikeis (12 hours), increased or diminished by twice the ascensional difference, according as the sun is to the North or South of the equator. This confirms the correction, that we noticed under the preceding precept.

12 *Multiply the Sara Vinadi, found as in No 10, by the true daily motions of the Sun and Moon, and divide each of the products twice by 60 successively. Add the last found quanti-*

ties respectively to the true longitudes of the Sun and Moon. The sums are called the Samakkrakam of the Sun and Moon.

On reference to No 6, it will be seen that an element in the determination of the sun's longitude is the *Sanhrama*, or time from sun-rise to the beginning of a month. In that article the sun rise is considered to be at 6 o'clock, and the present is a correction to reduce the longitude to its value at actual sunrise.

SOLAR ECLIPSES

18 *Take the difference between the time of conjunction and half the duration of the day, and with it, as an argument, take out the equation from the Lampitha Vakya, and divide it by 60, the result will be Nalikeis and Vinalikeis. To the time of conjunction apply the equation, by addition, or subtraction, according as it is in the afternoon, or forenoon. The result will be Lampana Puruvam, or the apparent time of conjunction.**

The *Lampitha Vakya* is a table of the moon's parallax in longitude, reduced to time, that is, the equation, contained in the table, is the difference between the time, when the moon appears to be in a given longitude, and the time, when she is there. The parallax of the sun is neglected. The rule seems to proceed on the supposition that, on the day of conjunction, the moon is on the meridian at noon, and consequently, her parallax depending on her altitude, the parallax at conjunction will be a function of the time of the conjunction before or after noon.

14 *Apply the same equation, as directed in the preceding article, to the Samakkrakam, regarding the Nalikeis as minutes, and the Vinalikeis as seconds. The result is called Lampana Ravi, or the Sun's apparent longitude for the time of conjunction.*

Rather, the sun's longitude at the time of apparent conjunction. This is evident. The Samakkrakam, being the longitude of the Sun and Moon at the time of actual conjunction, must be corrected by the amount of the parallax of the Moon, in order to give the longitude at the time of apparent conjunction.

15 *Take the difference between half the duration of the day and the time of apparent conjunction, and convert the remainder into degrees, &c, by multiplying by 6, and dividing by 60 and 30. Subtract the result from Lampana Ravi, if the time of conjunction occur in the forenoon, but, if it occur in the afternoon, add it to the same. The sum of this result and the precession of the equinoxes, is called Sayani Ravi, i.e. the longitude of the Nonageimal.*

* Rather, time of apparent conjunction.—ED

The reason of this is evident: The sun's, or difference, of the sun's apparent longitude at a given time and his distance from the Nonagesimal, or intersection of the ecliptic with the meridian of the place, is of course the longitude of the Nonagesimal.

18 *If the Savana Ravi be within 6 signs of Aries, mark it as Northern, but if it be within six signs of Libra, mark it as Southern*

Having reduced the Sayana Ravi to Bhujā, as usual, find out the equation from the sun's Manta Jva Vakya, and divide it by 7, the quotient will be Ankulas. Multiply the remainder by 60, and divide the product by the same divisor, the quotient will be Viankulas. These Ankulas and Viankulas are called the Northern, or Southern, (as the case may be) Ravi Vikshepam.

This is the moon's parallax in latitude, which is assumed, for no good reason that we can imagine, to be equal to one-seventh part of the equation of the sun's centre.

17 *Multiply by 13 the quotient found in art 18, and the product, divided by 60, will be minutes and seconds. Subtract this result from the Samakkrakam, if the time of conjunction be in the forenoon, but, if it be in the afternoon, it must be added. The last result is called Lampana Sama Santuran, i. e. the apparent longitude of the moon at conjunction (Long of D at app conj.)*

This corresponds exactly with the precept No 14, assuming that the moon's motion in longitude is 13 times that of the sun.

18 *From Lampana Sama Santuran, subtract the longitude of Rahu, and mark the remainder as northern or southern, according as it is less or greater than six Signs.*

Reduce the same remainder to Bhujā, if it be in Kōdi, and bring it to minutes. Divide these minutes by 13, the quotient will be Ankulas, multiply the remainder by 60, and divide by the same divisor, and the quotient will be Viankulas. The result is the Moon's Vikshepam, or latitude, either north or south, according as before marked.

This is on the supposition that the Moon's latitude, when very near her node, is one thirteenth part of her distance in longitude from the node. It were much more nearly correct to make it one eleventh part. To find the latitude accurately requires nothing more than the solution of the right angled spherical triangle, of which the sides are the distance of the Moon from her node along the orbit, the difference in longitude of the Moon and node, and the latitude. The first of these sides is the hypotenuse of the right angled triangle and the angle, contained by the Moon's orbit and the ecliptic, is known, being $5^{\circ} 8'$ nearly, according to Laplace. Hence we have, by Napier's rule,

*Sin of diff of long. = tan of lat. \times cot $5^{\circ} 8'$;
or tan of lat. = Sin of diff of long \times tan $5^{\circ} 8'$*

But, both the latitude and the difference, of longitude, being necessarily so small at the time of a solar eclipse, we may consider the tangent of the one and the sine of the other to be equal to the arcs themselves; hence we get

lat = diff of long \times tan $5^{\circ} 8' = 09 \times$ diff. of long = $\frac{1}{11} \times$ diff of long nearly

The error of the author proceeds from under-estimating the inclination of the Moon's orbit, and taking the sine of that inclination instead of the tangent. He makes the inclination of the Moon's orbit to the ecliptic only $4^{\circ} 30'$, which is fully $38'$ too little.

19 *The Nitya Vikshepam is always south, being equal to $8'$*

We are indebted to the translator for the explanation of this precept, which otherwise we should not have been able to understand, as we do not think we have previously been told the meaning of the term *Nitya Vikshepam*. With Mr Hoisington's help, however, we make out that it is a correction for reducing the Moon's equatoreal parallax to the parallax for the place for which the treatise is composed. This place being in northern latitude, the Moon's apparent place is always further south, than if viewed from the equator. It corresponds to $8^{\circ} 45'$ North.

20 *If the three Vikshepams be of one kind, i e, either northern or southern, add them together, but, if they be of different kinds, take their difference. The sum, or difference, found is called Pada Vikshepam, being northern or southern, according to the quality of the greater of the Vikshepams*

The three *Vikshepams* to be added (algebraically) being the Moon's latitude (No 18), the Moon's parallax in latitude (No 16), and the correction of this parallax for the place of observation (No 19) the result must be the Moon's apparent latitude.

21 *Multiply the Sun's true daily motion by 5, and divide the product by 18, the quotient will be Ankulas. Multiply the remainder by 60 and divide the product by the same divisor, for Viankulas. The result will be the Ravi Mandalarttam, i e the Sun's apparent semi-diameter*

As the sun's daily motion is greatest in perigee, and least in apogee, and as his apparent diameter is greatest and least at the same times respectively, and as both the daily motion and the apparent diameter increase from apogee to perigee and decrease from perigee to apogee, it appears that the one of these quantities may be regarded as a function of the other. The average daily motion being 1° , the rule will give the mean semi-diameter = $16\frac{3}{4}$. According to Laplace, the mean diameter is $32' 3''.8$, or the semi diameter = $16' 1''.6$

22 Divide the moon's true daily motion by 50; the quotient will be Ankulas, reduce the remainder to Viankulas. The result will be the Santara Mandalarttam, i.e. the moon's apparent semi-diameter

This is precisely on the same principle with the preceding. The average daily motion of the moon being $13^{\circ} 10' 35''$, the rule gives the mean semi-diameter = $15' 48''$. Calculating from the data furnished by Laplace, we make it $15' 43''$

23 The sum of the apparent semi diameters of the sun and moon is called Sampatkarttam. If from this the Puda Vikshepam cannot be subtracted there will be no eclipse. But if it can, then subtract the Puda Vikshepam from the Sampatkarttam, and the remainder is called Krasangulam, being Northern or Southern, as is Puda Vikshepam

This requires no explanation. If the sum of the apparent semi diameters of the sun and moon be not greater than the distance of their centres, they will not overlap each other. It should be noticed that the latitude of the Sun is not taken into account. As it never exceeds 1, it was not appreciable by the Hindu observers. The neglect of it will not produce any material error.

24 From the Krasangulam, subtract successively 1, 2, 3, 6, 6, and 12. The number of subtractions will be Nalikeis. Multiply the remainder by 60, and divide the product by the number next greater than the one subtracted, the quotient will be Vinalikeis. The result is called Tithi Nalikeis and Vinalikeis. Half of this result is called Tithiarttam.

This is an empirical rule, most probably founded on observation. The Tithiarttam is half the duration of the eclipse. A *tithi* is a lunar day, or thirtieth part of a lunation. A *nalikeis* is a sixtieth part of a day, consequently a *tithi nalikeis* is a sixteenth part of a lunar day, or an eighteen hundredth part of a lunation. It is assumed that when the disks overlap by $1'$, the duration of the eclipse is one *tithi nalikeis*.

When they overlap by $3'$, the duration of the eclipse is 2 *Nalikeis*

6'	3
12	4
20'	5
32'	6

These results, as we have said, have probably been derived from the observation of one or two eclipses. The supposition that two eclipses will necessarily last precisely the same time, if they be of precisely the same magnitude, is not quite correct. However, the error will not be great.

25 Add Tithiarttam to Lampana Ravi for the beginning, and subtract the same for the end, of the eclipse. Lampana Paruvam is the time of the middle of the eclipse.

This is surely a mistake. The processes for finding the beginning and end respectively of the eclipse are the reverse of those stated

26 *The Sun's apparent semi diameter doubled will be the apparent diameter of the Sun. Ascertain what part of this is the Krasankulam, and it will give the magnitude of the eclipse. If $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, or $\frac{1}{5}$ of the sun's disk is eclipsed, while the Krasankulam is northern, the eclipse will commence on the North-west limb of the sun, and end on the North-east limb. But if the Krasankulam be southern, it will commence on the South-west, and end on the South-east limb. If the eclipse be total, it will begin on the Western, and end on the Eastern limb.*

This requires no explanation

LUNAR ECLIPSES

27 The same as 18

28 The same as 22

29 *Multiply the moon's apparent semi diameter by five, and take half the product for Rahu Mandalarttam, the apparent semi diameter of the shadow.*

This is on the assumption that the diameter of the earth's shadow, at the distance of the moon, is $2\frac{1}{2}$ times the diameter of the moon. This is but a rude approximation, assuming that the earth's distance from the sun has a constant ratio to her distance from the moon.

30 *The sum of the semi-diameters of the moon and shadow is called Sampatkarttam.*

If this be less than the moon's latitude, there will be no eclipse. But if greater, subtract the latitude from the Sampatkarttam, and the remainder will be Krasankulam, which is to be considered Northern, when the moon's latitude is South, and Southern, when that is North.

This requires no remark

31 *From the Krasankulam, subtract successively 1, 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 11, 7, and 16. If any of these numbers cannot be subtracted, the remainder must be multiplied by 60, and divided by the number next to the last subtracted; the quotient will be Vinalikeis. The number of the above subtractions will be Nalikeis. These Nalikeis and Vinalikeis express the duration of the eclipse. Half of this is called Tithiarttam.*

For the beginning of the eclipse, subtract Tithiarttam from the true time of opposition, and for the end, add the same to it. The true time of opposition is that of the middle of the eclipse.

In order to ascertain the time from sunset, the duration of the day must be subtracted from the time of the eclipse.

The remark, we have made on No 24, is equally applicable to this.

32 *Multiply the apparent semi-diameter of the moon by 2, and ascertain what part of this is the Krasankulam. The result will be the magnitude of the eclipse*

This is evident

33 *If the Krasankulam is northern, while the eclipse is partial, the eclipse will commence on the north eastern limb, and end on the north-western. If southern, it will begin on the south eastern, and end on the south western. If total, it will begin on the eastern, and end on the western, limb*

This also is evident

Thus have we gone over the treatise, and commented upon it at length. We trust that this labor will not have been mis spent. Although we do not expect any considerable proportion of our readers to honour this article with a perusal, yet we hope that those, who have patience to go through with it, will acquire a definite knowledge of a subject, of which they have hitherto had but a vague notion. The operation is much shorter than the most improved European method, as shewn in Mr Woolhouse's treatise, appended to the Nautical Almanac for 1836, but the greater complication of that process is due only to its greater accuracy. The Hindu method will not give a result that can be confidently depended upon. There may be a small eclipse, when this method will indicate none, or there may be none, when this method will indicate a small one, and, in every case, the eclipse may be greater or less than indicated. And this is in strict accordance with the fact, as ascertained by the comparison of the Native Almanacs, with the eclipses that actually occur. But still, with all its imperfections, we cannot but regard the method as highly creditable to the ingenuity of those who devised it. To calculate an eclipse, without the aid of those tables, which furnish the data, and that Spherical Trigonometry, which is the great instrument in the hand of the European Astronomer, is a "pursuit of knowledge under difficulties," in which it is no discredit to be occasionally "thrown out."

It is quite unnecessary to say a word as to the concluding part of Mr Hoisington's volume. We shall therefore end, as we began, by expressing our conviction that the work is fitted to be useful, not only for the purpose, for which the translator intends it, but also for the purpose of making known the state of Astronomy amongst the Hindus, more accurately than it has hitherto been known to the Astronomers of the West. In order that it may be more useful for this purpose we would recommend that Mr Hoisington, who is now in America, should reprint the translation apart from the Tamil Original. This would not occupy more than 100 pages of letter press, and would not fail to be acceptable to many.

ART IV—*The Englishman, Bengal Hurkaru, Delhi Gazette, Friend of India, and other Journals January to December 1849*

[We have been led to think that an occasional contribution to the contemporary history of the Indian Empire, in the shape of a brief sketch of the most prominent transactions in the Presidency of Fort William, will probably not be unacceptable to the majority of our supporters, and may prove of some value as a work of reference in future years. We intend therefore, in each succeeding year, to prepare a careful summary of the events of the past twelve months, comprising all the information, which may be within reach, and appear worthy of record. We have chosen to designate it "Annals of the Bengal Presidency", because, although references will be made to events connected with the general History of India, and even to transactions beyond its confines, the more minute details will be especially restricted to that Presidency.—ED.]

THE general aspect of affairs, at the commencement of the year 1849, might have checked the aspirations of even the most sanguine political optimists. Almost every succeeding mail from Europe brought tidings of an imminent general war, and of an actual and deadly struggle between the principles of liberty and despotism. Trade had been almost extinguished on the continent, and the revival of it in England had scarcely commenced, although the public journals began to point to certain symptoms as indicating a more healthful state in the commercial body. The mercantile Houses of Calcutta had not yet recovered from the shock, created by the disasters of 1847, and the apparently rickety condition of some of our public establishments deterred the few, who were possessed of capital, from adventuring it in such investments, and terrified all who had any interest, immediate or remote, in the different Joint Stock Companies. The conscription list of the Union Bank, too, had just been published, and every man, whose name was not in the black sheet, grasped his purse with a firmer hand, and congratulated himself on his extreme foresight in avoiding the snare. The great plan of Indian Railways, once so confidently announced, and from which such extraordinary results were to flow, appeared to have been swamped under the weight of continental revolutions, commercial distress, and corporate inactivity. Even the ordinary march of improvement was suspended by the requirements and excitement of actual warfare. Our armies in the Punjab, after many months of apparently useless campaigning, had fought a great battle on the banks of the Jhelum, without any satisfactory results. A distinct narrative of the transactions of this war has already appeared in our pages, and a detail has been given of the most important transactions of the campaign, from the first skirmish at Leiah, to the glorious victory of Guzerat—from the murder of the British officers, to its expia-

ductions and enjoy a very limited circulation—one not to be compared to that of a fourth rate provincial town newspaper in England, and infinitely below such a paper in matter and manner

Public opinion in India, by which we mean the exposition of the general sentiments of chiefs and people, is therefore wholly and entirely unrepresented and the European press, even where unbiassed by class connections and influences, which is far from being always the case, is often very grossly misled, and falls into lamentable errors, in spite of the best intentions. We have seen the European Press praise men, as the models of public servants, whom we knew to be unprincipled, corrupt, and despised by the native community, as not even coming up to their own standard of integrity, debased as they acknowledge that to be, whilst, on the other hand, we have known the European press to be hounded on to the abuse and misrepresentation of public servants, whom the native community honoured and respected, as just, able, and of stainless probity. Sometimes this was to be ascribed to a hostile faction, knowing how to “work the press” as it is technically termed, but more frequently to the complete isolation of the European Press, and its want of connection with, and of feelers among, the native community, its want of authentic accurate information upon those most important points, the grievances, wishes, and opinions of the people. Hence, as the European press is, we repeat, no representative of public opinion in India, either as to men or measures—the chiefs, not actually at the three Presidencies, scarce heeding its existence, and never aware of its functions and character, whilst the millions are wholly ignorant of any such machinery, which neither directly nor indirectly can make itself practically felt among them—we advocate strongly that the Committee of the House of Commons have power to depute Commissioners for local investigation upon any matters, which seem to require inquisitorial scrutiny on the spot. In the course of the remarks, which we contemplate submitting to our readers in subsequent numbers, a few subjects, on which local inquiry would be advantageous, may be pointed out though, after the general expression of opinion here made, that investigations on the spot would be alike politic and free from danger or inconvenience, there will be no necessity for again recurring to the subject, further than incidentally to illustrate the position, we have advanced, by occasionally instancing an example, where local scrutiny before Commissioners would be useful, not less to India, than to England

ART IV.—*Festivals, Games, and Amusements, Ancient and Modern* By Horatio Smith. *Family Library, No. 25*

THE games and amusements of a country take their colour and complexion from the prevailing character of its inhabitants. The sports of the warlike, active, and enterprising Romans were totally different from those of the voluptuous, sensual, and sedentary Persians, the festivals and merry-makings of the vivacious and pleasure-loving Greeks had nothing in common with those of the thoughtful but gloomy and priest-ridden Egyptians, while the war-dances of the North American Indians are in marked contrast with the elegant and somewhat effeminate amusements of the modern Italians. In this way perhaps, the festivals, games, sports, and amusements of a people afford a criterion for ascertaining their prevailing national character. They also serve to indicate the progress of refinement and civilization. In the infancy of society, when habits are rude and manners unpolished, games and sports partake of the general rusticity. With the march of civilization and the progress of refinement, the very amusements of a people become polished. The sports of the heroes, described by Homer towards the end of his immortal Epic, consisting in struggles of physical strength, were vastly different from the gay festivals and lively games of the Ionian Greeks of a later date, and the bull-baitings of the days of Queen Elizabeth would scarcely be tolerated in merry England in the nineteenth century.

The Bengalis are second to no nation in the number and variety of their festivals and amusements. Europeans in this country are accustomed to see the natives in the hours of business, and infer, from the air of artificiality which they assume on those occasions, that they are a cold-hearted, dull, and frigid people. Nothing can be a more erroneous conclusion. Were we to observe them in their seasons of recreation and leisure, when, divested of reserve, they shew themselves in their genuine colours, were we to mingle in their diversions, their festivals, and sports, were we to join in their evening talk, or their nocturnal merry-makings, we would find them a lively, vivacious, and merry people.

It is not our object in the following pages to describe the almost innumerable festivals and holidays of the Bengalis. These may be handled in a separate paper in a future number : in this we confine our attention to their games and amusements.

The most superficial observer of Bengali manners must know that their games and sports are, for the most part, sedentary. The amusements of a numerous people, that do not supply the British army with a single sepoy, cannot be expected to bear a military character. The Bengali is certainly the least pugnacious animal in the world. The gods did not make him warlike. Possessed of lax nerves, of a feeble body, and of a timid soul, nature has not meant him to handle a gun, or wield a sword. Unlike the horse mentioned in the book of Job, "who paweth in the valley, and rejoiceth in his strength, who goeth to meet the armed men, mocketh at fear, and is not affrighted, who smelleth the battle afar off, the thunder of the captains, and the mighty," the Bengali quietly folds up his arms, smokes his *húka*, and carefully barricades his door at the approach of a red-coat. Placed as the Bengali is under the fervours of a tropical sun, and indisposed to frequent locomotion, we cannot expect him to be proficient in field sports. His maxim being, that "walking is better than running, standing than walking, sitting than standing, and lying-down best of all," it would be preposterous to expect him to excel in any sports requiring manly activity. Gentle in his manners, idle in his habits, timid in his dispositions, unenterprising in his thoughts, and slow in his motions, all his amusements and games must be for the most part sedentary. To a hasty description of some of these games, we now address ourselves.

The royal game of *Chess* merits the foremost notice. The history of this singular and intellectual game has been variously stated. The invention has been ascribed to the Hebrews, the Babylonians, the Persians, Chinese, and Hindus. Sir W Jones, in his ingenious dissertation, "On the Indian game of chess," ascribes it to the last-mentioned people. The Sanskrit name of this game, or of one similar to it, is *Chaturanga*, or the four divisions of an army, of which word the term *Shatranj*—the name by which the game is designated in Persia and India—is supposed to be a corruption.

"Thus," says Sir William, "has a very significant word in the sacred language of the Brahmmins been transformed by successive changes into *axedres*, *scacch*, *ecchecs*, *chess*, and by a whimsical concurrence of circumstances, given birth to the English word *check*, and even a name to the *exchequer* of Great Britain."

It must be confessed, however, that the game of *Chaturanga*, as described in the Hindu books—in the *Bhavishya-Purána* for instance, extracts from which have been given by Sir W Jones, and in Raghu-Nandan's "Institutes of the Hindu Religion"—is

materially different from the Persian chess. Instead of two, the Hindu Chaturanga consisted of four armies, which were ranged in battle array in four parts of the board, and, what is more, the moves of the pieces were not regulated by the skill of the players, but by the throws of the dice. Sir William supposes this to have been a later invention, or rather modification of the original chess.

Whatever may be the way in which the *questio vexata* of the invention of chess is solved (and we leave the matter to professed antiquarians), it is interesting for us to know that the *Shatranj* is universally prevalent in Bengal. The Bengali chess-board is the same as the European, with this difference, that the shrewd Bengali, averse to extravagant expenditure, usually draws his figure of sixty-four squares on a common sheet of paper. The pieces used in Bengal are of the same number as those of Europe, some of them however having different names. The Rájá, or king, is of course the commander-in-chief in this mock battle next to him is the *mantri*, or minister—the *pherz* of the Persians, the *verge* of the French, and the *queen* of the English, next in order are the *elephants*—the Persian *phils*, the French *fols*, and the English *bishops*, and the *horses*—the Persian *aspensuar*, and the English *knights*. The English “*castle*,” the European “*rook*,” and the Persian “*rokah*,” has been ingeniously derived from the Sanskrita *Rath*, or chariot. But in Bengal the castle, or rook, has been most unaccountably changed into a *boat*. Sir W. Jones justly remarks that the intermixture of ships with horses, elephants and infantry on a plain, is an absurdity not to be defended. The *banes* of the Bengali are the *beydals* of the Persian, the *petons* of the French, and the *pawns* of the English.

The moves of the pieces are similar to those of the European nations. All the pieces on one side of the board, agreeably to their Bengali names, are as follows the king, the minister, two elephants, two horses, two boats, and eight foot-soldiers. agreeably to the English way of naming them in the words of the poet,—

“ A monarch strongly guarded here we view
By his own consort and his clergy too ,
Next those, two knights their royal sire attend,
And two steep rocks are planted at each end ,
To clear the way before this courtly throng,
Eight pawns as private soldiers march along ,
Enfans Perdus ! ! like heroes stout and brave
Rak their own lives the sovereign to save
All in their progress forming a complete
And perfect emblem of the game of state.”

The deep fascination, with which this bewitching game capti-

vates the mind, is known to every one practised in the art. It is related of a caliph of Bagdad, that when engaged at chess with his freed-man, Kuthar, a soldier informed him that the city, which was then besieged by the enemy, was on the point of surrendering, he is said to have cried out—"Let me alone, for I am about to check-mate Kuthar" The unfortunate Charles I, when playing at chess, was informed of the resolution of the Scots to deliver him to the Parliament, but his mind was so much occupied with the game, that he finished it with wonderful calmness.

The game of chess is held in high repute in Bengal. That the Bengalis are well skilled in the mysteries of this princely pastime, is not surprizing Their intelligence and sagacity, in which perhaps they are second to no nation, peculiarly fit them for eminence in this game The deep cunning, moreover, which forms no small ingredient of the national character, enables them with facility to dive into the depths of state policy and to extricate the entanglements of political schemes, of which this "game of state" is represented by some to be an apt emblem.

The *Páshá* is considered to rank next to chess, which is regarded as the prince of all games. Its well-known board consists of two long rectangles, intersecting each other at right angles in the middle, and making four small rectangles besides the middle square. Each of these four rectangles consists of twenty-four squares, so that altogether there are ninety-six squares, excluding the space or large square contained in the middle The pieces, made use of in the game, are sixteen in number, four on each side of the board. Unlike chess, where every thing is left to ingenuity and skill, the moves of the pieces in the *Páshá* are regulated by the throws of three dice, of the usual form, generally made of ivory This, like the preceding, is also represented to be a military game That this game is of long standing in Bengal, is evident from the fact that *Yudhasthr* is said in the Hindu Shastras to have played it with *Dúryadhan* There are two ways of playing at "*Páshá*"—the *Rang* and *Chaupári*, in the former, only two, and in the latter, four persons being engaged The Bengalis, naturally a talkative race, preserve wonderful taciturnity while engaged in chess Around the chess-board every thing is quiet as the grave. The spectators look on the combat with mute attention, while the players themselves are too thoughtful to give vent to words. The ordinary *Kisti* (check) uttered in a slow voice is answered by the *Basti* (removal of the king) pronounced in a tone still feebler the final check-mate being announced with

due *eclat* The Páshá-board is, on the contrary, a scene of noisy vociferation. The combatants breathe hatred and vengeance against each other, the throws of the dice are accompanied with tremendous noise, and the sounds of "*Kache-Baro*" and "*Baro-Panch*" are heard from a considerable distance. It is altogether a lively scene, in strong contrast with the apathy generally attributed to the Bengalis. Around the Páshá-board is thrown away much "excellent indignation," which, if properly husbanded and directed in one strong current against the oppressing zemindars of their country, might lighten the burdens of the people, and augment their social happiness.

In point of gentility, in the estimation of the Bengali, *Playing cards* occupy the third place. Every one is acquainted with the fact, that the mysteries of managing fifty-two quadrangular pieces of painted paste-board are not Hindu in their origin. Whether cards were invented in France towards the conclusion of the fourteenth century for alleviating the ill-humour of a King, or in Spain by an Abbé, or whether they were introduced into Europe by the Moorish invaders, who imported it from the East, or by the crusaders of the eleventh century, whether the pack originally consisted of thirty-six or fifty-two; whether the "combat on the velvet plain" was an allegorical representation of the feudal system—the king representing the feudal monarch, the knaves the powerful barons, (the queens being a later invention of French gallantry), and the numerical cards the degraded serfs, whether the suits symbolized the four classes of society, *spades* the nobility, *hearts* the clergy, *clubs* the husbandmen, and *diamonds* the vassals or the soldiers, and whether the technicalities of the Aristotelian Logic may not be conveniently taught by the apt-emblems of the quadrangular pieces, as a hot-brained friar of the sixteenth century is said to have imagined and actually practised—all these we leave to be determined by those who delight in such researches. We suppose the Bengalis learnt the art of dealing and shuffling from their enlightened conquerors—the Europeans. The king and the queen they style *Sahab* and *Bibí*, and the Bengali *Pramará* is, doubtless, a corruption of the European *Primer*. It is scarcely necessary to add that the cards used by the Bengalis are precisely those used by the Europeans.

Besides *Primer*, the most usual play is what is termed *Grábu* it is played by four persons with a pack of thirty-two cards—the twos, threes, fours, fives, and sixes, being excluded. That gambling of some sort existed in the country from a remote age is unquestionable, but the Bengalis are by no means deep gamblers, and we are greatly mistaken if their gambling

propensities have not been increased by the introduction of European cards. *Cowries* (shells) were, and are, still used by the peasantry for gambling purposes, but these, it ought to be remembered, are games of small hazard.

The chess, the *páshá*, and cards constitute the whole circle of the games of the largest proportion of the intelligent and sober part of the Hindu community. They are played in the halls of the rich, the *chandi-mandalas* of the middling classes, and under the shades of trees. The Bengalis are a very sociable and pleasure-loving people. Gregariousness is one of the prominent features of their national character. In every village the people assemble together in separate parties, subsequent to their afternoon nap, for purposes of recreation and interesting talk. We do not here speak of the lower orders of the people, but of the gentry of Bengal. In the cool of the evening, parties of respectable natives may be not unfrequently seen sitting under the umbrageous *Bakul*, and amusing themselves with chess, *páshá*, or cards. Laying aside for a season the pride of wealth and even the rigorous distinctions of caste, Brahmins and Sudras may be seen mingling together for recreation. The noisy vociferations and the loud laugh betoken a scene of merriment and joy. The *húkah*, a necessary furniture of a Bengali meeting place, is ever and anon by its fragrant volleys ministering to the refreshment of the assembly, while the plaudits of the successful player rise higher than the curling smoke issuing from the coconut vessel. The games over, they separate for a short time, and, when the shades of evening thicken around them, re-assemble within-doors, and amuse themselves again with music and cards.

We have often thought that the degradation of the females of India has been generally drawn in exaggerated colours. That women in India do not attain to that state in society, which they do in Europe, is unquestionable, but that they are viewed here in the light of slaves, cattle, and household property, is not true. We speak not of the place which the Hindu Shastras assign to women in the scale of society, but speak of things as they exist before us. People at home, ignorant of Hindu manners and customs, and drawing their inferences from their theoretic knowledge of Hinduism, which is not deep, have a notion that Hindu females, like negro slaves, are doomed to unrelenting servitude, and subjected to all the ills of life without its enjoyment and pleasures. That much of their time is devoted to all sorts of in-door work is true, but is not that the case even in England? Were they allowed the privilege of improving their minds by the salutary exercises of reading and writing, they would stand

on a par with the women of any part of the world. In this prohibition is to be found the real cause of their degradation.

With a view to show that the females of Bengal are not such galley-slaves as some represent them to be, that they are not always ruled over with an iron sceptre, that they have their leisure and their recreations, and that, to dissipate the tedium and languor of their illiterate life, they, in common with the males, have recourse to amusements, we shall mention some of their games and sports. We do not wish to present the reader with the details of the juvenile plays of the girls of Bengal, of their *Dolls*, not certainly the most graceful of their race, of *Bow-Bow*, in which the mysteries of marriage are emblematically represented, of *Hide-and-seek*, known to children in all parts of the world, of the *Blind men*, or squeezing of the eyes, of *Ful-hùti*, in which the dexterity of the fingers is exhibited, and of that large class of plays in which the recitation of doggerel verses forms a principal part, such as *Agádum-Bágadum*, &c these and such like plays shall be passed over

When females attain to the age of puberty, and are transferred from the paternal roof to that of their husbands, they commence a busy life. Early in the morning, in the houses of the middling class, for we speak not of the wealthy minority, females may be seen busy with domestic affairs. One may be seen with a vessel in her hand, containing a mixture of water and cow's dung, industriously engaged in sprinkling the fragrant contents on the mud-floor and yard, with a view to ceremonial purification, another, with a palmyra, or cocoanut broomstick, sweeping every part of the house, a third, hastening to a neighbouring tank to cleanse and wash all the brazen pots of the family, while a fourth—the cook ^{of the family}—is preparing for morning ablutions. The morning work over, while the cuisinier plies her task in the heated kitchen, the other females bathe in an adjacent pool, and bring each a vessel of water for the supply of the family. The males—the lords of creation—are feasted first, on whom their wives and mothers attend. It ought to be remarked in passing, that attendance at the table is not regarded by the Bengalis as a servile occupation, that office being usually performed by elderly matrons and Brahmins. After the males and the children have eaten, the self-denying and modest women help themselves to their morning meal, which takes place in the middle of the day. Their meal over, they repair to their dormitories, and betake themselves to

Tired nature's sweet restorer—balmy sleep

and, before engaging in their evening work, which is slight compared with their morning portion, amuse themselves with one or other of the following games.

Ashtá-Kashte This game is played on a board of twenty-five squares, with sixteen pieces of small *couries*, which are placed on four sides of the figure. For regulating the moves of the pieces, four large *couries*, instead of dice, are used. The pieces have all the same uniform motion. The throws are only five in number—the *un*, *deux*, *trois*, *quatre*, and *huit*, the first is technically called *Kashte* and the last *Ashtá*—whence the name of the game. It is played by four individuals, and is said to be finished, when all the pieces, traversing through the length and breadth of the board, enter into the central square—the heaven of rest and undisturbed repose, and those persons, whose pieces first attain to this position, are considered to be the winners of the game.

Mangal Patán. It is not a little remarkable that the females of the most unwarlike nation upon earth should delight themselves with the image of war. The fair ladies of England must, in this instance, at least yield to their dark sisters on the banks of the Bhágrathi the palm of superiority. Which of the ladies, we ask, who are so thoroughly initiated into the mysteries of the polka and crochet, ever conducted with consummate generalship a Mongol or a Patán army? Britain may boast of a Boadicea, France of a Joan of Arc, and Russia of a Catherine. but the females of Bengal are all Amazons, who display their martial abilities on the well-foughten field within the precincts of their gloomy zenanas. The game of *Mangal Patán* is a real military pastime, it is the representation of a battle between the Mongols and the Patáns. The battle-field is accurately drawn, consisting of sixteen squares. within this figure is inscribed a large square. On one side is ranged the Mongol army in a triangular form, and on the opposite side the Patán army. Each army consists of sixteen pieces, the moves of which are regulated, not by chance, but by the skill of the players. It is less ingenious than chess, inasmuch as the moves of the pieces are uniform. The fascination, nevertheless, which this less complicated game produces on the softer sex, is fully equal to that exerted on more robust minds by the pastime called *par excellence* royal.

Das-Panchush is another favourite game of native women. Its board is similar to that of the *Páshá* the moves of the pieces, which are sixteen in number, are however regulated, not

by three dice, but by seven cowries, thrown either on the floor, or against an inclined plane. The throws are two, three, four, six, ten, twelve, and twenty-five, the game deriving its name from two of them, ten (*Das*) and twenty-five (*Panchash*). This play is as animated as the *Páshá*, the long-veiled women of Bengal rivalling the noisy eloquence of the fish-wives of Billingsgate. The long duration of the play, the fascination which it produces, the warmth of feeling which animates the opposing combatants, and its similarity to the genteel *Páshá*, render it one of the most favourite games of the females of Bengal.

Bhág Bandhí, or the tiger enclosed, is another favourite pastime. Although the worthy males of Bengal have not either the courage and bodily activity, or the inclination to attack in their lairs the wild beasts of the forest, yet their wives, behind the *Purdah*, amuse themselves with the image of a tiger-hunt.

The figure, commonly employed for playing the game, is composed of two triangles, united together in the middle by a big square. The tiger of the game occupies one of the triangles, and the goats, whose number is variable, the other triangle and a part of the square. The tiger springs upon and devours a good number of the goats, but is eventually pushed to a corner, whence it is impossible to escape. Sometimes this game is played with two tigers, and proportionately large number of goats, but the tigers are in the issue ensnared. Sometimes, also, the *Bhág Bandhí* is played in the figure of the *Mangal Patán*, but in all cases the female hunters capture their game.

Passing over some games of minor importance, we conclude the Hindu female games with remarking, that the women of Bengal are by no means unacquainted with playing-cards. To avoid misrepresentation, it is also necessary to remark that the games, which we have ascribed to females, are not peculiar to them: they are also played by Hindu males.

The games of the peasantry of Bengal will now engage our attention. If any Bengali sports require muscular activity and frequent locomotion, almost all of them are confined to the peasantry. Addicted to work dependent on physical energy, and accustomed to exposure in the fields, their sports and games partake of their general activity. The peasantry of every country, owing to the simplicity and naturalness of their habits, must always be an interesting class. Plain in their manners, unsophisticated in their judgments, and uncorrupted with the vices of meretricious refinement, they form, as it were, a transition-link between the old and the new worlds of fashion, and

serve to mark the progress of society. The *ryots* of Bengal are as interesting a class of people as any peasantry in the world. Amongst them is to be found a vast deal of the simplicity of olden times, and some of the social virtues, which they exercise, entitle them to our respect and admiration. But they have been greatly abused—systematic oppression from time immemorial has paralyzed their energies, deprived them of their native manliness, and reduced them to the ignoble condition of slaves. Their own countrymen have proved to be their cruellest oppressors and most inveterate foes. The zemindar's *hachari* is the scene of the *ryots*' degradation, where he is derided, spat upon, and treated as if he were the veriest vermin of creation. Let us turn, however, at present, from these unpleasant and melancholy reflections to a brief consideration of their games and sports, of which, although divested of every thing else that makes life comfortable, the rapacity of iron-hearted landlords has not been able to deprive them.

The Sling No person can have gone one day's journey from the metropolis of British India without observing almost every shepherd or cowherd boy provided with a sling and stones, not unlike the great shepherd-king of Judah in his youthful days. The herdsmen of Bengal may be seen in the fields, vying with one another in throwing stones to the greatest distance by means of their rudely made slings.

We pass over *Kite-flying*, the almost universal amusement of old and young, male and female, Mussulman and Hindu, as, except in the construction of the kite, it differs in nothing from the English game.

In the cool of the afternoon a company of youthful herdsmen may often be observed under the grateful shade of a large banian tree, pacing across the ground with great activity. They are playing at *Hádu-Gudu*. This simple pastime of the children of the sun does not require many words to describe it. On the bare ground a line is drawn by a pots-herd, on two sides of which the opposing combatants are ranged. The sport begins with an individual of one party transgressing the line of separation, and encroaching on the territories of the other. The transgressor with his body bent, his hands performing a variety of evolutions, attempts in one breath to strike his enemies—the continuity of the breath being ascertained by a sound which he makes. His enemies are on the alert to avoid his touch, which is said to be attended with complete disablement, or, in the phraseology of the play, perfect death. Should he succeed in striking an opponent, and in crossing the line to his own side

in one breath, the opponent is said to die, and, separating from the rest of his companions, retires from the field; but should the striking invader lose his breath before crossing the line, the struck opponent is not disabled. Should the transgressor be seized by his opponents, and he lose his breath on their side of the line, he is disabled and is said to die, but should he succeed, when caught, in shoving himself during the same breath to the dividing line, he is not disabled. The sport concludes when the last combatant of either party is disabled. The number of the players is not fixed, sometimes four, and sometimes fifty, persons may be seen engaged in this sport. The eagerness of the hostile parties, the swift evolutions of the hands, the agility of foot, the recitation of doggerel verses during the performance, the strategy of the combatants, and the loud bursts of laughter which attend the disablement of the opponents, render this sport one of peculiar glee and animation.

Dándá-guh is the bat-and-ball of the Bengalis. The *Dándá* is a stout stick two feet long, and the *Guh* stouter still of the size of half a span. The sport resembles bat-and-ball in so many respects, that it is unnecessary to describe it. There are five ways of playing at *Dándá-guh*, the names of which we put down for the gratification of the curious—*Háral*, *Nama-sudra*, *Eri-dar*, *Eku-duku*, and *Kar-kátá*. At the festival of the first fruits in the month of November, and at the *pújah* of the goddess of wisdom in the month of January, boys, young men, as well as old men, go in together in merry groups, and partake of the pleasures of this exciting sport.

Wrestling is by no means uncommon among the peasantry of Bengal. In all seasons, but especially in the winter, they wrestle together on the out-skirts of a village. The *stadium* of the Bengali wrestlers is usually a small space of ground under a tree, whither the candidates repair in the mornings or the evenings. Unlike the athletes in the Olympic stadium, who wrestled in the eye of assembled Greece, and had their names heralded forth throughout the length and breadth of that glorious land, the wrestlers of Bengal are unobserved and unapplauded except by their rustic comrades. The wrestling over, the simple peasants throw themselves into an adjacent tank or brook, wash their soiled bodies, and not unfrequently crown the amusements of the day with a swimming match. Gambling, to a small extent, obtains among the peasantry, but is so infrequent, that it hardly observes notice.

Ram-fights in the villages of Bengal have nothing of the

atrocities of Spanish bull-baitings or English bear-beatings of former days. We have heard of the natives amusing themselves with the fights of elephants and buffaloes, but these are few and far between. Rams fed with great care and attention in various parts of the country are made to knock at each other for the diversion of the people. Two persons, each provided with a ram, stand several hundred yards from each other, they both let go the rams at the same time, who meet each other in the middle of the area with a tremendous shock of their horns.

Búl-búl fights must not escape our attention. These little birds are collected in multitudes and trained to wag their heads and fight with each other. Some of the wealthy Millionaires of Calcutta are passionately fond of this amusement. Their gardens for whole weeks together are crowded with spectators from Calcutta and its immediate vicinity to witness these Lilliputian fights.

From the list of the amusements of the Bengalis, *Jugglery* should not be excluded. The worthy personages, who play hocus-pocus tricks, are not natives of Bengal, most of them come from Southern India, and a few only from the Western Provinces. The juggling tricks of those, who deceive the credulous Bengalis of the nineteenth century, are far inferior in ingenuity to those exhibited by the *Tragetours* of the fourteenth century witnessed by Chaucer, who, it is said, could produce water in a large hall with boats rowed up and down upon it, make flowers to spring up as in a meadow, and cause a vine to flourish and bear red and white grapes, and dissipate the conjured scene by their mystic wand. The Bengali *Bájkars* (so the jugglers are called) are men of inferior pretensions. They content themselves with exhibiting sleights of hand. They convert a pice into a mango, a plum into a cowrie. They create an egg in an empty bag, and cause a dead goat to drink water. They can dance upon a rope, vomit fire, and sometimes thrust a knife through a man's neck without injuring it—which may be reckoned their *chef-d'œuvre*. There are juggling women, who, unacquainted with the higher mysteries of the occult science, are only proficient in showing in their own gums a variety of *teeth*—teeth of monstrous size. The *Bájkars* pretend to work out the transformations of bodies by the magical influence of a piece of bone, which they carry about with them.

In connection with this subject, it may not be unacceptable to the reader to make a remark on those yellow-dressed strollers, who pretend to draw out snakes from their holes by

charming them with a peculiar music. Sir W Jones, in his dissertations before the Asiatic Society, remarks that a learned native of this country had told him that he had frequently seen the most venomous and malignant snakes leave their holes upon hearing tunes on a flute, which gave them peculiar delight. Whether serpents have been ever charmed by music at any time, we shall not take upon ourselves to determine but thus we may be allowed to say, on the ground of our own individual experience and observation, that the pretended charmers, who walk about the streets of Calcutta, with bones of snakes and musical instruments in their hands, are great rogues and cheats. Snakes do certainly make their appearance, when the flutes are played upon but they belong to the charmers themselves, who carry them in a bag carefully concealed beneath the waist, and which they adroitly cast on the ground, pretending that they came out of their holes. These juggling rogues also play at what is called *Tubri*. They pretend to be able, by their incantations, to endow a particle of dust, or a mustard-seed with the miraculous power of stupifying a person at whom it is struck. With these charmed particles, they strike at each other, and fall into fits of torpor to the infinite amazement of the unthinking mob.

From hocus-pocus tricks, we pass on to what may not be improperly termed the elegant amusements of the Bengalis.—

Musc. Says the prince of poets —

“The man that hath no music in himself,
Nor is not moved with concord of sweet sounds,
Is fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils,
The motions of his spirit are dull as night,
And his affections dark as Erebus
Let no such man be trusted.”

The Bengali may then be trusted, for there is certainly music in him of whatever sort. The husbandman in the fields, the pedlar with his pack, the grinder at the mill, the waggoner on his cart—all whistle and sing. Of instrumental music, there is not any lack. While we write, our ears are regaled with the choral symphonies of the *tom-toms* of a marriage procession, and the sounds of musical instruments may be heard at any time in any part of Bengal. But what is the character of their music—both vocal and instrumental? We do not speak here of ancient Hindu music, which, according to Sir W Jones, was by no means contemptible. It would appear from his learned essay on the musical modes of the Hindus, that music was diligently cultivated in ancient times in India, and that there were four musical systems prevalent, viz., those of *Iswara*,

Bharat, Hanumát, and Kalnáth. But whatever may have been the musical attainments of the ancient Hindus and of the modern amateur performers of Delhi, who are said to be exquisite musicians, the music of the Hindus of Lower Bengal at the present day is wretched to the last degree. We do not profess to be connoisseurs; but if harmony be an essential ingredient of music, or rather constitute music itself, nine-tenths of the performances of the Bengalis do not deserve that sacred name. To extract one particle of harmony from a vast deal of their music, is as hopeless as to extract sun-beams out of cucumbers. What music there may be in the Babel discord of *tom-toms, dhols, &c.*, it is impossible for us to determine, and these, it should be remembered, constitute that general music, in which the majority of the people delight. That there is some really good music in the country, it would be unjust to deny, but all of it is learnt from Upper India, whither it was imported, we suppose, from Persia. The *Viná* is a good musical instrument, but how many Bengalis can successfully play upon it? We never could relish that pumpkin of a musical instrument, dignified with the appellation, *par excellence*, of *Tánpurá*, as if it was an harmonicon of the sweetest notes in existence. Young Bengal has, of late, ventured to say that Bengali music is better than European music, and that the latter is remarkably devoid of harmony. To be sure, for who in his sober senses would ever prefer the shrill piano-forte to the sweet-toned tom-tom?

Dancing "Music and dancing," says an eloquent French dancing master, "are kindred arts, the tender and harmonious accents of the one excite and produce the agreeable and expressive motions of the other, and their union entertains the eye and ear with animated pictures of sentiments, these two senses again convey to the heart the interesting images which affect them, while the heart, in its turn, communicates them to the mental faculty thus the pleasure, resulting from the harmony and intelligence of these two arts, enchants the spectator, and fills him with the most seducing pleasures of voluptuousness." Such grandiloquence is natural to a French ballet-master, but who could have expected the following from the grave English metaphysician, Locke? "Nothing appears to me," says he, "to give children so much confidence and behaviour, and so to raise them to the conversation of those above their years, as dancing." John Bull has, indeed, been always fond of dancing. Says an old poet —

"The priestes and clerkes to daunce have no shame,
The frere or monke in his frocke and cowl,
Must daunce, and the doctor lepeh to play the foolle"

Bengalis, however, are not much addicted to dancing. Plato reduces Greek dances into three classes, the *military*, the *domestic*, and the *mediatorial*, or religious. the object of the first was the invigoration of the body, that of the second agreeable recreation, and the third was used for religious purposes. The Bengalis being an unwarlike nation, military dances cannot reasonably be expected to exist among them. The village chowkidars, however, some of whom are no mean proficient in fencing and *lattyng*, practise a species of pyrrhic dance, of which there are no less than seven sorts. Domestic dances, properly so called, do not exist amongst the people, for it is considered highly atrocious for a woman of good character to dance. Though the Bengalis neither dance themselves, nor make their wives and sisters do so for their amusement, yet they do not hesitate to entertain themselves with *natches*, in which prostitutes, chiefly Hindustani women, are employed to dance. It would be difficult to find words sufficiently expressive of the licentious nature of these *natches*. No man, who has any moral delicacy, can witness them without horror. Yet Bengalis of all names and ranks enjoy these impure dances with enthusiasm, and we are sorry to add that some Europeans, also Christians by profession, encourage and take delight in them. On religious festivals of high excitement, such as the Káli Pujah, *Shákta* Brahmins, reeling with intoxication, dance away before the bloody *Shyámá* and dancing forms an integral part of the devotion of the Vaishnavas.

Bengal Drama. The elegant amusement of dramatic representation has been always prevalent amongst all ingenious people. The noble tragedies of Æschylus, Euripides, and Sophocles, and the comic burlesques of Aristophanes, gave as much pleasure to the Athenians, as the matchless plays of Shakespeare did, and still do, to the English. India, in her high and palmy state, had also a dramatic literature of her own, and scenic representations to gratify the people. Of the ancient Hindu drama, some notice was taken in the last number of this periodical, we shall not therefore allude to it at all, but proceed to make a remark or two on the state of the drama as it now exists among the Bengalis.

Of the execrable representations, called *Játrás*, we dare not give here a detailed description; they are wretched from the commencement to the fifth act. The plots are very often the amours of Krishna, or the love of *Bidyá* and *Sundar*. In the representations of the Krishna-játrá, boys, arrayed in the habit of *Sakhs* and *Gopins* (milk-maids), cut the principal

figure on the stage. It would require the pencil of a master painter to pourtray the killing beauty of these fairies of the Bengali stage. Their sooty complexion, their coal-black cheeks, their haggard eyes, their long-extended arms, their gaping mouths, and their puerile attire, excite disgust. Their external deformity is rivalled by their discordant voices. For the screechings of the night-owls, the howlings of the jackals, and the barkings of dogs that bay the moon, are harmony itself compared with their horrid yells. Their dances are in strict accordance with the other accessories. In the evolutions of the hands and feet, dignified with the name of dancing, they imitate all postures and gestures calculated to soil the mind and pollute the fancy.

The principal actors during the interludes are a *mather*, who enters the stage with a broomstick in his hand, and cracks a few stupid jests, which set the audience in a roar of laughter, and his brother *Bhulúá*, who, completely fuddled, amuses the spectators with the false steps of his feet.

Akin to the *Játrás* is the *Pácháli*, which is nothing more than the recitation of a story in measured lines, accompanied with singing and music. The stories recited are generally taken from the Hindu Shastras, as the marriage of *Siva*, the battle of *Kurukshetra*, the lamentation of *Radhá*, and such like, but sometimes also original stories of an immoral tendency are recited. Of late the *Pácháli* has become very fashionable, and is annually celebrated in Calcutta on a grand scale. There are many *Pácháli*-versifiers now living, but the palm of superiority is certainly due to *Dásurathu Ráya*, a native of the district of Burdwan, whose poems already amount to several volumes. The *Half-A'kra*s too have of late become fashionable, especially in the metropolis; these are distinguished from the *Pácháli*s by more animated music and singing. During the Durgá Pujah celebrations, bands of *Half-A'kra* and *Pácháli* singers may be seen marching through the streets of Calcutta, with their flags hoisted, singing loud pæans of victory.

Our enumeration of the amusements of the Bengalis would be incomplete, if we made no mention of the *Kavis*, which deserve a place in this list, not because of their intrinsic importance, but because of the vast influence they exert, and the great attractions they possess for nine-tenths of the people of Bengal. *Kavi*, in the original Sanskrit, means a poet, but how this honourable appellation came to be applied to a crew of half-witted poetasters and songsters, it is difficult to say. A band of *Kavis* or *Kavi-walas*, as they are oftener called, is composed of

a number of songsters of different castes, leagued together under a leader, who gives name to the association. The leader may be a Brahmin, a confectioner, or of any caste. The *am-mus* of the *Kavis* is rivalry. Two bands under different leaders vie with each other in winning the applause of the audience. Their songs in the first instance celebrate the loves of Krishná and Rádhá, or the praises of the bloody goddess, Káli, but, these over, they indulge in songs of the most wanton licentiousness, and crown the whole with calling each other bad names. So far for the matter, the manner of singing is one of which Young Bengal may well be ashamed. *Kavis* must be seen, heard, and tested in order to be known and appreciated. The houses of some of the rich Babus of Calcutta are annually the scenes of these disgraceful exhibitions. Others have got heartily tired of them, and have substituted the less barbarous, but not the less immoral, *nátches*. But the *Kavis* are in high repute in the Mofussil, and women, from behind the screens, may be observed greedily devouring their licentious effusions. The *Jhumurs*, or bands of female *Kavi-walas*, are nearly extinct.

We conclude this imperfect sketch, in the hasty drawing up of which some games and amusements may have escaped our notice, with expressing our hope, that with the progress of improvement and the diffusion of sound and useful knowledge, the sports and recreations of the people of Bengal will be more polished and rational than they now are. Games and amusements are but exponents of the national character, when a change is effected on the latter, the former will alter of themselves.

- ART IV —1 *Ariana Antiqua. A descriptive account of the Antiquities and Coins of Affghanistan* By H H Wilson, M A, F R S, &c London Published under the authority of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors of the E I C 1841
2. *Betrag zur Geschichte der Griechischen Könige in Baktrien, Kabul, und Indien, durch Entzifferung der alt Kabulischen Legenden auf ihren Münzen* von Christian Lassen Bonn. 1838 Translated for the Asiatic Society Calcutta.
- 3 *Note on the Historical Results deducible from recent discoveries in Affghanistan.* By H T Prinsep, Esq London 1844

IT is hardly more than ten years, since James Prinsep, when about to read some of his Numismatic essays before the members of the Asiatic Society, apologized for troubling them with so dull a subject, and added, that many of his scientific friends had complained of being "deluged with old coins" Little did, either the essayist or his hearers, at that moment, foresee the grand results, which were one day to crown these seemingly fruitless labours. If they had known what the future would produce, they would have contemplated these embryo discoveries with the feelings of Belzoni, when he penetrated the Pyramids and unveiled the mummied remnants of Pharoah's line, or with the feelings of Layard, when his toilsome excavations at last revealed the Nineveh of Scripture. In awe and wonder they would have exclaimed —

"Stop! for thy tread is on an Empire's dust
An earthquake's spoils are sepulchred below!"

This same Society, which then grudged a few minutes attention to the Numismatic treatises of its gifted secretary, would now, perhaps, be proud to own that its fame is partially based on the services rendered to Numismatical science, and would be eager to claim the honour of having tended the infancy, and fostered the growth, of discoveries that should pour a flood of light on the darkest portion of Asiatic annals. As the Society has appreciated the value of this science for the elucidation of history, so, we hope, will the public. And we feel assured that all, who may study the coins of Indo-Bactria, will find their ideas enlarged and their trouble well repaid.

It has been the fashion to look upon Numismatics, as one of the driest departments in antiquarian study Ever since Monkbarns, the Antiquary, was pictured by the greatest of our descriptive painters, the scoffing portion of the public have found an armoury stored with the weapons of wit, and a quiver, from

which might be drawn, at pleasure, the pointed shafts of irony, banter, and inuendo. These resources have often been brought into play for the purpose of casting ridicule upon Numismatics. Nor, indeed, can it be denied, that this, like most other sciences, has had, and may still have, some absurd accessories. There are, doubtless, in the world many coin-fanciers who gloat over rust-eaten medals of indescribable rarity, which have been grubbed up with infinite labour and cost, in order that they might be hoarded in a particular drawer of a particular cabinet. All this may, no doubt, furnish a very fair mark for the pop-guns of satire. But it surely does not follow, that the whole science is an absurdity. What branch of science, however useful and laudable, has ever been prosecuted without short-comings and errors, which excite the regrets of the educated and the laughter of the ignorant? May we not say with Sydney Smith?—"If it is fair to argue against a science, from the bad method by which it has been prosecuted, such a mode of reasoning ought to have influenced mankind centuries ago, to have abandoned all the branches of Physics as utterly hopeless. We have, surely, an equal right to rake up the mouldy errors of all the other sciences, to reproach astronomy with its vortices, chemistry with its philosopher's stone, history with its fables, law with its cruelty and ignorance and, if we were to open this battery upon medicine, there is no knowing where we should stop."* Nor should the learned labours of the Numismatist, the interpreter and illustrator of coins, be reproached with the vanities of the mere collector of coins, who cannot divine the meaning of the relic when he has found it.

But if it be really true, that the Numismatist is not, like Peter Schlemmil, running after a shadow, but is striving, with all his faculties, to grasp a precious substance—then let us think for a moment, what this substance is, and what are the *uses* of coins.

We all know the scriptural circumstances connected with the coin, that bore the image and superscription of Cæsar. It will not be forgotten, that this coin was chosen as the aptest proof and illustration of Roman domination in Judea. It is evident that a similar use may be made of the coins of all countries. They must all give the name of the ruler and of the country ruled. The power of issuing coins and of regulating the currency is an universal attribute of the Supreme Government, be it monarchical or otherwise. The discovery of numerous coins in a particular locality, would (unless it were shewn that they

* Vide Sydney Smith's sketches of Moral Philosophy

had been conveyed there in the course of commerce) furnish presumptive proof that a certain government, or dynasty, had reigned in that locality. If the coins of another dynasty were found there, it would appear, that the one had superseded or succeeded the other. But more detailed information than this may often be gathered from the coins. They were sometimes inscribed with political or constitutional maxims, or embellished with insignia, which typified the form of Government. Nothing can be more impressive than the manner, in which a recent writer on Prophecy has identified the coins of several great empires and potentates with the mysterious descriptions of Holy Writ.* Every coin must have a superscription written in the language of the country, or of its rulers. If the language become gradually polished or barbarized, if it be modified, if it be amalgamated with other tongues, if it be abruptly altered, all these changes must be insensibly recorded on the coins. And it is superfluous to call to mind that the affinities and roots of languages are greatly relied upon by Ethnologists, to trace the origin of nations, and the degrees of relationship which subsist between the several branches of the human family. Those, who are only conversant with the unadorned and uninteresting coins, current in the British Empire during the present century, would scarcely have an adequate notion of the elaborate workmanship, which has distinguished the mintage of other countries and other times. In ancient days, religious emblems were minutely depicted on the coins. Figures of gods and heroes—the symbols of Ecclesiastical polity, of rites, ceremonies, festivals, and ordinances, were delineated with the best artistic skill that the country could boast of. Where all these points are thoroughly and accurately represented, it is needless to expatiate on the rich fund of information thus supplied, or the picture, thus presented to posterity, of the faith, manners, modes of thought, arts, and civilization of distant periods and nations. We cannot follow out this tempting subject, which would lead us into too wide a field of discussion. But, without pausing to particularize all the value of Numismatical science, we may exemplify its general utility by a familiar instance, drawn from English history.

Suppose that there were no written records of English history, and that the only memorials of the past were the collections of coins in the British Museum and other places. Let us consider how much we should know under these circumstances. We should begin by observing some barbarous coins, bearing British names. There would be little difficulty in attributing

* Rev T B Elliott's *Hours of Prophecy*

these to the aboriginal Britons. Next would be found a set of medals, evidently Roman, commemorating victories gained at places known to be in England. The Roman invasion would be thus indicated. Then would be seen coins, denoting the minor kingdoms, which composed the Heptarchy. The emblem of the Cross, which now begins to appear on the coins, would point to the introduction of Christianity. A series, distinct from the British and the Roman, which, by a comparison of nomenclature, could be traced to the Saxons, would indicate a foreign invasion. Every name in the Saxon dynasties would appear. The development of Ecclesiastical policy would be shewn by coins inscribed to saints, and by medals struck in the names of archbishops and bishops. Some regal coins of Danish mintage, bearing the names of Suen and Cnut, would shadow forth the advent of the Danes. Then a change would be perceptible in the names and figures of the coins. The most ordinary acquaintance with Norman affairs would enable the Numismatist to identify the figures with the family of the Conqueror. As the reigns of the several kings were followed out, allusions would be found, in the inscriptions, to the Irish acquisitions in Henry III's reign, and the French conquests under Edward III. This latter point would be further elucidated by an interesting series of Anglo-Gallic coins, discovered in France*. The armorial bearings, emblazoned on the coins, would illustrate the progress of Feudalism, and specimens of Baronial coins would show what power was once claimed and exercised by the English aristocracy†. The constantly occurring figure of a ship would represent the foundation of our naval power. The severing of England from the Romanist communion, and the investiture of the Sovereign with Ecclesiastical supremacy in Henry VIII's reign, are plainly told by the legends on the coins. Next we should learn from the inscriptions, that Scotland had been incorporated with England. The civil dissensions, in Charles I's reign, would be indicated by the medals struck in commemoration of the sieges which distinguished the campaigns, and by the currency of coins issued during the king's retirement to Oxford and stamped with the Oxford crown. From this time, the date of the coinage begins to be engraven. The Commonwealth, the Protectorate, and the Restoration are all announced by the legends on the coins. The Revolution of 1688, and the enthronement of a foreign prince, would be shewn by the quartering of the arms of Nassau. The "coins of the plantations," bearing such names

* Vide *Numismatic Manual*, by J. Longe Akerman, F. S. A.

† *Numismatic Chronicle*, London.

as Massachusetts, New York, and Baltimore, would mark the foundation of our Colonial Empire * In token of our growing naval superiority, we should find that ships and nautical devices were prominent objects, in what are called the figurations of the coins After the time of Anne, British coinage ceases to be interesting, inasmuch as nothing more was engraven than the name and date of the Sovereign In this rapid summary, we have not paused to sketch the national progress in arts, dress, manufactures, and general civilization, evinced by the Numismatic devices But enough has been said to shew not only the amount of historical corroboration furnished by Numismatical science, but the amount of positive knowledge afforded thereby, whether political, economical, or chronological The coins alone, if interpreted with skill, labour, and learning, would almost give us an outline of the leading facts of English history

We shall further perceive the value of coins when we come to analyse the nature of historical evidence—when, following the logical method and rigorous reasoning of such writers as Paley, we examine and arrange the grounds of our credence in narrated facts A coin indicates certain facts, which, from their nature and publicity, could not well have been misrepresented and with which those, who stamped the inscriptions, must have been particularly acquainted The coin has been found, and produced under circumstances, which forbid the supposition of fraud or collusion, because its meaning was not understood at the time, but was only discovered after laborious research We will not say that all coins fulfil these conditions, but a vast number certainly do And when they are such as we have described, a valuable corroboration is afforded to history, and a firm foundation is laid for our historical belief There is, indeed, much truth in the saying, that coins are witnesses which cannot lie With the corroborative weight they have given to history, they do much to disprove the dogma of the virtuosos, who said “Do not read History to me, for that I know to be false” Let any period of history be illustrated by a complete series of coins, the discovery of which has been well authenticated, and most persons would admit that this apophthegm is a libel on knowledge When a number of old coins are suddenly exhumed from the cavities of the earth, or the recesses of some neglected ruin, we feel, as if a host of co-temporary witnesses had risen from the dead

History has always been considered to have two hand-maids,

* *Numismatic Manual*, pp 352-353

Chronology and Biography, but we think she has a third, namely Numismatics.* Moreover, if coins are useful as collateral testimony, in periods where history is full and explicit, how much more useful must they be, in periods of which we know nothing or little, and where, perhaps, that little serves but to convince us of our ignorance, and to stimulate our curiosity? Such was the period to which the Indo-Bactrian coins related and we shall see, in the sequel, to what extent they have enlightened us. Thus, while Numismatical science must always be useful as a bulwark and co-adjutor of history, it may sometimes be indispensable as our sole guide, and our sole source of knowledge. Its vindication, therefore, rests on this broad basis, that, if the history of the human race is interesting, or useful, so are Numismatics, and *vice versâ*. Those, therefore, who declare that they derive no pleasure or instruction from Numismatics, might, with nearly equal reason, disclaim all interest in such things as Biography, Chronology, or Politics. Numismatics does not form an isolated department of learning, embracing a limited range peculiar to itself, and capable of being studied without reference to any other science. Its difficulties cannot be mastered by the mere exercise of taste, or by the dint of uninstructed talent but varied and extensive learning must be brought to bear on the subject, and, in proportion as this may be done, so will the interpretation of the coins be successful or otherwise. This science, then, so far from being intrinsically dull and mono-ideal, is closely interwoven with all these sections of knowledge, which are most useful, most amusing, and most generally studied. It has been thought necessary to enter, at some length, into the general merits of Numismatical enquiry, in order that we might, thereby, justify the propriety of noticing the results of Indian Numismatics in the elucidation of Asiatic annals. This subject we shall introduce to our readers, by a brief narrative of the singular circumstances, which attended the discovery of the coins, that were to rescue from oblivion the history of Central Asia.

The year 1830 was a great epoch in Indian Numismatics. Coins, indeed, had been collected before that time by Messrs. Tod, Tytler and others. But they had not proved of any especial value in an historical or antiquarian point of view. No class of Numismatists had arisen.† Some private collections had been purchased by the Government on the death

* Akin to the evidence of Numismatics, and of equal (or even greater) value and interest, is that of monuments, which carries us back to an antiquity, far beyond that of any hitherto discovered coins.—Ed.

† Vide Preface to *Ariana Antiqua*

of the Collectors The Asiatic Society of Calcutta had shewn no promise of the distinguished part, it was afterwards to play in the nurture of Numismatical science. It had a scantily filled cabinet, of which no account had been given to the world.* Even the great *savant*, James Prinsep, who was almost to lay down his life for science, and to weary out his splendid faculties in the decyphering of unknown Alphabets, had not yet learnt to take an interest in coins. In the particular department of Numismatics, which we are noticing, still less had been done. Some stray coins had been picked up, few and far between, and had been sent to Europe, merely to serve as inexplicable enigmas and to exercise ingenuity. But the winter of knowledge was now passing away and a rich harvest season was at hand.

In the centre of the Sind-Saugor Doab, bounded by the Indus and the Jhelum, and half way between Jhelum and Attock, there was a village named Manikyala. Near this village, which was distinguished for its mural and sepulchral remains, there arose a peaked conical structure, which the natives called a *tope*, or *stupa*. In 1831, M. Ventura, the well known General in Runjit Sing's army, happened to be encamped here with a small force. Having nothing better to do, he occupied his leisure by excavating the *tope*†. The cap of the cupola was opened, and layer after layer of masonry was removed. Here and there, between the interstices of the stone, coins, chiefly of copper, were found. After the perforations had been carried to a depth of nearly seventy feet, a copper box was discovered beneath a large slab of quarried stone. It was filled with liquid, and contained a golden cylinder and silver disc. Within it and around it, were found about sixty copper coins. With the utmost liberality, the General placed his new found treasures at the disposal of the Asiatic Society and its Secretary Mr J Prinsep. The coins were ascertained to belong to the class, since well-known as the Indo-Scythian. At the same time, it was observed by M. Ventura's companions at Manikyala, that the ground, in the neighbourhood of the principal edifice, was studded with smaller *topes*. Some fifteen of these were excavated by M Court, one of the officers serving under Ventura. Besides Indo-Scythic coins, there were dug up seven Roman specimens —one of them bore the superscription of Julius Cæsar, another of Mark Antony. Such are the wanderings of a coin!

But we must now follow the movements of another la-

* Professor Wilson, however, published an account subsequently in 1831

† Vide *Ariana Antiqua*, and *Journal of the Asiatic Society passim*

bourer in the field of science. The existence of topes in Kabul had been observed by Mr Moorcroft in 1820, when setting out on his ill-fated journey toward Samarkand. These observations were confirmed by Lieut. Burnes, when on his mission to Bokhara, in 1832. During the year 1834, Mr Charles Masson, an individual residing in Afghanistan, resolved to examine a series of topes, which he had seen in the neighbourhood of Jelalabad. For this purpose, he associated himself with a Dr Honigberger, a medical officer in the service of Runjit Sing.

These topes proved to be not only Numismatic repositories, but also religious edifices. Now, if it could be determined to what sect they belonged—then this fact would help to shew what was the State-religion of those kingdoms to which the coins might be attributable. This led to an interesting comparison of these structures with kindred edifices in the extreme south of the Peninsula and in Ceylon. And, as the object of this comparison much concerns the ethnological and political questions about to be discussed, we shall devote a short space to a consideration of the meaning and nature of these topes.*

About fifty topes were discovered at Hidda, Darunta, and Chahar Bagh. Those localities are in the vicinity of Jelalabad. They were massive structures, ranging from 70 to 150 feet in height, and from 100 to 200 feet in circumference. They consisted of a basement, or pedestal, supporting a square tower, which was surmounted by a conical top. There was generally a flight of steps, leading up to the basement, and facing the East. There were also subterraneous passages conducting from the surface of the ground to the foundations, and, in the vulgar imagination, filled with hidden treasures. The building, generally, stood on an eminence, overhanging a ravine, or water-course. The presence of running water was indispensable, and, where not furnished by nature, fresh and gushing from among the neighbouring rocks, it was supplied by means of beautifully constructed aqueducts. Though oftener separate, the topes were sometimes clustered together in a plain, as at Chahar Bagh. Near to every tope there was found an attendant tumulus, which seemed a kind of satellite to the main structure. The topes were not destitute of ornament. The superstructure, which rose above the basement, was generally encircled by a belt of mouldings, formed of bluish slate stone, which stood out in strong relief against the white

* *Vide* Memoir on the Topes of Afghanistan, by C Masson

painted surface. The interior was solid, with the exception of one small chamber in the centre. Within this hollow were generally found coins, and a metal chest containing relics. But both stones and relics were often scattered among the quarried stones, and even throughout the foundation below the surface of the ground. The relics were images, vases, instruments, cylinders, bits of bone, and ashes. Wherever the bones and ashes were plentiful, the other relics were scanty. The tumuli always contained bones, skulls, and ashes, but seldom anything else. Near many of the topes, there were carefully excavated caves with niches, doubtless, meant to contain idols. The relics were seldom stamped with any distinct religious symbols. But one earthen-ware seal bore a Pali inscription, which was subsequently ascertained to be a formula of Buddhist invocation. And on one of the vases was engraven the figure of Gautama, preaching to a Buddhist nun. The coins belong principally to the Scythian kings of India, some to the Sassanian dynasty, and a few to the Roman Emperors of the East,—showing how extensive the commerce of Upper India must once have been.

The first step in the investigation was to compare the Affghan topes with those observed in other places. One tope had been examined near Benares, some near Guntur, some near Bhilsa, a great number in Ceylon, of gigantic size and finished architecture, and accompanied by caves and tumuli, there called Dahgopas, and also a magnificent specimen at Rangun. It was seen that the Affghan topes corresponded exactly with specimens existing among a people still Buddhist, and which bore unmistakable marks of Buddhist origin. This is quite enough to show what sect raised the buildings under consideration, especially as no sect, besides the Buddhists, ever claimed them*. And we have just seen that some of the relics offer internal evidence to the same effect. Assuming then these topes to be Buddhist, what was their purpose? Now there can be no doubt as to the purpose of the Ceylon topes, caves, and tumuli. The tope was the supposed burial place of one of the saintly Gautamas, the tumuli, or dahgopas, were the tombs of the saint's disciples, the caves were the shrines of his priests. It is surely, then, most reasonable to refer the Affghan topes to the same object.†

We suppose then that the topes were intended to veil the sacred remains of the Gautamas. There will be little difficulty in fixing their date. They were, probably, not prior to our æra for they contain coins of princes, who are known to have

* The Hindus, however, used to venerate them

† See Professor Wilson's summing up of the evidence

reigned at, or after, that period. Those, which contained coins of Kadphuses and Kanerkes (who will be hereafter mentioned), could not well have been earlier than the first and second centuries, nor those, which contain Sassanian coins, earlier than the fourth. Nor on the other hand, could they have been later than the eighth century, when the followers of the prophet began to vex the unbelievers in Kabul and Affghanistan. It will be seen, subsequently, that the Indo-Scythian dynasty, whose coins are found in the topes, reigned from the first to the third century of our era. The discovery of the topes in Affghanistan would certainly show that Buddhism had prevailed during that period in this region. It would also prove, that the Indo-Scythian princes encouraged Buddhism. This is confirmed by the fact, that Buddhist emblems appear on their coins. The few Roman medals may have been deposited in the buildings, because, not being understood—*omne ignotum pro magnifico*—they were looked upon as mysterious rarities. But such could not have been the case with the Sassanian coins, which, of course, bore emblems of Mithraism, or the worship of the elements. But what could Mithraism have to do with Buddhism? It could not be answered that its real purpose was unknown, as in the case of the Roman coins. For the Sassanian princes were, at that time, most notorious throughout Asia. As the religious and political reformers of the Persian empire, and as zealous propagandists, they had made their name universally dreaded. What then was meant by this admission of Mithraic coins into Buddhist temples? The coins explain this. In all the coinage of the Indo-Scythian kingdom, there is a palpable admixture of Mithraic, Buddhist, and Brahmanical emblems. It is clear, therefore, that the Indo-Scythians patronized all three forms of faith. What wonder then, that the religious edifices, constructed at that time, should be decked with heterogeneous symbols? Such are the curious cross rays of light, which the different departments of discovery throw upon each other. And, indeed, the concatenation of circumstances, attending these curious monuments, is wonderful. Who would have thought, that, in the North of India, there would be discovered Buddhist buildings, containing coins of Scythian kings with the names written in Greek letters, and with titles, partly Greek, partly Persian, partly Indian—or that rude imitations of the Greek Hercules and the Greek Victory, on Scythian coins, should be found in the same casket with coins, also Scythian, but blending the emblems of Mithra, of Siva, and of Buddh, and yet exhibiting Greek inscriptions? What can be a greater conglomeration than these things, of which we are

about to unfold the narrative? And yet not a mere conglomeration,—for, as enquiry proceeds, order is educed out of this seeming confusion. This meeting of all religions on the neutral ground of India was not fortuitous, but the result, as we shall see presently, of regular and intelligible mutations in systems, governments, and races.

From this digression, we must revert to the advancing course of discovery. We have seen how General Ventura and Mr Masson discovered Indo-Scythic coins, under circumstances, which materially aided the progress of research. We have yet to see how Mr Masson disinterred a series of coins, which illustrated the history of the Græco-Bactrians, the predecessors of the Indo-Scythians.

About twenty miles east of the modern city of Kabul, there is a level piece of table land, extending over six square miles, called the plain of Beghram. The surface was strewed with fragments of pottery, metals, and sculpture. Here and there arose solitary mounds of stone and brick, which seemed to indicate the remains of human habitations. The happy situation of this plain at a spot where rivers meet, and where the main roads and mountain passes converge from all the four quarters, and the interesting vestiges visible on the surface of the ground—all this would soon shew, even to the casual observer, that here had once existed a great capital. In modern times the plain had become a sheep pasture. A vague avarice induced the shepherds to scratch up the soil in search of treasure. Soon they found seals, rings, bits of metal, and coins in vast quantities. The coins, which were principally copper, they would hawk about the city of Kabul. As these "treasure troves" became frequent, the trade began to thrive. And soon the mint-masters and copper-smiths of the city would repair to the great plain, visit the tents of the shepherds, and purchase the coins by weight. It was estimated, that about thirty thousand coins a year used to be procured in this manner, and melted down. And thus were consigned to indiscriminate destruction, myriads of coins, which the greatest academicians in Europe would have honoured with a place in their cabinets, and which might have told us more about Central Asia than all the histories that ever were written! At last, in July 1833, Mr Masson, being engaged in searching for the site of one, among the many Alexandrias founded by Alexander the Great, happened to visit this plain. He first met with eighty coins. These specimens appearing to be valuable, he prosecuted the search, until he had amassed upwards of thirty thousand coins, of which the greater part were copper,

and the remainder silver and gold. From this collection were evolved the annals of Indo-Bactria, and the history of Greek connection with the East. ✓

The Asiatic Society's Journal was the organ through which these results were announced to the public. Mr Masson himself contributed a great many papers. But the most elaborate analysis was made by James Prinsep.* A great difficulty arose at the outset. The inscriptions on the obverse of the medal were Greek, but, on the reverse, an unknown character presented itself. The first object then was to decypher this character. Mr. Masson had pointed out some Pehlevi signs, which had been found to stand for certain Greek names. "It struck me," writes Mr Prinsep, "that if the genuine Greek names were faithfully expressed in the unknown character, a clue through them might be formed to unravel the value of a portion of the alphabet, which might, in its turn, be applied to the translated epithets, and thus lead to a knowledge of the language employed." This plan was followed out with infinite labour and skill, and met with complete success. This most arduous and valuable service to science was the last, which he lived to perform.† The interest, attaching to these discoveries, was not confined to India. The news spread to Europe, and raised a sensation in the academic circles of London, Paris, Vienna, Göttingen and Bonn. The first great scholar, who took up the subject, was M. Raoul Rochette. He was followed in his own country by M. Jacquet, and in Germany by the Grotefends, Müller, and Arseth. The *Journal des Savans*, the *Journal Asiatique*, the *Vienna Jahr-bucher*, the *Göttingen Anzeigen*, and the *Numismatic Journal* of London, all vied with the *Calcutta Journal* in disseminating the results of Mr Masson's discoveries and Mr Prinsep's interpretations. For some time, England did less than the other two great European nations, to blazon abroad the exploits of her gifted sons in the East. But at length, in 1841, the appearance of the handsome work, of which the title is prefixed to this article, redeemed the character of the mother country. The celebrity of Professor Wilson's name in the world of Eastern literature, and his long and intimate association with Mr James Prinsep in the Asiatic Society, give his work a peculiar value. And the Court of Directors have evinced the interest they take in this subject, by bestowing on the publication their pecuniary aid and their influential

* *Vide Journal of Asiatic Society*, Vols I—VII, *passim*.

† The Arianic alphabet is given in Professor Wilson's work

patronage * At the head of the present article we have placed this work, as being the most complete and lucid exposition of the whole subject, besides, being embellished with a great variety of beautiful plates. With it we have associated a learned dissertation by Professor Lassen, on the history derived from the Bactrian and Scythian coinage. We have also added a small but useful volume, by Mr Thoby Prinsep, in which the general results of the Numismatic discoveries are unfolded in a brief and popular form. Besides its intrinsic merit, this work possesses an additional interest from having been composed with materials left by James Prinsep at his decease, and from having been written by his brother

It has been already intimated that these discoveries relate to the mediæval history of Grecian Bactria. But before treating of this history, it is necessary that we should fix, with geographical precision, the limits of this somewhat undefined country Bactria, as understood by the Greeks, was nearly coincident with Ariana, or Central Asia. Its northern boundary was the Jaxartes, its southern the Indian Ocean. The eastern boundary was formed partly by the Indus, and partly by a line drawn northwards from the sources of that river. The western frontier might be described by a line drawn from the south eastern corner of the Aral lake to the Caspian sea and thence southward. The vast square tract thus marked off was divided into two halves by the Caucasian chain, the upper half being again subdivided by the Oxus. Above the great range of mountains are the Steppes of Tartary, below them is the desert of Gedrosia. Such was the country, which the Macedonians styled the province of Bactria.

The ancient history of this country is well known, as the birth place of some of the oldest languages and religions in the world. It was in primeval times a favoured land of fable and of song, and could boast of such names as Zohak, Ninus, and Semiramis. It formed a portion of the Assyrian and Median empires, and was eventually the scene of Macedonian triumphs. Its modern history is not less interesting, from the rise of the new Persian empire, the foundation and extension of Islamism, the sudden erection and destruction of barbaric kingdoms and the marvellous careers of Jenghiz, Timùr, and Baber. Its commercial importance had been considerable from the earliest ages, and was greater still in later times, when it was traversed by the routes, through which the products of the

* No bookseller could have afforded to publish the work with its present style and finish. The Court published it at their own expense. The bulk of the edition they presented to Mr Masson's mother.

characteristic. In the inscriptions, the sacred Dèmons of Athens had its place, as well as the kings of Lacedæmon, or of Macedon. If a city enjoyed its own laws, it would assume the title of *Autonomos* if a naval power, that of *Nauarchidos*, if a guardian of any great temple, that of *Neokoros*,—and so on.* Those states, that were bound together by treaties of amity, recorded the fact on the coins either by a special inscription, or by the symbol of joined hands. There was scarcely a public office of note or rank, in any state, that was not denoted by coins. The Archons, the Ephori, the Amphictyons, the ministers of the games, festivals and mysteries, are all represented. With regard to colonial coinage, the Syracusan medallions are glorious instances of the high art attained in the distant dependencies of Greece. The geographical position of the states was also generally defined. If a city was at the foot of a mountain, or on the sea shore, the circumstance would be stated on the coins.† In the same way, there are few Grecian rivers of any importance, which were not named. But, as the Greek coins had been the mute, though eloquent, witnesses of their country's glory, in her palmy days, so also they became, in time, the sad records of her degeneracy and servility. They represented the deified Romè, and the Senate personified as a divinity and they shewed, in the pompous titles bestowed on the Emperors, how conquered Greece could stoop to oriental flattery. Such was the coinage that Alexander the Great was to carry in his victorious train to Egypt, Syria, Persia, Bactria and India! The Macedonian mintage turned out specimens, that may be classed with the best efforts of Greek art, and Philip of Macedon lived in the period, when Greek coinage reached its climax. The coins of Macedon preserved their celebrity even in the dark ages, and served as models to barbarous nations. It is supposed, that the first rude coins of ancient Britain were struck in imitation of Macedonian specimens, that were current all over Europe.‡ If so, how boundless must have been the influence of 'Macedon'! Alexander's successors taught the art of medallography to the Scythians, who carried it across Central Asia into the heart of India, and coins of Macedonia Proper found their way to the northern wilds of Britain, the "Ultima Thule" of the then known world. The chief divinities, figured by the Macedonian artists, were Apollo, Minerva, and Hercules. We shall find these constantly re-issuing from the Bactrian mintage we shall see

* Vide *Aherman's Numismatic Manual*, pp 25—28

† Vide *Aherman's Numismatic Manual*, pp 13—15

‡ *Numismatic Manual*, p 214.

with what fidelity the Greeks in Central Asia preserved, in their coinage, the style of the parent state, both as to design and execution, and we shall further observe how Grecian ideas were reproduced, modified, and gradually barbarized, as they passed away from the Greeks, and were adopted by Scythian dynasties

We shall now touch on the history derived from the Greek coins of Bactria. On the death of Alexander, this province, esteemed one of the wealthiest in the empire, fell to the share of the Seleucidæ, and was placed under the control of a local Governor. But this viceroy soon raised the standard of rebellion. Antiochus marched against the rebels, formed an alliance with Chandragupta, the monarch of upper India (called Sandracottus by the Greeks), and ceded to him several districts of Lower Bactria—that is part of the country lying south of the Caucasian range, and on either side the Indus. But the bonds, which held together the world-wide empire of Macedonia, soon began to loosen, and the Bactrian governors, though shorn of half their dominions, took advantage of the general confusion to declare themselves independent. The kingdom thus created, embraced Bactria Proper, that is the countries north of the great mountains, and some of the countries to the south. Eastwards were the Paropamisian dominions of the Indian monarchs—a line of kings ennobled by such names as Chandra Gupta, Asoka, and Subhâgasena. Their policy was to profit by the dissensions, which tore the Macedonian empire, and to side with whichever party had the upper hand. In this way, by helping Antiochus against the rebel Greeks of Bactria, they had regained a part of the Paropamisus. To the north were the Scythian hordes, at present tolerably quiet, but containing in themselves the elements of strife and destruction, which should one day burst upon Central Asia. On the west lay the formidable and aggressive kingdom of Parthia*. The Parthian Arsacidæ were originally Syrian subjects. Thirsting for independence, they revolted again and again. The first Bactrian prince purchased indemnity for his rebellion, by aiding the Seleucidæ against his fellow rebels of Parthia.

The second Bactrian prince reversed this policy, made common cause with the Parthians, and helped to establish the throne of the Arsacidæ. He little thought that the power, he thus raised, would one day be to his house the deadliest of rivals. Such were the circumstances and such the neighbours,

* See Mr H. T. Prinsep's account of the Parthian coins in the cabinet of the East India House, presented by Sir H. Willock.

with which the two first kings of Bactria, both named Diodotus (Theodotus ?), found themselves surrounded. The third, named Euthydemus, had to brave the vengeance of Antiochus, who strove to win back his lost dominions in Central Asia. The Seleucidæ defeated the Bactrians in a pitched battle, and again formed an alliance with the Indians, under king Subhāgasēna, to whom were ceded all the remaining Bactrian provinces, south of the Caucasus. But Antiochus spared the kingdom of Bactria Proper, because he thought it would serve as a convenient barrier against Nomad irruptions.

The next Bactrian prince, named Demetrius, grieved at the loss of these southern Provinces, and sorely pressed in Bactria Proper by an aspirant named Eukratides, determined to re-conquer the Parapomusis, and to found there a kingdom for himself, where he might reign secure from his rival. But while he pushed his victorious arms towards the south, Eukratides pursued him from the North. Having first seized upon Bactria Proper, Eukratides possessed himself of Demetrius's Indian conquests, and again extended the Græco-Bactrian dominion to the banks of the Indus. He had now reached the limit of Bactrian power, and was the sole ruler of Ariana. But the close of his reign was harassed by aggressions from the Parthians and the Scythians, and he was at last murdered by his own son Heliokles.* Before, however, we chronicle the parricide's reign, we must pause to note some internal changes that were in progress.

Hitherto the devices and inscriptions of the Bactrian coinage had been executed in a pure style of Greek art. The figures of the divinities were tastefully engraven. The emblems associated with the main figure, the helmet, fillet, spear, tripod, bow, chlamys, ægis, the Herculean club and lion-skin, were all strictly classical. The inscriptions were in polished Greek, with the characters distinctly wrought. But, in the reign of Eukratides, a square copper coinage issued from the Bactrian mints, with bilingual inscriptions. On the obverse of the coin, the legend would be in Greek, on the reverse, in a language and characters, designated by some as Arianian, by others as Kabulian. The task of decyphering and interpreting the words of this language was chiefly performed by James Prinsep. The language was at first supposed to be Zend, but was eventually shewn to be Prakrit, a rude and colloquial form of the language, so well known as Sanskrit. It there-

* It has been doubted whether Heliokles, the parricide, is the Heliokles of the coins. In this place we have followed Professor Wilson.

fore belonged to the Indian family. But the characters were evidently not Indian, being written from right to left. They seemed to belong to the Semitic class, which include the alphabets of the Phœnician Hebrew, and a form of the Pehlevi, nearly allied to these which had a local currency in Western Persia. The precise locality of this language could hardly be Bactria Proper, otherwise, traces of it would have been found in the purely Bactrian coins. From these premises, it was inferred with tolerable certainty, that the dialect belonged to the people, who dwelt west of the Indus, and south of the Hindu Kush—a race partly Indian, and partly Semitic. Such being the language, which the Bactrian princes now adopted on their coinage, it is clear that, from this date, namely the re-conquest of Lower Bactria by Demetrius and Eukratides, the Greek colonists began to cast their ideas in an oriental mould, and to domesticate themselves in their Indian possessions, to conciliate and naturalize their Indian subjects, and to fuse together the Western and Eastern elements of the body politic. It will be found also that the finish of Grecian art in the coinage begins to decline. We shall miss the dignity of the Minerva, the beauty of the Apollo with the rays of glory round his head, the majesty of the thundering Jove, the massive strength of the club-bearing Hercules, the god-like energy of the charging Dioscuri, and the airy gracefulness of the winged Victory. All this must now gradually give place to ruder devices. The elephant's head will occur more frequently than heretofore, and the Indian bull will figure on the coins. In short, the exclusive idiosyncrasy of Grecian coinage will begin to pass away.

We return to Helioekles, the last monarch, who ruled from the Jaxartes to the Indus. At this time the destinies of Parthia were swayed by Mithridates the Great. Arsacidan aggression, commenced during the reign of Eukratides, was perseveringly continued now. The western districts of Bactria having been forcibly annexed to Parthia, and the central provinces severely harassed, the arms of the invader were carried even into the Indian provinces. Some ancient historians, indeed, have included India among the Mithridatic conquests. But Numismatic enquiry would seem to shew that the Parthians did not, at this period, gain any permanent footing south of the Hindu Kush, though subsequently they formed some minor principalities in that quarter. As regards the present period, the coins reveal the names of as many kings, not Parthian, as could have reigned within the ascertained interval of time. Even professor Lassen, who attributes to the Parthians, instead of to the Scythians, the subversion of the Græco-Bactrian kingdom,

admits that these Parthians did not establish any dominion in India, or the Paropamisus. At all events these Parthian invasions, combined with constant attacks from the Scythians, made the Bactrian empire totter to its fall. Its centralization being thus broken up, the several provinces became separate, and ranged themselves under distinct sovereigns.

The coins would shew that, between this date, viz., 155 B. C. and the period of the great Scythian invasion, several synchronous dynasties of Greek origin reigned in different parts of Bactria. Hitherto, assistance has been derived from classical authorities in the composition of a consecutive history. But the coins are henceforth almost our sole guides in tracing the fortunes of these scattered dynasties. Even in the foregoing narrative, although the names, engraven on the coins, had (many of them) been previously known to fame yet the succession both of persons and events has principally been determined by Numismatic evidence. The sovereigns of one family fortunately adopted a coinage, which, though it differed in details, yet agreed in style. The modelling of the portraiture, the emblematical devices, the dress, and the figuration of the tutelary deity, generally corresponded, just as in modern times, the armorial bearings among the members of the same family correspond. In the brief and eventful period, which intervened between the death of Helioekles and the Scythian invasion, similarity in Numismatic blazonry furnishes valuable data, by which the members of the same dynasty may be grouped together. Identity or similarity in Monograms may also supply means of distinction. The Monogram is a mark or symbol, introduced on the field of the coin. Whatever its particular signification may be, its value remains the same for purposes of identification. The Bactrian Monograms have always been supposed to be something more than mere devices. Many efforts have been made to discover their import without any decisive success. They have been variously considered, as referring to places, to person, and to dates. But it is now generally admitted, that dates are not symbolized by them. From many of them, Captain Cunningham has, with great ingenuity, deduced the forms of letters—which letters he believes to be the initials in the names of various cities and places of mintage, and thus he gathers a mass of collateral information, as to the dominions which belonged to the several dynasties. As yet, however, this interesting path of enquiry has not been thoroughly explored.* Such then are the means,

* It is no new fact in Numismatics, that Exergual abbreviations, which differ but little from Monograms, and also devices, have been employed to mark the places of

which the coins have afforded us of distinguishing the different dynasties in a period, where history is silent

The names of eighteen kings have been classified under five dynasties. The first four were anterior to the Scythian invasion. The fifth was, probably, founded about the same time with that catastrophe, and certainly survived it. Of the four dynasties first named, two existed in upper, and two in lower, Bactria. Of the two southern dynasties, one was founded by the descendants of Demetrius. It will be remembered, that this prince, flying from Eukratides in Bactria, raised his standard in the Paropamisus. Although Eukratides overran this territory also, yet, after his death, Lysias, the son or descendant of Demetrius, regained this portion of the patrimony. His coins resemble those of his predecessor in configuration, but differ materially from them in language. Demetrius's coinage was purely Greek. In Lysias's coinage, the inscriptions are partly in the language of Ariana. The former was essentially a Bactrian prince, though, towards the close of his career, he aimed at Indian sovereignty. The latter was a Greek sovereign, reigning over an Indo-Semitic people, whose language he adopted in his Numismatic superscriptions. Hence the diversity in the coinage of two kindred sovereigns. After Lysias, Professor Wilson places a king named Amyntas and a queen named Agathokleia, whose husband has since been ascertained to have borne the name of Strato. The imagery of the coins would certainly seem to connect these persons with the Demetrian family. Beyond this, however, there is little information regarding them.

Another kingdom was founded by a prince, named Agathokles, in the provinces adjacent to the Indus*. The exact date of this event is as yet a disputed point. The coins of this king and of his successor Pantaleon are remarkable, as exhibiting, in some degree, the concurrence of Grecian and Asiatic imagery. The inscriptions are bilingual. But the Prakrit words are written, not in the Semitic characters of Ariana, but in the Pali letters of India. The divinity on the coins is Bacchus. An Indian mintage might possibly be thus devoted. Moreover, it is known, that the vine flourished in the mountainous

mintage. The Greeks used to represent the sovereign cities, which issued the coins, by the initial letters of the names; and the Romans represented their places of coinage in the same manner. The British kings used to adopt fanciful devices for this purpose. The devices, however, are so arbitrary, and in such great variety, that, without explanatory information, no consistent theory or interpretation could be based on them. Consult Akerman on this point.

* The position of this king has been much disputed. He has been assigned to several different dynasties. We have again followed Professor Wilson.

regions of that quarter and some relics have been discovered, which shew, that the worship of the Grecian Bacchus was popular among the mountaineers, or it may have been that the Greek rulers introduced the orgies of their favourite God at the vintage seasons. There is also on the coins a figure of Jupiter, holding a three-headed Artemis, who bears a torch in either hand. In this device, M Raoul Rochette has discerned the influence of Arianian Mithraism on Grecian mythology. In connection with this idea, we observe a somewhat elaborate female figure, dressed in the Persian, rather than in the Indian, style. This kingdom was short-lived. It was subverted by the still more interesting dynasty of Menander, which we shall advert to presently.

Of the two northern dynasties, one followed Helokles in direct succession. It comprises the names of only two kings, Antalkides and Archebius. The imagery on their coins would seem to shew that they sprung from the stock of Helokles. They probably reigned in Bactria Proper, and in the upper part of Arachosia, or the country lying immediately below the Caucasian range*. The other dynasty consisted of Antimachus and Philoxenus. The devices on their coins shew them to have been distinct from the other Bactrian dynasties, and, perhaps, to have imitated the design of the Syrian mintage. Their precise locality has been a matter of much dispute. The figure of Neptune holding a palm branch, and the device of the Indian bull, have been considered to indicate a naval victory gained in the southern seas, towards the mouths of the Indus.† No Numismatic specimens, however, have been discovered in those regions, which confirm this view. Indeed, the coins of this dynasty have been invariably found in more northern localities. Besides, there were so many other principalities, unquestionably founded in this quarter, that it is difficult to find space, or time, wherein to place an additional dynasty. We have followed Professor Wilson in locating them in a tract immediately above the Hazarah hills, from which post it may be presumed that they made a last stand against the Scythians.

The long threatened destruction at length arrived. Down poured the Scythian Sakas from the wilds of Siberia. The hapless empire of Bactria, dismembered by internal strife and harassed by its old enemies the Parthians, fell an easy prey to

* Such is Professor Lassen's opinion. Professor Wilson does not bring them below the mountains.

† The rare occurrence of this figure of Neptune renders it difficult to form a decided opinion. Professor Lassen, being unable to account for the fact of a naval victory in the south, has conjectured that the scene of contest was the Lacus Drangianus, or Aral Lake.

the barbarians in 127 B C The political ascendancy of Greece, which had long been waning north of the great mountains, now set for ever The Sakas carried everything before them, till they reached the Caucasus, where, for the present, they rested, content with their triumphs.

We have only now to follow the fortunes of the last remnant of Græco-Bactrian power in the south-eastern extremity of the empire For some years, previous to the great Scythian inroad, a prince, named Menander, had been overthrowing the petty principalities, which had risen on the ruins of the Bactrian empire, and had consolidated a kingdom in Kabul and in the provinces east of the Indus It is supposed, with much reason, that he held the upper Doab of the Ganges and Jumna, and may have even penetrated much further, both southward and eastward He might have shared the fate, which befel his countrymen north of the Caucasus, but the torrent of Scythian invasion was arrested, probably, by the Parthians And thus, perhaps, the very nation, whose implacable rivalry had made the Bactrian empire defenceless against its barbarous foes, was instrumental in preserving the offshoot, which had established itself in the Paropamisus. So the branch continued to live after the parent trunk had been cut away Many coins of Menander have been dug up in various parts of the North Western Provinces and this, coupled with the statements of classical authors,* would go far to shew that his kingdom extended to this neighbourhood Up to the first century of our æra his coins were current in Guzerat, and there is little doubt, that he held the Indus provinces down to the sea. The various attitudes of mortal combat, in which the coins represent this prince, would shew the many struggles and difficulties by which he attained his regal state But, when once seated on the throne, he diffused national wealth and contentment and tradition has handed down, that eight cities contended for the honour of conferring the rites of sepulture on his remains. To his successor have been attributed the names of Apollodotus, Diomedes, and Hermæus. But as to the position of the first two names, both in respect of time and place, serious doubts may be entertained and it is not improbable that they belonged to some of the earlier Bactrian dynasties. In the coinage of this dynasty, the devices are for the most part purely classical, interspersed occasionally with figures of the bull and the elephant The regal titles and the representations of the tutelary divinities are, many of them, borrowed from the Syrian mintage of the

* They assert that he passed the river Isarus This river has been supposed by some to mean the Jumna Major Cunningham holds that it is the Eesun

Seleucidæ But the coins of the last king **Hermæus** exhibit tokens of decline The figures, human and divine, the emblems and the letters, become barbarized both in design and execution. And thus the coins begin to tell, in silent, but intelligible, language, that Scythian influence had reached the last stronghold of Bactrian independence, and that the traces of the Macedonian policy in Asia were fast fading away—to be lost for ever The dynasty of **Menander** became extinct about 50 B C But before we describe the collision of the Scythians with the races of upper India, we shall pause to take leave of political Hellenism in Asia

The Greeks had now ruled for 200 years in the very heart of Asia—and to every thinking mind will be suggested the question, what influence had the Greeks on the Asiatics, or the Asiatics on the Greeks? It is generally considered, that, in the eastern Satrapies of the Macedonian empire, the Greek did, to a certain extent, forget the rugged customs of his mountain home, and, while revelling in the luxuries of the East, did adopt oriental manners and imbibe oriental ideas of worship But the Bactrian Greek was an exception to this rule The natives of Bactria differed from all the other orientals, with whom the Greeks had mingled The climate and nature of the country somewhat resembled Macedon The Mithraic Fire worship, the adoration of the elements, and Zoroaster's doctrine of light were, perhaps, the purest forms of faith, which the unaided mind and feeling of man had ever invented Professor Lassen says, speaking of Bactria, "Here, if any where, Zoroaster's doctrines must have been preserved most purely and thus, in the amalgamation of the Oriental and Hellenic character, Bactrian Hellenism must have formed from the beginning a circle in the revolution of the East." The idea of this passage is a fine one but Numismatic enquiry does not support it, or rather tends to prove the contrary The many hundred Bactrian coins, which have been discovered, abound in religious devices but, with the exception of one doubtful instance, a Mithraic emblem is nowhere to be found Neither are there any indications of Indian mythology The figures of the gods are strictly Macedonian and several of them, such as the Hercules, the Minerva, and the trophy-bearing Victory, the Bactrian kings seem to have borrowed from their great prototype, Alexander the Great They would appear, therefore, not to have mingled any foreign elements with the religion of their forefathers nor is there any reason to suppose that the native Bactrians imbibed any Greek ideas on religion, as the Scythians subsequently did The Indo-Bactrians, that is, the people, south of the Cau-

casus and toward the Indus, certainly did not. In fact, they were more likely to proselytise than the Greeks. In India, the Sabæan, or Mithraic, religion, which, probably, had prevailed universally in the East, had degenerated and branched out into two systems, namely, Buddhism and Brahmanism, both distinguished for the power and energy of their priesthood, and both aiming at universal sovereignty, political and spiritual. The established religions of India, therefore, effectually prevented the spread of the Grecian religion to the south of the mountains. In a religious point of view then, there was, probably, no amalgamation between the Greek rulers and their Asiatic subjects whatever union did subsist was political. That there was some such union, had been already evidenced by the bilingual inscriptions. Some of the regal titles (such as *Nikè-phoros*, or *Soter*) were much the same as those borne by the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ. The kings, while they fully kept up the prestige of the Grecian name, appreciated the military resources of their subjects, and valued the fame of the Bactrian cavalry, as is evident from the constant appearance of the horse on their coins. That the country grew in material wealth under their rule, is proved by the prolific abundance of their silver coinage. Their mints not only sustained the currency of Bactria Proper, but supplied the wants of the eastern divisions of their empire. The silver pieces of Bactria continued to be a medium of exchange for some centuries after our æra. And, vast as were the monetary and commercial transactions of Upper India, yet the Bactrian fund of silver coinage was so adequate, that it was not found necessary to issue any silver coinage at all in India, until after the decadence of the Indo-Scythian empire in the third century. Nor can any counter inference be drawn from the absence of gold Bactrian coins, inasmuch as the specific reason for this circumstance will be hereafter assigned. There was much wisdom in Antiochus's political principles, when he determined to spare the kingdom of Bactria, in order that it might stand as a dyke between the surging sea of Nomad invaders and the rich lowlands of Central Asia. At that time, the Scythians were hanging like a thunder cloud in the north, ready to rain destruction over the civilized east. The Parthian kingdom, at that crisis of struggle for its own independent existence, was unable to stretch forth the arm of resistance. Had the Bactrian kingdom been at that period annihilated, the Scythians would have overrun Central Asia, swept on to India, or even penetrated to the capital of the Seleucidæ. But, when at last the Scythians did prevail, the Parthians had, in the interval, gathered strength, and the Indian monarchs had steadily consoli-

dated a colossal power. Thus was the progress of the barbarians checked. Such were the benefits that Asia owed to the Bactrian dynasties, that for so many years shielded the east from desolation. And when the fated moment did arrive, the fair structure of Grecian civilization had been so well and firmly raised, that the conquerors were obliged to succumb to the humanizing influences of the conquered—an influence, the same as that which Horace declared the Greeks had exercised over the Romans also,—*Grecia capta ferum victorem cepit*

Such were the interesting results of the extension of Greek dominion from the Caspian to the Indus. The political supremacy perished, but the moral influence survived. The dynasties, of which we must now treat, are chiefly interesting, because they used the Grecian language, adopted the imagery of the Grecian religion, and venerated Grecian art. They exhibit also the last instances, in which the symbols of Greece were blended, in the same coinage, with those of India. And thus, in the barbaric kingdoms which follow, we shall behold Greece faintly imaged, though “living Greece no more.” Yet we shall see how Greece could “brokenly live on.”

“ Even as a broken mirror which the glass
In every fragment multiplies, and makes
A thousand images of one that was—
The same, and still the more, the more it breaks.”

The Scythians, who overthrew the Bactrian kingdom, were urged on, not only by the love of conquest, but also by the spur of necessity. Scythia Proper was not large enough to hold all the Nomad hordes, that were congregated within it. At this period, it was a kind of political volcano. Within its bosom were stirring and heaving all the elements of mischief. At length, with a tremendous eruption, forth there issued a fiery stream of lava, that was to flow resistless over the plains of Asia. The Sakas were the first tribe, that were driven out to seek their fortune in the South. And, in all probability, these were the destroyers of the Bactrian empire. The ancient records of India, when collated with the Chinese and classical histories, leave little doubt that these Sakas—after they had subdued, first Bactria and subsequently the Soter dynasty (of Menander) in the Paropamisus, and had brought all upper India under their dominion—were eventually overthrown by Vikramaditya, king of Oujein, in B. C. 56. This monarch, who is a hero-divinity with the Hindus, was surnamed Sakari, or the foe of the Sakas. But either he, or one of his successors, was forced to yield to the Yuchis, a second tribe of Scythians, still more powerful than the first. These Yuchis founded a most

important kingdom, generally styled the Indo-Scythian. In determining the time and place of these Scythian invasions, much assistance has been derived from the Chinese annalists and travellers. It may appear strange, but it is, nevertheless, true, that Chinese literature has been found of great practical utility in these respects.

It should be added, that a series of Indo-Parthian coins have been found, which would shew that, for a brief space, some Parthian princes must have ruled in the direction of the Paropamisus. In all probability, when the Bactrian empire was despoiled, they managed to seize a moiety of the plunder. We shall then first dismiss this line of Parthian kings, and then, passing on to the Scythians, we shall commence with the Sakas, and afterwards proceed with the Yuchis.

Doubts have been already intimated as to the Parthians having acquired any Indian dominions at an early period. The dynasty, of which we are about to speak, are certainly Parthians, both in name and in style of coinage. The inferiority of the characters, in which the Greek inscriptions are engraven, would shew that the coins belong to the later and declining period of Græco-Asiatic mintage, and the Arianian inscriptions on the reverse would mark an Indian locality. Various attempts have been made, with indifferent success, to identify the first prince Vonones, with personages of that name, who figure in the Arsacidan history of Parthia. The coins of the third prince, Gondophares, are distinguished by a peculiar Monogram, in which Professor Wilson discerns a letter of the Sanskrit alphabet. Ecclesiastical history corroborates most singularly the Numismatic evidence regarding this prince. Saint Thomas is said to have received a divine commission to visit the Indians, who were ruled by a prince named Gondoforus.* The coincidence is somewhat striking. Another prince, styled Abagarus on the coins, is connected with Gondophares by uniformity of Monogram. There are several other princes included in this dynasty. But we do not know enough of their reigns or their policy, to make them interesting. And thus, we must close our account of this distant Indian offshoot of that dynasty, which the name of Mithridates has rendered famous in Roman history, and which was remarkable among the kingdoms of Macedonian origin, from having been finally subverted, not as Bactria, by barbaric invasion, nor as the Seleucidan and Ptolemaic kingdoms by the irresistible progress of Roman conquest, but by

* Sharon Turner's history of the Anglo-Saxons. Note to p 147, vol II, quoting a Saxon life of St Thomas, to be found among the Cottonian manuscripts. This passage was pointed out to us by a friend.

the zealous onset of religious fervour, by the enthusiastic vigour of Ardeshir Baba-jan, the perpetuator of the Magian tenets, the renovator of the Sabæan and Mithraic religions. And while we treat of the Indo-Scythian dynasties, and reflect how Buddhism and Brahmanism (both offsprings of Mithraism) grew up under the shadow of Greek civilization, till they overspread the extreme East, we should not forget that a great day was at hand for the common progenitor of both, and that Mithraism was to be reinstated in the "high places" of Central Asia.

Our view must now be turned towards the Saka-Scythians. In the earlier coins of this class, the letters can hardly be decyphered, being rude imitations of the Greek and the names are frequently illegible. The three first names given in Professor Wilson's list, namely, *Spalarnus*, *Palrusus*, and *Mayses*, we shall pass over summarily, merely remarking, with respect to the two former, that they are placed by many Numismatists among the Bactrian princes, and regarding the latter, that it corresponds with *Màos* or *Mâs*, which Professor Lassen shews to be of Mithraic origin. We then come to the interesting set of coins, which bear the name of *Azes*. This prince must have been the greatest, that had appeared in Asia since the days of Alexander. The extension of his rule to the frontier of Central Asia has led many to suppose, that he was of Indian origin. He certainly does sometimes figure on the coins in an Indian attitude. But no Buddhist or Brahmanist emblems are associated with him. Whether he be Indian or not, the Chinese theory, which identifies him with Asoka, or Ayu, is decidedly wrong. On the other hand, some of the best authorities, such as Lassen, conclude him to be Scythian. The figure of the mounted king (a Szu, or Saka device, according to Lassen) and the general aspect of the types would certainly favour this supposition. And it is improbable, that an Indian ever could have reigned north of the Caucasus, as Azes certainly did. His coins were found, chiefly, in the neighbourhood of Peshawar and in Affghanistan, also in various parts of the Punjab, but not lower. They are numerous and greatly diversified both in type, device and monogram, and they are generally executed with much precision and completeness. The inscriptions are in Greek and in Bactro-Pali. The imagery is drawn from Grecian mythology. Beyond this, there are no religious emblems. There are no devices, that could represent Mithraism or Hinduism. The most important coins are those, which indicate the extent of his empire. There is the Bactrian camel,* the Indian lion

* See Professor Lassen's able interpretation of these emblems

and elephant, the bull of Kabul. There is also a remarkable device, which represents Neptune trampling on a swimming figure. This has been confidently referred to victories gained in the vicinity of the Indus. Connected with the coinage of this prince, are some specimens, bearing the superscription of Azihses, who was, no doubt, a kindred sovereign—whether successor, or predecessor, is uncertain. Belonging to the same series are a most numerous set of coins, displaying the title of "Great king of kings, the Preserver." One emblem of this set represents a male figure in a long robe, with a cap and fillet, and the right arm stretched over a fire altar. This is interpreted as an evident allusion to the Magian religion. These coins have been found in the very heart of India, at Benares and at Malwa. The nameless title has, by some, been referred to a confederation of states. But it was, probably, the generic name of a line of kings.

The coins, then, show that there arose, upon the ruins of Bactria, a barbaric empire of Saka-Scythian origin, professing a mixed religion, composed of Mithraism, Hellenism, and perhaps Hinduism—an empire, that stretched from the confines of Tartary over the Caucasian range, and thence, centring itself in Afghanistan and the Punjab, reached down to the mouths of the Indus—spread eastward, over the plains of Hindustan, to the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna—and, southward, over Rajputana to the Vindhyan range of Central India. But for the coins, what historical speculatist would have dreamt of this? In fixing the dates of this dynasty, we must remember, that it came after the first Scythian invasion, and before the second, by the Tokhares, or Yuchis. It is well known that the Indian king, Vikramaditya, defeated some Saka power. And it may be inferred with tolerable certainty, that these must have been the Sakas so defeated. Then, if this be so, the date of their overthrow may be deduced with precision, for the era of Vikramaditya has been placed beyond doubt.* What became of the Sakas after their Indian defeats, neither history nor Numismatics inform us. It cannot be supposed that Vikramaditya pursued them into Bactria Proper. But whether they maintained their power in that quarter, or yielded to some other Scythian swarm, is unknown—a point too dark even for conjecture. That the Sakas, however, were succeeded in India, after no long in-

* It is unfortunate that Archaeologists have not been able to connect Vikramaditya with any one of the several kinds of relics, whether coins, or rock-inscriptions, or pillars, while they have succeeded to so great an extent in establishing the position of Chandra Gupta and Asoka.

terval, by the kindred tribe of Yuchis, or Tokhares, may be regarded as an historical fact. They could not have followed in direct succession, inasmuch as it was Vikramaditya, who overthrew the Sakas. But it is known that the kingdom, which his spirit and patriotism had founded, fell into confusion after his death. And it is most probable, that the Yuchis took that opportunity of usurping his throne and power, and of raising up a great Indo-Scythian empire. We shall, henceforward, hear no more of Bactria Proper, our attention will be confined to upper India, including Afghanistan and the Paropamisus.

The coins of the Yuchi, or Indo-Scythian, dynasty have been discovered in vast numbers. They are entirely gold and copper. There is only one silver specimen in the whole set. Now it has been already stated, that the Bactrian coinage was entirely silver, while the Indian coinage was entirely gold and copper. When we consider that the two countries were conterminous, and that commercial intercourse and monetary exchange largely subsisted between them, it can hardly be regarded as a fortuitous circumstance, that, in one country, the more valuable coins should be nothing but silver, and, in the other, nothing but gold. It was not that the Indians never availed themselves of a silver currency, for, as was previously mentioned, the silver pieces of Bactria were current in India for some centuries after our æra, so numerous were they, that it must needs be concluded that the Bactrian rulers made special provision for the monetary requirements of India, and augmented the silver mintage accordingly. Why then did the Bactrians follow this policy? some reason there must have been. A reason is supplied by the author of the *Periplus*, who says, that the silver denarii were exchanged with advantage against the gold kaltes of India.* But, when the Bactrian pieces became obsolete and fell out of circulation, and the resources of silver currency thus began to fail, the Indians introduced a silver coinage of their own. Towards the decline of the Indo-Scythic power, and the accession of the great Gupta dynasty, the Satraps of Guzerat† and the Gupta sovereigns of that region coined beautifully in silver, while the coinage of Kanouj, the then capital of northern India, continued to be gold. The monetary remains of the Indo-Scythic epoch seem to shew that this was a period of national wealth and commercial activity. That there was a brisk demand in the money market and the bazaar, is evinced by the

* On this point consult *Wilson's Ariana Antiqua* and *Cunningham's Numismatic Tract*.

† Vide "*Saurashtra*" Coins by F. Thomas, Esq. B. C. S.

immense issue of copper coins. The piece of the Indo-Scythian Kadphises and Kanerkes were current in the Hindu kingdoms of upper India, and remained in circulation till the Muhammadan invasion. But, besides difference in metal, there will be observed other important changes in the specimens of the coining series. They cease to be bilingual. The coins of Kadphises, the first king on the list, form a single exception to this rule. The Arianian, or Bactro-Pali characters (of which so much has been said) are no more to be seen, the Greek Alphabet alone remains. Heretofore, in each series, Greek mythology has supplied a goodly portion of the imagery but henceforward that also disappears. Greek art is passing away, but the court language and the fashionable orthography are still Greek. It has been already stated that the general features of the coins, and the localities in which they have been found, prove beyond a reasonable doubt, that this kingdom comprised upper India, that is the tract of country between the junction of the Ganges and Jumna and the Western extremity of the Paropamisus. The first king was Kadphises. Some of his coins were first discovered at Mathura (Muttra) and Allabahad. But the figures had become indistinct from long friction, and the letters of the inscriptions could not, at that time, be decyphered. These specimens remained therefore unintelligible, until they were compared with the more recently discovered coins. A great number of fellow specimens have been dug up in Kabul and the Punjab. The king's dress and the cast of his features are unquestionably Tartar, or Scythian. In one coin, he appears worshipping at a fire-altar. In some coins, the Hindu Shiva is represented with his usual attributes, and his attendant bull, bedecked after the regular fashion. On the reverses of the coins (as we said before) the Arianian characters are seen for the last time. There are other coins bearing the same name but, on account of dissimilarity of device, they are conjectured to belong to another Kadphises. It is agreed on all hands, that he was not the only one of his race, who bore this name, and that, at all events, other kings must have intervened between him and the monarch, we are now about to notice, namely, Kanerkes. That this king was of a different lineage from Kadphises, seems clear from the absence of bilingual inscriptions, and an additional set of honorific titles derived from the Magian vocabulary. But general uniformity of design and monogram, and identity in place of discovery, would show that both princes belonged to the same race and the same kingdom. On some of the Kanerkian coins, there appears the figure of the Sakya Sinha, one of the Múnis or patron saints of Buddhism, in a

preaching or benedictory attitude Major Cunningham considers* that he has got a coin of this king, in which the aspect of the figure is eminently Buddhist, and with an inscription, which he decyphers as an invocation to Budha. This prince has also been identified with Kaniki, or Kanishka, a king known to Cashmerian history, and a zealous Buddhist.†

The coins of the next king, Kenorama, are in much the same style as the preceding. But the constant occurrence of the elephant would seem to denote the consolidation of the kingdom in the interior of India. Neither is there any thing that calls for especial notice in the coinage of the next king, Oerkes, except that his dress closely resembles the vestments of the Sassanian kings of Persia, as depicted on their coins. There is a fire altar plainly represented in the coins of the next king, Baraoro. The regal head dress is unquestionably Sassanian‡. We next come to a set of coins, inscribed with the name, Ardokro, whether it belonged to one, or to several monarchs, is uncertain. Their principal type is a female, sitting on a high-backed throne, and holding a cornucopia§. The recurrence of this type in the Gupta coins of Kanouj (and it will be remembered that the Guptas succeeded the Indo-Scythians), associated with regular Hindu inscriptions in Sanskrit, marks the Ardokro coins as the last of the Indo-Scythian series, and as belonging to the transition period, when the last vestiges of Bactrian influence and Grecian civilization were fast fading from our view to be seen no more. From a comparison of the respective types and monograms, James Prinsep has pronounced the Indo-Scythian to have been the original model of the Kanouj coinage. And thus Indo-Scythic history may, perhaps, explain the Rajput tradition, which declares the founder of the Kanouj race of Rahtores to have been a Yâvan, or Greek, of the Asi or Aswa tribe. A Bactrian chief was, no doubt, meant. The tradition, however, is only useful as showing that Indian tradition preserved the remembrance of dominant races, who had come down from the north. It cannot have much historical significance for the Rajput bard forgot, or ignored the fact, that it was the comparatively low caste Guptas, and not the high-born Rahtores, who drove back the Indo-Scythians. In Surat also, the southern extremity

* *Numismatic Tracts*—J A S Bengal

† See J Prinsep's Account of this king in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, also Cunningham's *Treatise on Kashmerian coinage—Numismatic Chronicle, Vol VI, (1843)*

‡ *Vide* Wilson's Account of the Sassanian coins

§ Lassen has observed that the Saka kings are generally represented as mounted, and the Yuchus seated in a chariot, or on a throne

of their empire, the Indo-Scythians left their Numismatic devices to be imitated by their successors * These Numismatic coincidences, while they prove what James Prinsep called "the Indo-Scythic paternity of the Kanouj coinage," are still more valuable as establishing the consecutive order of events † The later history of Kanouj is detailed in genuine and authentic narratives, and may form a sound basis on which to raise a structure of Numismatic facts. If, therefore, the connection of the Kanouj coinage with the Indo-Scythic, and the connection of the latter with the earlier Scythian, coinage, and again the connection of this last coinage with the Græco-Bactrian and the Macedonian (when we again meet the domain of history) be all made out, as we trust it has—then something has been done to evince the fidelity and trustworthiness of Numismatic enquiry, and to vindicate, in legal phrase, the "admissibility" of the coins as evidence

By this time, that is, the beginning of the third century, a race of Gupta chiefs had arisen They expelled the Indo-Scythians and, having thus rid themselves of foreign domination, they founded a kingdom, which extended from Nepal to Guzerat and from Magadha to the Paropamisus And thus Hindu supremacy was restored in the north of India, where it had not been known since the days of Chandragupta and Asoka

But before this Indo-Scythic dynasty is finally dismissed from our consideration, there are one or two questions, connected with the religious emblems of their coins, which merit a brief discussion What, for instance, meant the Mithraic emblems? how and from whence did they get to India? Elemental worship was the original faith of Central Asia. It is known by the several names of Magian, Sabæan, and Mithraic This superstition, in itself purer and simpler than other forms of heathenism, soon became corrupted, and degenerated into a mythology, the most stupid and senseless of all ‡ As the religion spread, a number of strange names and epithets were incorporated into the sacred nomenclature, and the deified heroes of neighbouring nations were allowed the honor of apotheosis in the Mithraic Pantheon But this Persian mythology, though it no doubt was venerated in the homes of the people, does not appear to have been more than tolerated by the successors of Alexander As far as we know it was not politically encouraged,

* See "Saurashtra Coins"

† See *Tod's Rajasthan*—Connection of the Rajputs with the Scythians, Chapter I and VI

‡ See Malcolm's Account of the process of corruption in the *History of Persia*

and it certainly did not receive the allegiance of the kings. When the Greeks lost their political power, the barbaric conquerors at first adopted the Grecian, and not the Magian, mythology. And thus for many years, the Greek religion continued to be fashionable. The Yuchis, however, rejected the European, and adopted the Asiatic, mythology. But when established in India, they deemed it politic to encourage the two prevailing religions of that Peninsula, namely, Brahmanism and Buddhism—which were after all only offsprings of the parent Mithraism. Hence it was that the emblems of Shiva, of Budh, and of Mithra, appear together on the Indo-Scythic coinage. We will first notice the names and figures, characteristic of Mithraism.*

The titular terms Miro, Mioro, or Mithro, attached to the regal names of the Kanerkian dynasty, are identified with the word Mithra, the Zendic name for the sun. This famous word, which has given a name to the Mithraic religion, re-appears in Persian as Mihir, in Sanscrit as Mitra and Mihira. But in these two languages, it is only one name for the sun out of many, whereas the original Mithra means the one sovereign sun, and corresponds with the Hèlios, also found on the coins. He is seen in a flowing dress, with light radiating round his head. The Deus Lunus of Asia Minor appears on the coins under the Zendic name of Mao and Manao Bago, corresponding with the Sanscrit word, Mas. The figure resembles that of the sun, only instead of the rays we have the lunar circlet. In connection with this divinity, the coins give the name of Nanaia, Nana, and Nana Rao. This goddess, a tributary of the moon, is the triple faced Artemis of Agathokles (the Bactrian king), the Anaitis of the Persians, the Anaia of Armenia, the Bibi Nànì of the Muhammadans.†

Next we have Athro on the coins, the peculiar god of the Ignicolae, the personification of fire. The figure is encircled with the sacred element, and the hair seems to wreath itself into flames. The name is also Zendic, and agrees with "Atars," Fire. The word "Oado" on the coins has been identified with the Zendic "Vato" and the Persian "Bad," Wind. Two words "Okro" and "Ardokro" have not been satisfactorily explained. The "Ard" has been reasonably conjectured to be the common prefix "Arta," Great, as in Arta Xerxes. Another name, "Pharo," on account of the similarity of the figure to which it is attached, has been supposed to be an epithet of the sun.

* See Lassen's interpretation of these names and figures.

† Wilson's *Artiana Antiqua*.

Now, it must be steadily borne in mind, that *all* these names are written in the Greek character. Thus was the Greek language made the medium, by which the people of India were to learn the sacred terminology of the Persian Zendavesta. Until the discovery of the coins, no three things could be more separate—more irreconcilably disconnected—than this language, this people, and this religion. But now the coins have brought these three together! And, thus corrupted, Mithraism was to run its course, not only in Ariana, but in the Indian Peninsula. It was soon, however, to be driven out from the former by the Sassanian descendants of the great reformer, and from the latter by the Guptas.

The blending of Brahmanist symbols with the pantheistic imagery of the Indo-Scythians needs not excite surprise, but the admission of Buddhist emblems may suggest a few observations. For some time Buddhism was denied its proper place in history. It had the misfortune to be overthrown by a system, in which historical mendacity in support of religious tenets was held to be a cardinal virtue*. The Brahmanists, having established the most complete civil and ecclesiastical polity, and elaborated a polished literature, were reluctant to admit that there had been such a thing, as a Buddhism, which once ran Brahmanism very hard in the race of dominion. But the veil was gradually withdrawn. Chinese literature gave forth its stores of information. Accounts came pouring in from Burmah, Thibet, Nepal, Ceylon. The earth and the mountain yielded up their monumental treasures. Caves were penetrated—relics dug up—rock inscriptions decyphered. The writings on the Delhi and Allahabad pillars were read. The coins began to tell their story. As our knowledge of the dynasties, which ruled in upper India and Kabul, began to increase, the works of several Chinese travellers, who visited India during the first five centuries of our æra, were critically examined.† The correctness of their Geography and the general truth of their statements were remarkably verified by the relics and the coins, which have formed the subject of the present treatise. From all this evidence, some scholars have believed that the Pali language was current, and the Buddhist faith dominant, at a

* We do not of course mean to say that Buddhism was not mentioned in Sanskrit Literature, but only that its position was not duly described.

† We need not give the names of these travellers. The accounts of their travels were most elaborately commented on by Remusat, Klaproth, Burnouf, and others. The work of the principal traveller, Fa Hian, having been translated into French, was again translated into English by Mr. Laidley of Calcutta.

time, when the polished form of the Sanscrit was unknown, and when Brahmanism could not raise its head * Without going so far as this, and without claiming any undue antiquity or pre-eminence for Buddhism, we may safely say that for sometime, it was at least co-extensive with, and at one epoch, superior to, Brahmanism, that it extended as far north, and was probably carried into Indian kingdoms beyond the Indus and below the Caucasian range—countries, whither Brahmanism perhaps never penetrated, that some of the most illustrious Hindu monarchs were its disciples—monarchs, who made treaties with Antiochus the Great, and kept the Bactrian Greeks at bay, and that it took its place, side by side with Brahmanism and Mithraism, in the adoration of the Indo-Scythians, we have already seen And this fact was further strengthened by Captain Cautley's exhumation of a Buddhist city at Behar, near Seharunpur Among the ruins were discovered, not only a series of Indo-Scythian coins with the Buddhist symbols, but also a collection of undoubtedly Buddhist relics. The discovery of Indo-Scythian coins in the Buddhist topes of Afghanistan has been already described

With the extinction of the Indo-Scythian power will close the historical drama, allotted to this article. However incomplete our treatment of the subject may have been, we trust that, at all events, the history itself has been proved to merit attention It has been seen that Numismatics has exhibited the history of three great nations, the Græco-Bactrian, the Bactro-Scythian, and the Indo-Scythian. The coins have shown how the Greeks consolidated their power, and extended it to the furthest East, how they preserved their religion, arts and civilization in pristine purity, and yet cemented the bonds of political union with their Eastern subjects, how they led on their people in the onward course of commercial activity and national prosperity, how they held the barbarians in check, and how, weakened by internal strife, and struggling with their rivals, the Parthians, they fell an easy prey to the Scythians. The coins have shewn how the Bactro-Scythians raised a vast, but short-lived, Empire, at one time, greater even than the Græco-Bactrian, how they borrowed the arts, policy, language, and religion of the Greeks, how at the same time they engrafted on this noble stock, the mythology and the forms of oriental worship Lastly, the coins have shewn how, on the expulsion of the Bactro-Scythians, a kindred race of Indo-Scythians seized the southern and eastern portions of the old empire, how they augmented the material

* See Colonel Sykes treatise on the religious, moral and political state of India before the Muhammadan invasion

wealth of monetary currency of this new kingdom, how they adopted and blended together the ideas and the superstitions of the three great sects of orientalism, but still retained the Greek, as the classical language of the court and the state. Such facts as these History had not shewn, and, unless new materials should be discovered, never could shew. Besides these points, on which coins alone have furnished the main body of the evidence, they have supplied a mass of collateral and supplementary information regarding the origin and growth of some of the oldest eastern languages and the most potent eastern religions. Those, who imagine that this picture is overdrawn, we must refer to the many learned and elaborate treatises, both English and continental, alluded to in the foregoing pages, and to the plates, with which most of the works are embellished, and by means of which the reader may judge for himself, whether the inferences drawn from the coins are just and fair, or not.

It must not, however, be concluded that the Numismatists of India are resting on their oars, or are content with the archæological trophies already won. There are, we doubt not, many acute and accomplished minds still labouring to throw additional light on the facts of this history. Not a year passes away without some circumstances being adduced in confirmation, addition, correction, or illustration. Much has been done in the way of correction. The position of individual kings, and even the dates and localities of particular dynasties have been occasionally altered, but the cardinal points of the narrative, the nature and extent of the several kingdoms, the succession of races, languages and religions—all this has stood unassailed and unimpeached throughout the ten years of Numismatic scrutiny. And it is upon *these* points that we have endeavoured to dwell, rather than upon points of minor importance, which cannot be fixed with absolute certainty, and which do not affect general principles or theories. Much has also been done in the way of corroboration. And few portions of the subject have been more strengthened than that which relates to the geographical extent of the several kingdoms, both classical and barbarian, which existed in upper India. The tendency of recent discoveries has been to shew that Kabul and the Punjab formed the pivot, on which often turned the fate of Central Asia and of India. It is, indeed, no newly discovered fact that this region has been to Asia, what the Netherlands were to Europe, the arena of incessant contest between the different aspirants to universal dominion. But for aught that history told us to the contrary, we might have supposed that it enjoyed

a respite from contention during the long interval between the invasion of the Greeks under Alexander and of the Mussulmans under Mahmud. The coins, however, shew that during this period also, it was as sharply contested for, as it ever has been subsequently,—that it was the battle field, not only of ambitious autocrats, but also of races, religions, and opinions,—that it was the scene of such contests, as might be anxiously looked upon (to borrow the Homeric notion) by the gods of Greece, by the Hindu Triad, by the Gautamas of Buddhism, and by the elemental divinities of Zoroaster

Nor must it be supposed that Indian Numismatics stop here. We have only traced the History of India for six hundred years. But the coins, to use Professor Wilson's words, have followed the destinies of India for two thousand years. Following the Indo-Scythian dynasty in close order, there come several series of Hindu coins, which explain much that was obscure in the Ante-Muhammadian period of Indian history, and which conduct us down to the epoch of Muhammadian conquests. Then, following the tracks of authentic history, the coins accompany us through the periods marked by the several Muhammadian dynasties, and by the different policies, which they pursued,—until at last there appears a coinage, which has spread even further than the Macedonian, which heralded a civilization higher than that of the Greeks, and which belonged to an empire greater than that of Alexander. These subjects may perhaps be treated of in a future article but we shall not touch upon them at present, inasmuch as we have confined ourselves to the limits of Greek dominion and influence in the East.

- ART V—1 *Transactions of the Medical and Physical Society of Calcutta* 1825-43
- 2 *Reports of the Commission for enquiring into the state of large and populous districts* London. 1844
- 3 *Report of the General Board of Health on the epidemic Cholera of 1848-49, with appendices* London. 1850
- 4 *Act X of 1842* An Act for enabling the inhabitants of any place of public resort or residence under the Presidency of Fort Wilham, not within the town of Calcutta, to make better provision for purposes connected with public health and convenience Calcutta Government Gazette, 14th October, 1842
- 5 *Act XXVI of 1850* An Act to enable improvements to be made in towns Calcutta Government Gazette, 21st June, 1850
- 6 *Report on Small Pox in Calcutta, and Vaccination in Bengal* By Duncan Stewart, M D Calcutta 1844
- 7 *Report of the Small Pox Commissioners appointed by Government, with an Appendix* Calcutta, 1st July, 1850
- 8 *Medical Report on the Mahamurri in Gurhwal in 1849-50* By Dr C Renny, Superintending Surgeon Agra. 1851
- 9 *Suggestions for the extension and perfection of Vaccination, simultaneously with the systematic study of epidemic and endemic diseases in India.* By J R Bedford, Assistant Surgeon Calcutta. 1851

WHILST civilized man, throughout the world, has brought his highest faculties to bear upon the adaptation of natural products to his wants and wishes, whilst sage and savages each in his own degree, have separately, from the earliest ages, toiled to find a remedy for bodily disease, the heritage of their common fall,—the conviction, amongst educated nations, of the possibility of, not alone subduing, but actually warding off, its inroads, is but newly awakened, and, even now, the question of its truth trembles in the mental balance of not an inconsiderable number. It is ever the law of mind to disbelieve all evils imperfectly understood. Sanatory Reform labours under the disadvantage of dealing with mal-influences, which speak not for themselves, but require to be long and sedulously studied, ere their distinct and undeniable relation to disease be recognized. Now that the light of full intelligence is breaking on the public mind, the ignorance of past ages is inexplicable. Air, light, and water, the very elements of life and health, have been systematically, it would appear, excluded from the doomed inhabitants of large cities, whilst plague and pestilence, sweeping

ART VII—*The Kavya Sangraha, edited by the Rev Dr Haeblerlin*

THE first literary efforts of a nation have almost invariably been stimulated by the fascinations of poetry. Sensibility and feeling have preceded the exercise of reason and reflection. The imagination has been worked upon, before the other intellectual powers were developed. Men saw the beauties and wonders of nature, and were charmed and electrified by what they saw, long before they could recover their self-possession, and coolly speculate on the laws, which regulated her course. Poets were thus brought forth much earlier than philosophers, or historians. Nature unfolded herself in her sublime and beautiful characters, and fired the spectator's imagination, long before the secret causes of her phenomena could be investigated. The glorious refulgence of the meridian sun was noted and admired, long before the spots on his disk betrayed his rotatory motion, or Newton demonstrated his central stition. Many had been fascinated by the loveliness of the moon, which at night reigns full-orbed "And with more pleasing light, shadowy, sets off the face of things,"—long before, "through optic glass, the Tuscan artist" made his observations from the top of Fesole, or in Valdarno. The delicate scenery of groves and forests—the magnificence of hills, rivers, and cascades—must have struck the fancy in the rudest state of society. Sentiment would be thereby excited. Imagination would be set on fire. Love, joy, veneration, and other affections would be called forth. Some might be captivated by the loveliness of the sights, some might admire the grandeur of the scenery, some wonder at the romance of what they saw, some again, of more serious temperament, might be led spontaneously to adore the power and wisdom which created such beauties, and adapted them to their several ends—thus adding usefulness to what was delightful, while others again, unable to look from nature up to nature's God, might attribute divinity to objects, which ministered pleasure to their admiring eyes, and supplied the necessities of life, without stopping to consider that they were but evidences of the excellency of the Supreme Divinity above.

Now, when the imagination is worked upon, and the feelings are well charged, the natural consequence is animated expression. The wonder, admiration, or veneration, excited by the scenery, would break forth in songs or hymns, which, as they proceeded from the seat of the affections, would breathe the genuine

sentiment then nearest to the speaker's heart,—AND THAT WAS POETRY

But men, in a state of excitement, do not always articulate the language of common convention. The imagination rises superior to lexicons and grammars, and looks down upon their cold, calculating, and slow processes. The ideas, which are foremost in the mind, issue unrestrained by the artificial rules of Panini, or Amara Sinha. Hence the peculiar language of poetry and its variations from conventional usage.

But poetry is not wildness. It is independent of conventional rules, but it has rules of its own. It is free, but its freedom possesses a harmony, which no servile adherence to rules can impart. The genuine harmony of nature is superior to that of mere art. It is, perhaps, difficult to determine, whether poetry or music was first cultivated, but it is evident, that the one is intimately related to the other. Perhaps, they are twin-sisters. That which is musical, can hardly fail to be poetical, and that, which is poetical, must be musical. The inspiration of poetry determines what is harmony. Her flights are independent of earthly rules. She is not restrained by the aphorisms of prosodists and grammarians—any more than the planets are restrained in their career by Kepler's laws. The harmonious flights of poetry are naturally so regulated, as to give law to rhetoricians and grammarians. She is to them what the planets are to astronomers. They determine their code of rules by observing her motions—and that code is versification.

The foregoing remarks are nowhere more aptly illustrated, than in the case of Sanskrit poetry, by which, we mean, the poetry of the Brahmins. The first fruits of our ancient literature were produced by poetic inspiration. The ardent imagination of a tropical climate was naturally excited by curiosities, admired even by foreigners. The "barbaric pearl and gold," which the "gorgeous East" was supposed to "shower on her kings," had possessed the imagination of adventurers from time immemorial, and led ultimately to enterprises, by which a new world was discovered, and which perfected our knowledge of the surface of our globe. The "barbaric pearl and gold" did not, it is true, actually abound in India, in the same plentiful manner in which they abounded in the imagination of poets and statesmen, but the beauty and magnificence, which invested nature in this favoured quarter of the globe, could not fail to strike the fancy of our ancestors from an early age. The majestic peaks of the Himalaya, prince of hills, surpassing the

clouds and towering to the heavens, the sublime descent of the Ganges, fabled as the response to pious prayers made consecutively for several generations, and still the theme of pilgrims and devout travellers, the lovely valleys, the ever green fields, the stately forests, the charming brooks, the gay peacocks, the warbling birds, the humming bee, the jessamine, the lily, and the lotus,

“ Woods, fountains, hillocks, dales and bowers, ’—

produced irresistible impressions on the poet's mind, and added fuel to his ardent imagination. The spirit of poetry was stirred up. Men spake and wrote with animation. They produced new ideas, and expressed them in thrilling but harmonious language. The rich variety of their turns of thought and their harmonious notes abundantly supplied materials for rhetoric and versification.

It is no small honour to the poetic genius of our ancestors, that it originally displayed itself by means of ideas, which were of a solemn and serious nature. It is a libel against human nature to suppose that there can be no true poetry, without condescending to frivolous levities or vulgar gaiety. The sublimer the subject, the more exalted is the nature of the poem, however more difficult may be the execution. It is a mistake to suppose that subjects of a serious nature cannot give sufficient exercise to poetical imagination. The first strides of Hindu poetry were heavenward. It displayed itself in what may be called hymns, or sacred songs. The *Sanhitas* of the *Vedas* are its oldest specimens. They testify to the existence of minds, capable of admiring the wonders of the creation, and labouring for communion with objects, to which were attributed the harmony and regularity of nature's laws. The *Rishis* celebrated the praises of *Agni*, *Vayu*, *Rudra* and others. They invited them to partake of their sacrifices and their moon-plant juice. They sang to them doxologies, invoked their favour, deprecated their wrath. With the theology involved in the *Sanhitas*, we have no concern in this place. Our business on the present occasion is with their poetry, and that was chaste and delicate. You see no extraordinary flights in them. Their poetry does not “soar above the Aonian mount.” And yet it has beauties, such as the first efforts of few nations can boast.

The versification of the *Vedas* is as simple as its poetry is chaste. The metres *Gyatri*, *Anustup*, and *Arya*, are the most generally used. The collocation of words is an important element in Sanskrit poetry. The harmony of the *Vedas* is proverbial. Perhaps, in these days, we have no knowledge of the musical accents, in which the ancient *Rishis* chanted the *Suktas* but the

glowing descriptions, given in the Puranas and other writings, of the harmonious reading of the Vedas, excelling in sweetness the warbling of birds, shew that the Suktas were capable of the most beautiful chanting. And this idea receives confirmation from the fact, that the scholiasts of the Vedas have been most careful in noting the metres, along with the gods and Rishis, of the several hymns. The gods were the persons addressed in the hymns, the Rishis were the persons addressing them, the metres indicated their versification. The names of these were inscribed on the hymns, in the same manner, in which some of the psalms of David have the name of the psalmist, and the instrument to which they were sung, noted on them.

The age of the Vedas was, no doubt, the first epoch of Sanskrit poetry. The second, it is no easy task to determine. Did the Tantras, technically called the Agama, follow the Nigama, or the Vedas? Or did Menu and the authors of the several Smritis of the Smṛiti, such as Vṛhaspati, Harita, &c., intervene between them? When were the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana composed? And when the oldest of the Puranas? Oriental scholars have generally theorized on these points, but we must confess, we cannot follow out their reasonings. We do not propose to meddle in this article with archæology, or chronology. As far as the poetry of these writings is concerned, there is so much of similarity in them, that we may classify the Tantras, the Smṛiti, the Itihāses, and the Puranas together, as the products of the second epoch of Sanskrit poetry. This necessarily embraces a long period of time, but the poetry it produced is, in some respects, uniform.

Considering the artificial decorations, and the puerile puzzles, which poets subsequently incorporated in their productions, one is tempted to say of Sanskrit poetry, what the poet predicated of the world —

“Aurca prima sua est ictas.

“The golden age was produced first.” Succeeding poets imbibed a vicious taste for enigmas, alliterations and for extravagant metaphors, which indicated a total departure from the simplicity of nature, and a vain hankering for art and effect. But this evil was not developed in the second epoch of poetry. The Tantras, Smṛitis, Itihāses and Puranas, are generally free from mechanical decorations and enigmatical puzzles. Indeed, it may be said that the works just cited set off the Sanskrit language to the best advantage. Though not free from admixtures of artificial and affected embellishment, they

contain exquisitely fine poetry The Tantras may be called catechetical instructions, given by Siva to his wife Parvatī, and embrace a great variety of subjects Some of them are evidently of recent composition There are passages in them, which refer to the rise of the British power in the east Others have been supposed to be of very ancient date As dialogues between an uxorious husband and his wife, they might be supposed to contain many touches of sentiment but Siva appears in the Tantras, more as an instructor than as a husband In some parts of the Tantras, the persuasive powers of poetry have been prostituted for the inculcation of the most flagitious vices, exceeding by far the obscenities of the ancient Bacchanalia

The institutes of Menu and the Sanhitas of the Smṛiti, may be considered as ethical compositions, declaring the duties of the various classes of Hindu society, and comprising the authorities of Hindu law The nature of the subjects would allow but little of poetry, but they are composed very harmoniously in the metre called Anuṣṭupa, and, unlike, perhaps, works on law in other languages, supply very pleasant reading to the votaries of Themis But poetry and law do not easily coalesce Their union degenerates into an unequal yoke, which exercises a deteriorating influence on both Legal poems are but poor offerings to the poetic muse, and poetical laws are unworthy of the altar of Themis Law requires an exactitude of definition and a nicety of distinction, which are inconsistent with the freedom of poetry And poetry requires flights of the imagination, which the cold calculations of law would not allow The union of the two has a tendency to make poetry servile, and law flighty This appears to be a fundamental defect in Hindu philosophy and Hindu law It has been remarked, by experienced lawyers, that Hindu authorities might furnish texts for the support of the most opposite judgments in law This could hardly be otherwise, where the law is poetry

The Ramayana and Mahabharata are epic poems—the one on the life and adventures of Rama—the other having Yudhiṣṭhira and the Pandavas as its heroes But they are so full of episodes, that the reader constantly loses sight of the heroes of the poems, and feels himself perfectly puzzled, by interlocutors after interlocutors,—so that it is a task of no small difficulty to return to the point, where the digressions commenced.

The Ramayana appears to be the older of the two poems The sweetness of its versification, and the delicacy of its poetry, are thus attested by some former editor, who, after saluting

Rama, the hero of the poem, has prefixed the following eulogy on the poet himself

राम वामेति रामेति कुञ्जस्तं मधुवाक्बवं ।

आकाश कविताशाखं बन्दे वाल्मीकि कोकिलं ॥

I salute the Kokila, Valmiki, who, having climbed on the branch of poesy' is uttering the sweet sounds, Rama, Rama, Rama !

The characters of Rama, and his brothers Lakshana and Bhatarā, as well as of his consort Sita, have been portrayed in the most exquisite manner. In Rama we see an obedient son, a valiant and a noble prince, a loving husband, and a heroic and patient sufferer—one that always sacrificed pleasure and interest to duty and virtue. On the eve of being associated as king with his father, he is desired to leave the kingdom and banish himself for fourteen years to the wilderness. He executes the severe sentence on himself, and becomes an exile with the utmost alacrity. While in exile, subsisting on the bounty of such eremites as he found in the woods, or living on the wild produce of the forests, perhaps, also, on such game as his bow and arrows could procure, the honor and dignity of a high-born prince never forsake him for a moment. The rude hands of a savage deprive him, for a time, of the society of his faithful and affectionate consort, who had followed him in his exile. Severe as this calamity was—rendered ten times more provoking by the wickedness which brought it on—it distressed, but could not overcome the heroic sufferer, and the war, which the crimes of Ravana rendered inevitable, was conducted in the most honourable and princely manner.

The characters of Bharata and Lakshana are no less exemplary. The former, though called to the government by his expiring father, would not supersede an elder brother. He pursues Rama in the wilderness, and insists on his undertaking the duty which devolved upon him from his seniority. Rama cannot be persuaded to return to the kingdom against the express injunction of his late father. Bharata then determines to act as regent in his brother's name, and receives his sandals to be placed on the throne as his representative.

Lakshana is a beautiful personification of fraternal attachment, voluntarily sharing the misfortunes of a fond brother, alleviating his sufferings by sympathy, and instant in season and out of season to serve him. It reminds us of the sacred adage, *How good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity* !

In Sita we have a picture of the faithful and affectionate wife,

determined to follow her husband's fortunes, unmindful of troubles and inconvenience, and cherishing his recollections in the midst of difficulty and captivity

The characters of Hanuman and the other monkeys are somewhat mysterious. It is not easy to conjecture why the poet should introduce a quadrumanous general to assist in the restoration of Sita, and to fight the battles of Rama. Did he mean to anticipate Lord Monboddo, in his theory of the original formation of man?

The Mahabharata may be called a monster-poem. It engrosses all subjects. But the fortunes of Yudhishthira and his brothers form its principal burden. Krishna is its god, and the five Pandavas are its heroes. It commences with celebrating the greatness of Krishna, the truthfulness of the Pandavas, and the wickedness of the sons of Dhritarastra.

বান্ধবদেবস্ব মহাকব্যং পাণ্ডবানাম্ভ সত্যতাং ।

দ্রুবন্তং ধাতরীষ্ট্রিণা মুক্তবান্ ভগবান্ স্বধিঃ ॥

The work professes to have been addressed to king Janamejoy, a descendant of the Pandavas, and was evidently written to find favour with the party that proved victorious on the plains of Kuruk-shetra. In this respect, the courtly poet of Janamejoy was not unlike those of the Augustan age of Rome, so zealous in celebrating the praises of Cæsar.

But our poet's narrative is exceedingly clogged, and the god and the heroes are often completely lost sight of in its lengthy episodes. The celebration of the merits of the victorious party gave the poet an opportunity of embodying, in one long work, the traditions which were popular in the country.

The main story of the poem may be told in a few words. Dhritarastra and Panda were brothers, sprung from a royal race of the lunar dynasty. The elder was incapacitated by blindness for governing the people, of whom by birth he was the rightful sovereign, the younger was carried off, after a short reign, by the rude hand of death, while yet in the vigour of life. Dhritarastra on this associated his nephew Yudhishthira in the government. But his son Duryodhana bore deadly enmity to his cousins, the Pandavas. It is a common saying among the Hindus that, when a kinsman turns a foe, he becomes the most implacable of enemies. Such was Duryodhana to his cousins. The most foul means were resorted to to take away their lives. Poison was administered,—and, that failing of the intended effect, the Pandavas were decoyed to a garden house, constructed of shell-lac, and there burnt to ashes—in the intention of their murderous

cousin. But they fortunately escaped, unknown to their relative. They passed sometime in disguise, and met with adventures the most romantic. They subsequently returned to their country and their kingdom, but Yudhishthira, though represented as a serious and grave character, had one great weakness. He was fond of gambling. His enemies attacked him on his weak side, and gradually got him to stake his wife, kingdom, and all, at a game, by losing which he was reduced to be a perfect beggar. His partner, or rather the common partner of all the Pandavas, was grossly insulted by Duryodhana and his party. The Pandavas were, at last, banished for a period—the last year of which they were to live unknown and unrecognized. They remained in a state of exile for the time allotted, and then came back to their country, to recover their lost kingdom. War was accordingly declared, and the cousins encountered one another on the plains of Kuruk-shetra. The battle ended in the death of Duryodhana and the restoration of the Pandavas to their kingdom. But they did not long enjoy their recovered dominion. They took disgust at the world and its vicissitudes, and repaired to the Himalaya. Thence they attempted to travel to heaven, but, with the exception of the eldest brother Yudhishthira, they all fell off in the way.

Simple as the story is, it is so clogged with episodes, that it requires no small effort of the mind to keep to the thread of the narrative. The episodes are however valuable, because of the legends and traditions preserved in them. The stories of the Deluge, of the romantic adventures of Nala and Damayanti, of Rama, of Sagar, of Kalayavana, of Bhagiratha, of the descent of the Ganges, &c, &c, are distinguished by many remarkable traits, some of them portrayed in exquisitely delicate colours. Nor is the great poem devoid of metaphysics and philosophy. The lecture of Krishna to Arjuna, on the field of battle, celebrated by the title of the Bhagavat Gita, gives an accurate idea of the speculative genius of Hindu sages, and of the theories of Pantheism, to which they are all more or less prone.

The Puranas, though written in the style of epic poetry, do not magnify any particular hero, unless the gods, whose adoration they set forth, may be considered their heroes. The Puranas may be safely considered legendary documents, embodying the traditions of the country, and inculcating the doctrines and ceremonies held in reverence by the nation. Parts of them are highly poetical and perfectly moral, and all of them are valuable, as the most correct representations, we have, of Hindu society, on the establishment of Brahminical

supremacy In a historical and chronological point of view, they are utterly contemptible—but, as records of the manners and customs of the ages in which they were written, they possess great authority They are all written in a simple and intelligible style, the beauty of which depends more on the collocation of words and the arrangement of subjects, than on single high sounding phrases, and unnaturally wrought metaphors One exception, however, must be noted The Sri-Bhagavat, though classed among the Puranas, is of a different style and structure from all the rest Its style is hard, its sense is obscure, its philosophy mystic It has been, not without cogent reasons, supposed to be a modern composition, and attributed to the grammarian, Vopadeva.

The Kavyas, or the Sahitya, form the Third epoch of Sanscrit poetry Indigenous scholars have appropriated the name of poetry (Kavya) to this last class of writings alone There is more elaborate poetry, and a wider range of versification in them, than in the poems we have noted before We will not presume to controvert the opinion of our masters in learning but, notwithstanding the beauties of the Kavyas, we are tempted to exclaim

“ De duro est ultima ferro ,”

“ The last age was of hard iron ” Hard it was in more senses than one The charge so often brought against Oriental poetry, that it “ offers little more than a brilliant confusion of florid diction,” is a libel as far as the poems of the second epoch are concerned, but may be sustained in many instances by the style and plot of the Kavyas Exuberance of figure and ornament is what their authors delight in Moderate flights do not satisfy their fancies They disdain to think or speak as other men do They labour to form images and ideas, at which the reader will gaze with gaping wonder, and clothe them in language which none but the initiated are likely to unravel.

The principal Kavyas are the Bhatti, the Naishadha, the Raghuvansa, the Magha, the Kumara Sambhava, the Bharabî, and others To them may be added the minor poems, such as the Meghaduta, Retu Sanhara, Gitagobinda, and others The principal Kavyas take up some stories from the poems of the 2nd epoch, and decorate them with new figures and ornaments It is remarkable, that the Kavyas scarcely give a new cast to the stories they borrow There is hardly an incident in them, which is not found in the original Myths, but they abound with new metaphors, sometimes over-strained with high-flown

ideas, and with the choicest, though, in some instances, much laboured, versification

We have as yet said nothing of the Hindu drama. The invention of this art is ascribed to a sage named Bharata, not without the usual addition, that it was distilled from the Vedas, and communicated by divine revelation to the sage in question. The invention of the drama must, however, have been posterior to the formation of a regularly organized society. Men in a simple and pastoral state do not imbibe a relish for the theatre. The very erection of the *Nepathya*, or the dressing room, or vestry, and the *Rangabhumi*, or stage, indicates some advance in civilization. After society had made some strides, it would be strange, indeed, if a nation, abounding in wealth and luxuries, and speaking, or otherwise familiar with, the most refined language on the globe, were to forego the pleasures of the drama. The rich resources of Sanscrit grammar, the enchanting harmony of Sanscrit versification, the picturesqueness of Hindu actions, and the fine development of Hindu figures, would naturally create a taste for the drama. In point of plot, execution, and style, the dramatic works of the Hindus may challenge the admiration of all, who can appreciate this class of writings. Indeed Kalidasa has been compared by a scholar of no mean authority to the English Shakespeare, but such is our veneration for the great name just mentioned that we must not allow our national predilections to set even Kalidasa, the brightest luminary of Vicramaditya's age, in juxta position with Shakespeare. His knowledge of human nature, and acquaintance with all its circumstances and conditions, was a rare and peculiar talent. It is no disgrace to a nation not to produce a genius, which was a peculiar gift of Providence. We will not, therefore, pretend to liken the author of the *Sacantola* to the author of *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, and *Othello*. But there is no other dramatic poet, as far as we know, whatever be his country or age, to whom Kalidasa must necessarily give precedence.

We have now, gentle reader, endeavoured to give you some idea of Sanscrit poetry, but the magnitude of the subject and our slender abilities and poor scholarship make us feel, what Kalidasa remarked of himself at the commencement of the *Raghuvansa*,—Where are the giants of Sanscrit poetry, and where are we, of little minds? We may, perhaps, expose ourselves to ridicule,

পাংশু লভ্যে কলে মোহাদুহাহ বীমন ইব ।

“Like a dwarf vainly trying to reach at fruits, which are attainable only to a giant.”

The consecutive cultivation of poetry for, perhaps, three thousand years, from the age of the Vedas down to times very recent, has necessarily improved the taste and criticism of our countrymen. Our works on rhetoric and versification indicate a knowledge of harmony and an appreciation of beauty, peculiar to the Sanscrit language. The Greek hexameter appears puny before our Indra-bajra, our Soondery, our Ruchira, our Puspitāgra, our Mahini, our Vasantatilaka, our Mandakrantā, and scores of others, which it would tire one to hear. The refined notions, which our rhetoricians have expressed in their criticisms on poetry—their ideas of excellencies and deficiencies—prove that our learned language has been highly finished and perfected.

Sentiment is in the estimation of our rhetoricians the *soul* of poetry. Mere sound or harmony will not come up to their standard, though the want of harmony would vitiate the most sentimental of poems. Sentiment is usually divided into *love, laughter, pity, anger, heroism, fear, disgust, wonder, veneration*. Every poem ought to excite one or other of these sentiments. But the poet is most easily tempted by the sentiment, which attaches one human being to another. It is, however, an honour to Sanscrit poetry, that wherever love goes astray, and breaks in sunder the bonds of conjugal fidelity, it is reprobated as *वसतिभ्रम*, or false sentiment. But we must confess, that our poets have not been particularly delicate in their representations of love. Words, phrases, and sentences have been strung together in the most fascinating metres, which cannot be uttered by those who can distinguish what is decent from what is indecent. But this is a reproach to which poets of all communities are subject, where females are not admitted into society. Poets are not likely to run riot, where they are restrained by the fear of being read by those, whose ears, the most unprincipled would be ashamed to pollute by unholy articulations. The existence of a female reading community would exercise the most purifying influence on the poetry of our nation. No one would have the baseness to compose or publish what is sure to offend the delicate sensibilities of those who represent the honor and purity of his own household.

The Sanscrit poets laboured under another disadvantage. They had no reading community beyond the Brahmanical colleges—no critics save themselves. The Sanscrit does not appear to have ever been a generally spoken language. It was understood by the privileged class alone. The poet's imagination could not be rectified by the castigation of public criticism.

Poems were sometimes recited at the courts of princes disposed to patronize literature, but even there the Brahmins were the only intelligent auditors. The Sanscrit poets were accordingly destitute of one great means of improving the taste and style of literary compositions.

The memory and erudition of the Brahmanical scholars themselves were in some instances perfectly wonderful. A certain king, it is said, once offered a high premium for any original poem, that might be produced and recited in his court. He entertained, at the same time, a number of scholars, who, if they ever heard a poem read but once, of whatever length, could repeat it word for word. Competitors for the royal premium were accordingly always disappointed, because of the learned courtiers denying the originality of their compositions, and pretending to be already familiar with them, by repeating the lines, word for word. One pandit, at last, more shrewd than the rest, composed a piece, which stated that the king's late father owed him (the author) one lakh of rupees, and contended, that, if the lines he read, were already known to the royal courtiers, no further proof could be demanded of the validity of the claim, and the debt must be liquidated. If the courtiers, again, knew nothing of the transaction, then the lines were original and should have the promised premium adjudged to them.

But here the question may be mooted, of what practical use can discussions of Sanscrit poetry be to us? There is little likelihood of the Sanscrit lyre being tuned again, or the Sanscrit stage re-opened by a second Valmiki or Kalidasa. The sun of Sanscrit literature has long passed its meridian—perhaps, is set, to rise no more.

But if the sun of Sanscrit poetry be already set to rise no more in its original form, there is no reason to suppose, that it may not rise a second time in a modified form. Few, perhaps, even of those who make Sanscrit their principal study, will venture to touch the strings on which Vyasa, Valmiki, and Kalidasa played so harmoniously. Many may, however, be stimulated by the recollections of the ancient harp of India, to cultivate the genius of poetry in their own vernacular language. It may be hopeless to distinguish one's self in the field of Sanscrit poetry, but the field of Vernacular poetry is wide open. Few, very few, have hitherto entered it, but it may afford honourable employment to hundreds that may possess the gift of poetry.

It is in the Vernacular field alone that the poets of Bengal can hope to distinguish themselves. There is little probability of their shining in Sanscrit. The English is, after all, a foreign

language, and, however largely we may cultivate it in Calcutta, its cultivation will always be limited in this country. And the best of critics have pronounced it as their deliberate judgment, that a poet labours under great disadvantages in a foreign language. We shall conclude this hastily written paper, by appending the concluding portion of an address on the cultivation of vernacular poetry, read recently at a literary society in the metropolis of British India.

“And here I must bring to your recollections a fact, which, I am sure, will produce a solemn and a lasting impression on your minds. The learned and benevolent individual, whose life was lately sacrificed to his incessant labours for the improvement of our race and country, whose name graces the title under which we have met in this hall to-night, and whose memory still draws the tribute of a sigh or tear from our daughters and sisters, the late John Elliot Drinkwater Bethune, the educator of India's sons and daughters, was most anxious to patronize Vernacular poetry in Bengal. He advised all aspirants after poetic fame to turn their attention to the Bengali. One of the last acts contemplated by himself was the preparation, by means of a competent Bengali scholar, of a small volume of Vernacular poetry, as well for the use of his female school, as for educational institutions in general. And I now sit down, by asking the question, Is there no genius in our country to take up an object, which occupied the thoughts of that great man, during his last illness?”

NOTE.—This article formed the substance of an Essay, read at a meeting of the Bethune Society, by a distinguished Hindu gentleman, to whose pen the *Calcutta Review* has been formerly more than once indebted.—ED

ART VIII.—*Trigonometrical Survey—India*—Return to an order of the Honble the House of Commons, dated 12th February, 1850, for returns “of full and detailed Reports of the extent and nature of the operations and expenditure connected with the Grand Trigonometrical Survey of India, and of the Grand Triangulation thereof, for the Measurements of the Arcs of the Meridian, from the year the first Base was measured to the latest date,” &c &c 1851

WE have been favoured with a copy of the report of Colonel Waugh, the Surveyor-General of India, which was drawn up in obedience to an order of the House of Commons, on the motion of our indefatigable friend, Mr Joseph Hume, and ordered to be printed on the 15th of April last. This Blue Book, as the *Bombay Times* expresses it, is more like a lively article for a review than what we are generally accustomed to in publications of this nature, and, as it is a subject intimately connected with the prosperity of the country, and, we presume, of considerable interest to our readers, we shall endeavour to present them with a full abstract of the progress, that has hitherto been made in this magnificent national work.

In a very recent number of this journal,* we had occasion to speak of the survey operations, as now in force, under the Revenue Department, and we then alluded to the account of the great Trigonometrical Survey, which was given in one of our early numbers.† Those, who may have perused the latter article, will find the succinct and able report of Colonel Waugh's, on the progress and expense of this great geodetic undertaking—which, at the present time, extends from Cape Comorin to Thibet, and from the meridian of Calcutta to that of Peshawur—to afford such a popular description of the nature and extent of the operations, and the manner in which they have been achieved, as cannot fail to be both instructive and interesting.

We believe that there are very few persons, even in India, who have any notion whatever of what the Trigonometrical Survey really is, or what it does for geography or science or who can comprehend what has been already done, and why it has not long since been brought to a conclusion.

* No XXXI. September, 1851 Art. VIII

† No VII. September, 1845 Art. III

- ART III—1 *Dry Leaves from Young Egypt, being a glance at Sindh, before the arrival of Sir Charles Napier* By an *Ex-Political* London. 1849
- 2 *Scinde, or the Unhappy Valley*, by Richard F Burton, Lieut, Bombay Army, author of "*Goa and the Blue Mountains*," &c 2 vols London. 1851
- 3 *Sindh, and the Races that inhabit the Valley of the Indus*, by Lieut R F Burton London 1851
- 4 *General Sir Charles Napier's Administration of Scinde, including his Campaign in the Hills*, by Lieut General Sir William Napier, K C B London 1851

SCINDE is an unhappy place, but hitherto it has been happy in its historians and topographers. If not pleasant itself, it has been the cause of pleasantness in others. The dryness of the place has not communicated itself to those, who have undertaken to discourse upon it. Since we have settled ourselves on the banks of the Indus, authors, old and new, have taken Young Egypt in hand, and made it the theme of some very diverting volumes. Napier's *Conquest of Scinde—a History*—was anything but a dull book. There was an energy and an impulsiveness in it, which kept the reader alive over its contents. Brother William conquered sleep as ably as Brother Charles conquered the province. We might raise some objections against the book, but not on the score of dulness, nor have we any such complaint to raise against the volumes now before us. The first two works on the list are eminently amusing, whilst the last two contain more solid matter, which is neither heavy nor dry.

We must send our light infantry in advance. The two first works on our list are, as we have said, eminently amusing. If Scinde were the most refreshing place in the world, it could hardly have been illustrated with greater freshness of description. If it had been all gay and glittering with flowers, verdant with mossy lawns down sloping towards cool streams, dotted with bowers of bliss, a very paradise of a province, it could hardly have inspired the writers with a larger amount of that vivacity and impulsiveness, which make up the charm of the present volumes. Whatever may be the miseries of that curse-ridden country, which Ellenborough and Napier annexed to the British Empire in the East, they have not dashed the spirits of its topographers—or journal-writers—or whatever else the authors of *Dry Leaves* and the *Unhappy Valley* may more appro-

privately be called. There is no languor about them. There are no signs of exhaustion. They obviously have not been dried up by the arid climate. There is marvellous elasticity and succulence about them. But, perhaps, the phenomenon is to be accounted for by the fact, that both the "Ex-Political" and the Bombay Lieutenant wrote their books after they had escaped out of the Unhappy Valley, and that their works are properly to be regarded as songs of triumph, written in the very fulness of their gratitude and joy at the thought of having quitted it for ever. Perhaps, if they had written their books in Scinde, there would have been few traces of the abundant animal spirits, which overflow in the books before us. We laugh at dangers which are over, and cut jokes upon misery that is past.

The Ex-Political, who is believed to be Lieutenant Eastwick, and Lieutenant Burton, who appears in his own proper name, are writers much of the same stamp. They tell their stories much in the same manner. There is, as may be expected, more of the political in the former. His book contains more frequent allusions to the politics of the day. There are more records of historical events. There is something of a controversial tone about the book, but we like it extremely. The Ex-Political is a sensible plain-spoken writer—like Ben Jonson he "does all like a man." His political views are, for the most part, sound, and there is an undeniable sincerity in all his utterances. He believes that the Amírs were foully treated, and he does not hesitate to say so. "Away with evidence," he exclaims indignantly, after tearing in shreds the old flimsy veil, with which it has been endeavoured to conceal, in part, the iniquity of the usurpation of the country of the Talpúr Amírs, by setting forth that their rule was oppressive and tyrannical—"Away with evidence. Let might be right. Is there no limit to our vengeance? Has England but one word for those who sue humbly at her feet—for those who were rich, happy, at peace, till England thrust her friendship and her treaties upon them? and is that word, *Væ victis*? Oh! it is always so. Not content with conquering the native princes, we must abuse. We strip them of their territory and then proclaim them to be tyrants. We always appear as 'deliverers.' Somehow or other we always rescue the *people* of the country from the grasp of ferocious tyrants, and so we exalt our humanity, and proclaim the mighty justice of the deed we have done. It is always so. The trick is a stale one, and has lost the little vitality that it had."

And now a word about the Bombay Lieutenant. We must say

that we greatly like Mr Burton's book. He is precisely the reverse of a dullard. He is lively—animated—picturesque. An incessant flow of animal spirits fertilises his page—the Nile of his Young Egypt. Graver critics than ourselves might say that his *Unhappy Valley* is desultory and diffuse—that it leaves no distinct impression upon the mind—and that it is rather flippant. But we are ready to forgive the offences of so lively a companion, while we travel from Dan to Beersheba in his company, and never feel weary of the talk of our companion. The book is, indeed, all “talkee—talkee.” But it is vastly diverting talk. Mr John Bull, to whom it is all familiarly addressed, is not likely to fall asleep over it. If the said John, we repeat, has hitherto entertained a belief that there is an air of languor and exhaustion about all the utterances of us dwellers in the East, Mr Burton is likely to drive the pestilent heresy out of his head. All here is fresh enough—all vivacious enough. It is a book, indeed, of the Young Rapid school, “push along—keep moving” might be the motto of it. The writer flies from one topic to another—is off like a shot in all sorts of unexpected directions, and sometimes leaves us quite out of breath.

The fact is that Richard F. Burton, Lieutenant, Bombay Army, is an exceedingly clever fellow. We had an occasional suspicion of this fact, when we read his work on Goa, but the *Unhappy Valley* is decidedly an advance upon the *Blue Mountains*. Its merits are not to be tested by any canons of criticism, with which we are acquainted—but it is enough for us that it is an extremely *readable* book. Perhaps, if in all sincerity we were to speak out the truth, we should say that Mr Burton is the least bit in the world flippant. But flippancy is a more pardonable offence than dullness. The one sometimes rouses and exhilarates, the other only puts us to sleep.

But it is time that we should leave the authors and open their books—that we should begin to illustrate the felicities of Young Egypt, and the beatitudes of the Unhappy Valley—to dwell upon the multifarious benignities of that fine province, which Napier's sword and Ellenborough's pen attached to our Indian empire. Let us see what was the “Ex-Political's” first impression of this splendid country —

Well now that one is in a new country, one must surely have some impressions. If Charles Dickens were here, what impressions he would have! All the world would soon be reading Dickens' impressions of Sindh. He would fill you three volumes of odds and ends, of striking superficialities, of grotesque little notions, shaken up together like bits of glass in a kaleidoscope, before one dull fellow could compound a chapter on the geology and extinct fishes of the country. My first impression was that

the Sindhis had voices of four men's power. They spoke with such a Stenorian utterance, that I thought some offence had been given, but I soon found it was their natural manner, and after leaving Tatta, I was introduced to one of the nobles of Khyrpor, whose tone made that of his countrymen appear a whisper. Where all were loud, the loudest he! I have made a considerable detour, when travelling, to avoid this man, and on one occasion, when suffering from fever, he cruelly waylaid me, and inquired after my health with such violence, that it was very long before I recovered. You will say, then, that my first impression was not a pleasing one,—neither was my second. As my ears were tormented by harsh sounds, so were my eyes excruciated by a continual stream of the finest sand which pursued our boat across the river, and was ready waiting for us as soon as we landed on the other side. This annoyance commences about 8 o'clock in the morning and lasts till evening, when the sand storm generally lulls and resigns the task of persecuting man to my riads of mosquitoes and sand flies, whose stings could not be brought into operation while it lasted. The Sindhis have an odd story about this. They say that when Sulaiman (on whom be peace) ruled over genii, men, and animals, the mosquitoes brought a complaint against the wind, which they said used them spitefully, and prevented them from following their lawful avocations. Sulaiman heard their complaint with much attention, and expressed a strong desire to see them righted. But you know, he said, "justice demands that both parties should be heard." "Call the defendant into court," said his Majesty. In rushed the wind, and the poor complainants vanished, suit and all, in a moment.

Such was the "Ex-Political's" first impression of Scinde. Now let us see what Lieutenant Burton thought of the first glimpse of the Unhappy Valley —

"Well, I never!"

Of course not sir. No one, man, woman, or child, ever saw the face of Young Egypt for the first time, without some such exclamation.

"A regular desert!"—a mere line of low coast, sandy as a Scotchman's whiskers—a glaring waste with visible as well as palpable heat playing over its dirty yellow surface."

Yes sir—yes! When last I went home on furlough, after a voyage round the Cape of Good Hope, the "Eliza" deposited me at Plymouth. In the pilot boat was an 'old and faithful servant,' from Central Asia, accompanying his master to the land of the pork-eater.

'Allah, Allah!' exclaimed Khudabakhsh, as he caught sight of the town and the green hills and the woody parks, and the pretty places round about the place with the breakwater, what manner of men must you Feringhis be, that leave such a bihisht* and travel to such accursed holes as ours, without manacles and the persuasions of the chob! †

You recollect, I dare say, Mr Bull, reading in your Goldsmith, a similar remark made by one of your compatriotes in the olden time?

"Caractacus and Khudabakhsh be — 'Where are we to land here? Where's the wharf?"

O man of civilization, habituated as you are to quays and piers, with planks and ladders, I quite enter into the feeling that prompts the query. A long billowy sea, tipped with white, is sweeping directly into the narrow rock girt jaw of the so-called harbour, we roll to such an extent, that if you like the diversion, you may run from one side of the quarter deck to the

* Paradise

† The bastinado.

other, each time dipping your fingers in the pure element, and to confuse matters still more, we have six hundred sepoys to land

The exclamation of Khodah-buksh has often been exclaimed before We have given at least one remarkable illustration of the astonishment of the natives of India at the thought of our seeking such a country as India, with its copper skies and its dust-laden atmosphere. But what will not money do? The *auri sacra fames* draws men to all sorts of "diggings." Whether they go to India or to California, it is all the same They want the gold, which beatifies all climates, and makes—we can hardly say "a sun-shine in a shady place"—but a shadow in a sun-shiny one, and reconciles all kinds of men to all kinds of fortunes. It must be a very impulsive power that sends men to such a place as the "Ex-Political" bodies forth in the following passage —

This day we succeeded in getting out of the Manchar lake by the aid of four dhundhis (small boats) which tugged us along at the rate of two miles an hour Heartily glad was I to be quit of this accursed place, and turning round I quoted, with great emphasis, the Persian proverb, *At Khuda chun Manchar dashti chura dozakh sakhti*, 'O God! since thou hadst Manchar what need of creating Hell?' I am afraid one gets into the habit of saying questionable things in a language other than our own This proverb, which sounds very glibly in Persian, has a slight smack of the profane in English Manchar however, if the proverb is to be applied at all, deserves its full application It has an abominable odour being stagnant, and in many parts dry, during the cold weather vast tracts of it are covered with long grass and weeds, where mosquitoes are bred in number infinite, and the foul air and putrid mud engender every creeping thing venomous as the worms of old Nile The natives say the length of this detestable water is twenty five miles and its breadth fifteen The western shore is somewhat picturesque but it is the picturesqueness of sterility There are high bold mountains in the distance,

And, bosomed, 'mid the trees afar,
Bright gleams the Mosque and white Minár

The other coast is ugly and flat The lake abounds in fish and water fowl These lay their eggs on the broad leaves of the lotus in the deep water I observed three eggs of a dark brown colour and three parts of a hen's egg in size, so deposited As night fell, we moored in the Nara river, six miles from the lake And such a night! I request of those who enjoy the luxury unspeakable of a cool clean English bed, who are not compelled to draw aside the curtain with stealthy hand, and then, plunging with wild haste into the aperture, timorously reclose it, and shroud themselves in impenetrable gauze,—I say, I request of all such to pause and think of what we Indians undergo Bruce tells us somewhere, that your real African heat, and that to which the highest grade is to be assigned is, when one, without clothes, and without motion, perspires profusely I can truly say such was our state Fanned by a pankah all night, I escaped suffocation, and listened the long hours through to the croaking of innumerable frogs and the hum of countless myriads of mosquitoes. Here, too, a new plague introduced itself to my particular notice—the sand fly

Your mesquitee is a long, lank, pestilent fellow, that exasperates you as much with his dreary, discontented hum, as with his puncture. He is your "Trois Echelles," while your "Petit Andre" is the sand fly, a droll little short-winged gentleman, who skips about merrily, and seems as happy as possible all the time he is putting you to the torture.

Here is another not very inviting description from Lieutenant Burton's book, which may be taken as a pendant to the above —

On approaching Kurrachi, three of the senses receive "fresh impressions,"—three organs are affected far more powerfully, however, than pleasantly, viz, the ear, the nose, and the eye.

The perpetual tomtomming and squeaking of native music, mingled with the roaring, bawling voices of the inhabitants, the barkings and bayings of the stranger hating curs, and the streams of the hungry gulls, who are fighting over scraps of defunct fishes form a combination which strikes the tympanum as decidedly novel. The dark narrow alleys through which nothing bulkier than a jackass can pass with ease, boast no common sewer drainage, if you can so call it, is managed by evaporation, every inhabitant throws away in front of his dwelling what he does not want within, whilst the birds and dogs are the only scavengers. This, the permanent fetor, is here and there increased by the aroma of carrion in such a state, that even the kites pronounce it rather too high to be pleasant and varied, when we approach the different bazaars, by a close faint dead smell of drugs and spices, such as one might suppose to proceed from a newly made mummy. You are familiar with Boulogne, Cologne and Rome this you at once feel is a novelty. The people are quite a different race from what you have hitherto seen. The characteristic of their appearance is the peculiar blending of the pure Iranian form and tint with those of the Indian branch of the same family. Their features are regular, their hair unlike the lank locks of the great Peninsula, though coarse is magnificent in quantity and colour the beard is thick, glossy and curling, and the figure is manly and well developed. The mass of the population is composed of Mohans or fishermen. The males are scattered about, mending and cleaning their rude nets the ladies are washing fish in foul puddles or are carrying the unsavoury burdens homewards on their bare heads. There is every convenience for studying their figures, the dress of the ruder sex, consisting of only the Scinde hat and a pair of indigo coloured drawers extending from the waist to the knee. The women are habited in a kind of embroidered boddise, called a "gaj," and long, coloured cotton pantaloons tightened round the ankle. They seldom wear veils in the streets modesty not being one of their predilections, nor are they at all particular about volunteering opinions concerning your individual appearance, which freedom in the East, you know, is strange. The Moslems are distinguished by their long beards slipperless feet, and superior nakedness. Hindus, by fairness or rather yellowness of complexion, a strangely shaped turban, a cloth fastened round the waist, a dab of vermillion between the eyebrows, and a thread hung over the left shoulder, and knotted against the right side. The descendants of African slaves abound we meet them every where with huge water skins on their backs, or carrying burdens fit for buffaloes.

Aprôpos of Garra, which Mr Burton describes as an "unhappy hole, a dirty heap of mud and mat hovels," our author discourses on the hard fate of subalterns, who are compelled to

build houses at out-of-the-way stations, and then vituperated, from high places, for getting into debt. It is worth while to hear what he has to say on this subject —

Some years ago when my corps was ordered up to young Egypt we were sent to relieve a regiment about to quit Gharra. Our predecessors had not built barracks or bungalows, because they knew that their time of field service in Scinde was ended. But we, who had four or five years of it in prospect, found ourselves in a different position.

In this part of the Unhappy Valley, sir, the summer heat often reaches 115°, for a tent add perhaps 10°.

Now 125 of Fahrenheit lasting mind you for months together, is exceedingly likely to hurry and hustle one half roasted to one's hot grave. However strong a man may be, his eyes burn, his ears sing, and his brain turns dizzy under the infliction. Sleepless, appetiteless, spiritless, and half speechless, he can scarcely be said to live. At the end of the season, if he reaches it, looking at his face you would pronounce him to be in a "galloping consumption."

Build or burn then, was our dilemma. The only chance of saving health—a soldier's all in all—was to house ourselves. But there lay the difficulty.

Let me tell you, sir, that it requires no little prudence and determination for a subaltern to live upon his pay * setting aside the not unimportant consideration, that if in these regions, one lives only to live within one's means, one is commonly likely to be loved by the gods and to die young. He must have no expensive tastes such as a hankering for neatness of house and furniture, or high ideas of hospitality. He must have no ambition to distinguish himself as a sportsman, a linguist, a traveller, or a "good fellow," he must rest content in that happy obscurity which we are told is as excellent for man as for the ignoble part of creation. If he be a married man I defy him to do it unless at least he can make up his mind to see his wife become a confirmed invalid and his children pining away to spectres for want of a cold climate. Even as a bachelor, to keep out of debt, he must be favoured by circumstances as well as by nature. Now we were not. The regiment had been travelling hundreds of miles, and expected a journey of as many more with all the expensive consequences of carriage and marching mess-bills†. And yet we found it necessary to expend two or three months prospective pay upon brick and mortar.

Had we applied to the financial department at home, the train of reasoning would have been—

'That boy gets £20 a month humph! 12 times 20 make 240 humph! Ah, it's always the way with these fellows in India—

And the inevitable *ergo*

—"I won't encourage his extravagance."

For you know, Mr Bull, many a papa who makes a liberal allowance to a son in one of H M's regiments, would pooh pooh at the idea of sending a farthing per annum to one in the Company's service.

The gist of which is this —It might be desired that high authorities, when issuing their edicts to the Indian army, would be generous enough to be a little more considerate, a trifle more just. You are led, sir, to sup-

* This applies only to Scinde and the dearer parts of the three Presidencies.

† Expensive things; as the members of a mess have to pay for losses and breakage.

pose, though not told to believe, that we exult in debt, the effects of our extravagance are skilfully developed into line before your eyes, whilst the many unavoidable causes of our expenditure are as skilfully close-columned and huddled up into one corner of the rhetorical field

It is very easy for a Commander-in-Chief, with his £20,000 a-year, or an approximation to it, to talk about the unprincipled conduct of those, who count by tens what he counts by thousands, and have the calamity to spend more money than they can make out of their subalternship. But there are circumstances, in which it is anything but easy for ensigns and lieutenants to balance their accounts, and every high official authority, who discourses upon such a text, ought to weigh well all these circumstances and make due allowance for them. It is well that these high-salaried functionaries should be a little more tolerant.

“What's done we partly may compute,
But know not what's resisted

If, at the threshold of manhood, in the new enjoyment of liberty and independence, in the flush of youthful vigour, of high health and overflowing animal spirits, our young military officers indulge in some excesses, if they think their pay will go further than it does, and spend (if not literally “half-a-crown out of six-pence a day”) their scanty allowances faster than they come in, if they anticipate pay-day and find when the “tullub” comes, and all pressing claims are satisfied, that there are still debts to be paid out of nothing,—all that can be said on the subject is, that it is very natural, perhaps rather reprehensible but it does not follow that these imprudent youngsters are unprincipled youngsters too. It is often ignorance, inexperience, thoughtlessness, that lead them into debt—nothing that can justly be described by a harsher name. Sometimes, indeed, it is pure necessity, some unhappy contingency, much deplored and not to be avoided, that suddenly precipitates the young man into a sea of debt. His regiment is ordered to move on. He has to provide himself with a marching establishment. The march over, he has, perhaps, to buy or to build a house, and, though his ordinary expenditure may not exceed his monthly pay, what hope is there for him, when any extraordinary demand of this nature is made upon his slender finances? The fact is, that a young officer, to ensure himself against debt, must live considerably *within* his means. He must lay by something, at the end of every month, to provide against these contingencies. This is, doubtless, what he ought to do, but to expect him to do it, is to expect human nature in general, and subaltern nature in particular, to be a little more faultless than

things of this earth are ordinarily expected to be. Therefore, we repeat that when Commanders-in-Chief draw sweeping conclusions, from facts, which they very imperfectly understand, they sometimes calumniate the character of those, whose fair fame it is their duty to protect.

We have not done with the subject, and Lieutenant Burton has something more to say upon it —

I own that rigid economy is not the virtue of Indians. But can you fairly expect it to be? In this country many things horses for instance, are necessities, at home they would be luxuries. Then there is always some amount of recklessness in the profession of arms. Men are separated from family and friends, and made to feel that separation too. Letters, which during the first year of expatriation arrived regularly each mail, gradually diminish in number, shrink in size cease altogether. They know that when they return home, their relations will think and find them *de trop* — the average heart cannot stand up against ten years thorough separation — that their friends will have ceased to care for them, that their acquaintances will have clean forgotten them. Existence, too in India is precarious who can tell how soon a fever or a bullet may send him to the jackals? Consequently we are perhaps a little over anxious to 'live whilst we may'

Such is our apology for want of thrift.

But it is unnecessary to instruct us that a man who deprives his servants of their wages to give champagne tiffins to his friends is not acting like an officer or a gentleman, we are by no means grateful for such simple commentaries upon the code of honour and, to speak plain truth we are somewhat indignant to see that the information is deemed information by one usually so well informed as is our informer.

But what is the use of all this? You, Mr Bull, have old, long-cherished ideas of our extravagant style of life—the memories of the last century floating in your head—and you see with delight the daring hand outstretched in might to tear up the root of the evil Bosh! Were he that chatteth with you Lt Gen Sir R. Burton, G.C.B. instead of being a small lieutenant, then might he have some hope of an occasional cheer from you, to enliven his squabble with a brother veteran. Then might he it is believed, have some little chance of winning the day, however doughty in the cacoethes of scribble, however skilful in the use of oxymoron or antithesis however fond of the *ad captandum*, and however successful in writing pointedly, not to the point, well but not wisely, that same brother veteran may be.

But now sir, I feel myself over matched—weight is against me—it is "no go." Excuse the folly of tilting at a windmill strong in the breath of popular opinion and—let us order the camels.

There is a good solid foundation of truth beneath this light edifice of pleasant words. It assuredly needed not the voice of a prophet, or a hero, to declare that the giving of champagne tiffins and the cheating of servants, are acts, taken together, very discreditable to officers and gentlemen. But the officers of the army constitute a very numerous class. It would be a very extraordinary class, if it did not contain some unprincipled members. The only question is whether the conduct, rightly stigmatised by Sir Charles Napier, was sufficiently common, to draw down upon the army the reproaches insinuated in the

"Farewell order" of the redoubtable Chief Such allusions have an ugly effect in a general order Whatever may be their intent, their effect is to leave a painful impression on the public mind, that the general conduct of the officers of the army is open to the reproach, which can justly be levelled only at a few That officers *have* given champagne tiffins, and left their servants' wages unpaid, is, not improbably, a fact, and Sir Charles Napier may have had in his eye one or two such offenders but we believe that the army contains few such men, and that, if officers run into debt, it is seldom to give champagne tiffins

Debt is one of the curses of Indian life Fever is another See how Lieutenant Burton feelingly describes the fevers of Scinde —

Fevers, I may inform you, in this part of Asia, are of two kinds One is a brisk bold fellow who does his work within the day permitting you to breakfast but placing his veto upon your dining, the other is a slow, sneaking wretch, who bungs over you for a week or a fortnight* The former appears as a kind of small shivering, first, then as a sick headache, which, after a few minutes, feels as if a cord were being tightened round your pericranium, your brain burns as if it were on fire, your head throbs as though it would burst, your skin is hot and hard as a riding glove Presently your senses leave you, to delirium succeeds congestion, you pant and puff all your energies being applied to keeping the breath in your body—you fail therein and are buried that evening The slow fever attacks you much in the same way only it imprudently allows you leisure to send for a doctor, who pours cold water from an altitude upon your shaven poll administers mercury sufficient to stock an average-sized barometer, and blisters you generally with mustard and other plasters, from the nape of your neck down to the soles of your feet

I never saw a patient recover from this necessary mode of treatment without entering into the feelings of the poor decrepit Hindu, who cursed the meddling hand which clawed the holy mud out of his mouth as he was comfortably dying upon the banks of the Ganges and by means of a draught of "fire water, sent him back to the world of matter, a baser bit of humanity than he was before

There are some fevers, those of Arracan for instance, which leave their trail behind them to the latest day of the victim's life, but, be the fever what it may, there are few, we suspect, who are not content to struggle out of it alive

* This may appear to savour of bravado, in which case the appearance is deceitful. At a distance, Yellow Jack, earthquakes, the Cuchillo, and similar strange enemies to human life, look terrible because indistinct the heart does beat a little quicker when we fix thought upon it But as soon as you find yourself amongst the dangers, you forget to fear them, and a little habit makes them, generally speaking, contemptible your expected giants you find pigmies Besides, I have been fortunate in opportunity of training, being brought up, as it were, in the midst of cholera one easily learns to think lightly of such things in youth. And every one who thinks becomes, by some means or other, a fatalist on a small scale, after a few years in the East. "Kismet" and "Nasib" are so often, so continually, in your ears, that at last they sound themselves into a kind of reality—an entity East, a nonentity West of the Cape

From fevers we pass by a not unnatural transition to matrimony Lieutenant Burton's sketch of married life in Scinde is at least amusing —

Our Scindian lady—she signifies that she wants another pipe—then entered upon life in real earnest. She was permitted by her religion to call upon her parents once a week,* she did so once a day, sometimes twice, and her husband, as might be expected, felt the results. Availing herself of the privilege of womanhood she added smoking and the chewing of betel nut to her other accomplishments. She spent her hours in decorating herself, not to fascinate the eye of her spouse as she ought to have done, but with the strictly feminine object of exciting the envy hate, and malice of all her dear family friends and acquaintances by a display of dresses. She punctually attended all feasting and junketings, nor did she neglect the fairs at the tombs of saints and other religious assemblies, where religion is usually the thing least thought of. She had promised, not as our ladies do but by proxy, to love, honour, and obey, her goodman she did neither this, that, nor the other. Old Saadi, the Oriental moralist—about as moral a writer, by the by, as Pietro Aretino or Pigault Lebrun—makes it the test of respectability in a house, that woman's voice should never be heard beyond its walls. The fair Scindian knows nought of Saadi, and cares about as much for his tests and his omens. She scolded her husband with womanly vigour loudly and unrespectably at all hours.

After the birth of the first child, the *petites miseres de la vie conjugale* began to gather. The lady had been indulging a little too freely in the pleasures of—brandy. Her spouse discovered the circumstance, and chastised her corporally for the same. He should have begun that discipline earlier. Instead of bowing her head, she remarked that his face was a "black creation of God's. He, highly indignant at the truth of the observation, retorted by many a curse in query form, to which she replied categorically. A furious quarrel was the result. Fortunately for our visitor, Scinde then belonged to a civilized people who systematically hang every man that kills his better half†. When the couple retired to rest that night, the husband reflecting for the first time upon the blessings of polygamy, half determined to take to himself a second wife and the lady indignantly running over the list of her grievances firmly resolved to provide herself with a *cicisbeo*. She would have demanded divorce from "that man but for two reasons, in the first place, by such step, she would have forfeited all her claims to the mahr, or settlement, and secondly she did not anticipate much happiness in returning home to be scolded by her mother, lectured by her father, snubbed by her brothers, and be sedulously watched and guarded by all. But she did not fail knowing how much it would annoy her husband, to call upon "dear ma" as often as possible, to detail all her miseries, and to throw "dear ma's words in his face at every opportunity." Finally, she threatened him with her father, and complained to her brothers with such assiduity, that the spouse quite *excedé*, presently provided her with a lawful rival, she him with an unlawful one.

* Before the birth of the first child. All the terrors of religion, stripes included, are directed against the wife who dares to visit her parents without her husband's order. What can the poor woman do but duly and openly disobey them?

† The Koranic law concerning adultery is utterly inadequate for the moral wants of any community—hence the use of the sack or the scimitar in Islam. Where we rule, we should remember that taking away a man's only means to secure his honour, it is our duty to provide him with some other preservation, which, generally speaking, we have not done.

We need hardly have gone to Scinde for such a picture as this. There are "unhappy valleys" nearer home, Christendom is not without them. This is an old story, indeed. *Mutatis mutandis*, it would suit half the civilized globe. Only, amongst us, the husband has not the resource of polygamy to enable him, while trying to escape out of one misery, to plunge profoundly into a deeper and more engulfing one. One indeed might almost believe that Lieutenant Burton had it in design to present an exaggerated sketch, under this Scindian veil, of the fashionable conjugalities of London and Paris.

There was another kind of remedy resorted to by the Scindian husband, under the native rule. But when young Egypt passed into the hands of the British, the sword was no longer suffered to be the corrector-general of female morals. On this subject Lieutenant Burton, in his more solid work on Scinde, a book full of information relating to the country and the people, which supplies the ballast so much wanting in his lighter volumes, has an interesting passage —

Adultery and fornication were rare under the native rule among the wealthy, the greatest precautions were taken to secure the women and the free use of the sabre kept the lower orders of females in the right path. When we conquered the country and forbade the husband to take the law into his own hands, the women felt to translate a native phrase, that "the sword was no longer tied to their trowser strings. The result was, that they freely indulged in all kinds of depravity. This first burst ceased, as might be expected, after a short period and society gradually subsided into its normal state, the lock and bolt taking the place of the knife and sabre. Belochi women are rarely sufficiently well educated to be able to read anything but a little Persian Sindhi. Very few of them can write, and their time is chiefly taken up in spinning, making clothes, dressing, and other such occupations. They are fond of intrigue but will not risk so much for it as the Persians and Affghans, at the same time they display more boldness than the Sindhi or Hindu women. Females of the upper classes are rather formal and serious than otherwise, contrasted with the laughing and jest loving dames of India, they appear very grave. The use of poison is all but unknown to them, and suicide is extremely rare. Many of the widows refuse to marry again, some from bad motives, others with the idea that it would be indecent to pass into the arms of a second husband. I heard of one man who offered his sister the choice of another spouse, or to live at home in perpetual Rozo (fast), she chose the latter alternative. Some women, aspiring to the rank of Zahid (devotees), refuse to marry, and condemn themselves to a life of celibacy. Such instances, however, are rare. The Belochi females are good mothers, and particularly attentive to their religious duties, even the difficulties and dangers of a pilgrimage to Mecca do not deter them from attempting it.

But here we must leave the subaltern and give place to the General. Sir William Napier's volume arrives opportunely, not in time for us to bestow on it due critical examination, but to

enable us to give a few extracts from its pages. Like everything that comes from Sir William Napier's pen, this volume on Sir Charles Napier's administration of Scinde is clever and readable. But it is prejudiced and one-sided. The historian of the Peninsular war appears as the champion of his brother's reputation—one, not only bound to say everything that can be said in favour of his brother, but everything that can be said against those who happen not to be among the admirers of Sir Charles Napier. All this is much to be regretted. The character of the book is not historical, but controversial. It wants all the calmness and dignity of history. There are passages in it, which may be accepted as history,—but they are only passages. The book, we presume, is intended to be a continuation of the "Conquest of Scinde, a history," but it is far less historical than that production. It is altogether in the party-pamphlet style, clever, but acrimonious, in parts, indeed, so abusive, that, in the eyes of every right-thinking reader, it will greatly damage the reputation of the historian of the Peninsular war.

The irrepressible bile of the pamphleteer very soon begins to tinge the book. He has not written twenty pages, before he breaks out into the following diatribe against the "Bombay faction," Lord Ripon, and the Press —

His appointment was a signal for the outbreak of malignity incredibly base, and so inveterate, that it continues to this day. Emanating originally from the Council and some of the permanent official persons of the Bombay Government it was supported by their dependent and expectant partisans all stung to the quick at the loss of the sinister profits in perspective from the accession of new territory. But foul, as their own bad deeds, would it be, to make this accusation without reservation or exception — there were civilians in office, who opposed and disdained this hostility, men whose honour demands respectful acknowledgment, and amongst those highest in position and character Mr John Warden must be named.

Incessant efforts were made by this faction to render the military government of Scinde a failure. Newspaper organs openly, and expectant tools secretly, were set to work in England and in India to vilify the victorious general, and they were countenanced and encouraged by the Directors and by the Board of Control under Lord Ripon, whose injurious and offensive conduct towards Sir C Napier shall be exposed, because it is not fitting to respect folly when it degrades authority by insulting merit.

In July, Lord Ellenborough placed the Scindian Government in direct communication with the Calcutta Council, to relieve it from the interested meddling of Bombay. The official expectants at the last place, having then no hope, either to force their way, or to sneak, into lucrative Scindian appointments, nothing was too gross for the polluted pens hired to blacken Sir C Napier and lower his exploits. 'He had not gained victories, he had slaughtered some poor half armed people who made no resistance'— 'Scinde was a waste of sand'— 'a Golgotha, foully and murderously obtained—a disgrace only to be put away by restoring its patriarchal princes.

Then he was "an imbecile ruffian delighting in carnage, faithless rapacious, a liar who disgraced the army, and stained the glorious

age of Wellington'—"Why did not the sepoy rise and put an end to the fellows' doings! He had brutally torn away the ornaments of the Amirs' women and dishonoured his uniform"—"Luxuriously changing his residence to feast on the delicious pulla fish, he was encircled by parasites, who hourly promulgated shameless falsehoods to prop the reputation of his ridiculous system of Government, which all '*Old Indians*' knew must fail"—'He had taken the traitor Ali Morad to his bosom—a traitor because he had not warred against the British troops'—"had loaded him with presents had conferred on him the possessions of the plundered *patriarchal princes of Scinde*' and was at once his benefactor and dupe

Foremost to predict disaster was Outram, the discarded political agent who announced, that forty of the younger Amirs were at large, that while they were so, continual insurrections would disturb the English rule, and after ten years of guerilla warfare, the country must be restored to the fallen princes—with much more of a like bald presumptuous talk, showing the vulgar character of his mind which could see and exaggerate difficulties, but had no resources for overcoming them. His predictions were echoed by most of the Indian, and not a few of the London, newspapers, and though the course of this work will show how the touch of genius burst these bubbles, the new governor's labour and difficulties were much augmented by these infamous arts of men, who, with official power to do evil had hearts and heads so gorged with malice and falsehood, that there was no room left for honour or patriotism

Inverted commas are usually supposed to denote literal quotations. Sir William Napier intends, therefore, we presume, to leave an impression on the reader's mind, that the words which he has included in inverted commas, were the very words applied by the nameless writers to his brother and his acts. But we cannot say that we are satisfied with this. If the words were ever written, it must be easy to specify by whom they were written. We have certainly no recollection of having alighted, in a tolerably extensive course of newspaper reading, upon the *elegantia*, which are here quoted by the gallant author. It behoves him, indeed, to prove that they were written, or he himself becomes the calumniator

But proof is not much in Sir William Napier's line of business. He is only great in invective. He has a vocabulary of foul epithets to apply to every one who happens not to appreciate the blessings resulting from the conquest of Scinde and the benignities of the conqueror's "administration." The Board of Controul, the Court of Directors, the Bombay Government, Major Outram and the Indian Press, are the especial objects of Sir William's abhorrence, and he would have us believe, that they are equally malignant and corrupt. Here is another specimen of this style of bold vituperation. The immediate text is the recall of Lord Ellenborough —

Most of the Scinde administrative measures were adopted without reference to Calcutta, because of the distance, and the Scindian sun, which left

little time for action, but always they were supported by Lord Ellenborough, and, if half the year was denied to activity by the raging heat, oppressive correspondence and all fear of responsibility was spared to the anxious administrator, by this confidence from a man who only knew him by his exploits. It was not so with the minor authorities, on whom having the troops of two presidencies under his command, he was, in a great measure, dependent, the secret enmity of those meddling subordinates was always disquieting, and at one time drove him to declare that he would not be responsible for the discipline of his troops. These vexations were increased by a vicious habit with courts-martial, of misplaced leniency towards officers—a habit which as Commander in Chief Sir C. Napier afterwards endeavoured to reform, but at this period, it was in such mischievous activity, that two surgeons guilty of constant inebriety, while engaged in the hospital duties, were suffered to remain in the service, a source of misery, terror and death to the sick soldiers.

And now happened an event, surprising to all persons but the man affected by it, an event which rendered Sir C. Napier's after career, one of incessant thankless labour, without adequate freedom of action. Lord Ellenborough was suddenly recalled. Not unexpectedly to himself, because he knew his Government had aroused all the fears and hatred of the jobbing Indian multitude and all the fierce nepotism of the Directors, but to reflecting men, it did appear foul and strange, that he who repaired the terrible disaster of Cabul, should be contemptuously recalled by those whose empire he had preserved, that England and India should be deprived of an able governor, at a terrible crisis, which nearly proved fatal, to gratify the spleen of men incapable of patriotism and senseless in their anger. Sir C. Napier felt for the welfare of his country too much to be silent on that occasion, and the following expression of his indignation, addressed to Lord Ripon, prophetic as it was, just may partly account for the unmitigated hatred of those whose conduct he thus denounced.

"Lord Ellenborough has opposed speculation but folly and dishonesty have defeated ability and honesty which being in the usual course of human events does not surprise me. It seems that the '*saaviter in modo* with a Cabul massacre, is preferred to the '*fortiter in re* with victory. To expend millions in producing bloodshed is preferable in the eyes of the Court of Directors, to saving India and the prevention of bloodshed. Lord Ellenborough's measures were taken with large views of general policy, and were all connected in one great plan for the stability of our power in India. They were not mere expedients to meet isolated cases. The victory of Maharajpur consolidated the conquest of Scinde, and the conquest of Scinde was essential to the defence of the north western provinces of India and the line of the Hyphasis. The whole has been one grand movement to crush an incipient, but widely extended secret coalition—the child of the Affghan defeats—which would have put, probably will still put, our Indian empire in peril.

"This great defensive operation, hitherto successful in the hands of Lord Ellenborough, has not yet been terminated, nor can it be, while the Sikh army remains without control, for I fear that powerful force by no means participates in the horror of war which appears to be entertained, very properly, by the Court of Directors and Lord Howick. Yet there is a time for all things, said the wisest of men, and I cannot think the time for changing a Governor General is, when in presence of seventy thousand armed Punjaubis. I indeed believe that possession of the Punjaub is not desirable for the Company, the Hyphasis forms a better frontier line for our Indian territory than the line of the Upper

Indus, and is more compact now that we have Scinde we have enough of territory—more than enough! Nevertheless, this country of the Punjaub must be ours all India proclaims that truth by acclamation. If not taken, the ravaging of our finest provinces can only be prevented by a large standing army of observation on the Hyphasis, with the example before its eyes of the Sikh army profiting by successful mutiny! That Sikh army is also recruited with our own discharged men, who are in correspondence with our soldiers for since we have abolished flogging every crime is punished with dismissal from the Company's service—none other is now permitted—and thus we are daily recruiting the Sikh army with our well drilled soldiers, for the men we discharge for trifling offences, go in great numbers to join the Punjaubis. This I do not think sagacious on our part. The question therefore is no longer whether or not we shall increase our territory, but whether we shall hold our present position in India, or run the risk of being beaten to the sea. '*Aut Caesar aut nullus*, applies emphatically to our present power in India.

"To destroy the Sikh army will not, I believe be so easy as people seem to imagine, and if we are beaten back across the Hyphasis as we were by the Affghans across the Indus the danger to India will be very great, and it will as far as I am able to judge, show that policy to be erroneous, which leaves native princes on their thrones within our territory, or rather within our frontier. This policy was, I suppose formerly found useful and safe but it is now replete with danger, when our great extent of dominion compels us to scatter our forces. To return to Scinde. Some of the Punjaubis from Multan may insult our northern frontier a portion of which borders on the land of Sawan Mull. If so, I am determined to resent it and I hope for the support of the supreme Government, because every insult we put up with is certain to shake the allegiance of the Beluchis in Scinde. I know that I am accused of wishing for war—that is false! I have seen too much of it. I detest it upon principle as a Christian and from feeling as a man. I am too old also for the fatigues of war, especially where the heat is so exhausting. My wish is to rest. Yet I will not suffer Her Majesty's arms and the Company's arms to be insulted and patiently wait while the enemy gathers his hordes to attack me. I take, and I will take all possible military precautions, not because I love war, but that I do not love to have our throats cut. A procrastinating diplomacy is the game of the barbarians, and whoever is blinded by it, will be defeated.

'In the Murri and Bhugti hills the predatory tribes are now fostering the ex Amir, Shere Mohamed with a view to hostilities in Scinde, and if they be not crushed when the season opens mischief will ensue. We cannot in the heat do anything, but I must attack them in winter if I can, though I well know it is a thing difficult to accomplish. It has indeed occurred to me to take them into our pay as the more humane course, but I fear the supreme Government will not consent to the expense. One or other course must, however be pursued or a very large force must be constantly maintained at Shikarpur. An attack on those people may, possibly, hasten a war in the Punjaub, but I am daily more disquieted about our Sindian frontier, I do not clearly see how far this border warfare will go and I well know it is the most difficult and dangerous to conduct that can possibly be. All within Scinde is tranquil."

When Lord Ellenborough was thus recalled, by an act of arrogant power so indefensible as to force from the Duke of Wellington the only passionate censure he was ever known to use with respect to public affairs, the oligarchs, who perpetrated the wrong, proceeded consistently, but shame-

fully and ungratefully, in India and in England, to assail the general, whose victories and administrative talents consolidated that policy by which the recalled nobleman had re-established their tottering empire. Foully they assailed him through every channel that corruption and baseness could penetrate—that is to say as a corporation, for amongst the Directors of the time, were men too honourable to engage in such passages, but as a body, they did encourage expectant parasites to assail Sir C Napier with such vituperation, as only parasites are capable of nor did they confine this enmity, as shall be shown, to revilings and falsehoods. There is, however, a time for baseness and a time for virtue to triumph—there is also a time for retribution—and it came. Bending in confessed fear and degradation, these trafficking oligarchs were afterwards forced by the imperious voice of the nation, to beseech the commander they had so evilly treated, to accept of higher power and succour them in their distress! God is just!

There is more to be said about this passage than we have time to say on the present occasion. That Lord Ellenborough “repaired the terrible disaster of Kabul,” is a statement, which history will hardly accept, even on the authority of the admirable historian of the Peninsular war. It is true, as shown by Mr Kaye, in his recent narrative of the Afghan campaign, that Lord Ellenborough declared his determination to save India, in spite of every man in it, who ought to give him support, but we are inclined to think with that writer, that Pollock and Nott saved India, in spite of Lord Ellenborough. The reparation of our Kabul disasters was in Lord Ellenborough’s administration, but hardly of it. We had always believed, that the “terrible disaster of Kabul” was repaired by Pollock and Nott upon their own responsibility. It was Lord Ellenborough’s extreme good fortune to find these men in command of the armies of Afghanistan, when he entered upon his administration. They were made of such good stuff, that he could not spoil them. He seems to have done his best to inoculate them with his own infirmity of purpose, and to restrain the military impulses, which prompted them to the re-conquest of the country from which we had been so ignominiously driven, but he did not succeed. It appears to us, therefore, that the statement, that the Court of Directors recalled the man who saved their Indian empire, is the very reverse of the truth. If our Indian empire was really in jeopardy at this time, and was saved by the victories of Pollock and Nott, it was saved, not by Lord Ellenborough, but in spite of him. The “large views of general policy” and the “one great plan for the stability of our power in India,” are certainly not to be found in Lord Ellenborough’s correspondence, public or private, during the critical year 1842. There is nothing, indeed, more remarkable in it than the utter absence of everything like a plan—of everything that can, by any possibility, be accepted as an indication of “enlarged views.”

The concluding paragraph of this long extract is very characteristic of the writer and his work. It is in Sir William Napier's "later style." A curious monomania seems to have taken possession of the minds of the two generals. Though curious, however, we believe it is not an uncommon form of insanity. We have often heard of people possessed of an incurable delusion, to the effect, that they are surrounded by conspirators, who are eternally plotting their destruction. The Napiers see daggers in the air. They are hedged in by traitors and murderers, eternally stabbing at their reputations. Every one, who says a word against them, is a hired assassin. They seem to think, that the Court of Directors, the Board of Controul, and the Bombay Government, have had nothing to do, since Sir Charles conquered Scinde, but to set murderers on his track, and to hunt down his reputation. There is a *bête noire* ever before their eyes. In Sir William Napier's books, and Sir Charles Napier's letter, the able Editor of the *Bombay Times* figures as a stipendiary assassin, with instructions from the Bombay Government and the Court of Directors, to track Sir Charles from place to place, and to be perpetually stabbing him in the back. All this is childish—contemptible. None, but very weak or very vain people attribute to base motives, every thing that is said against them. They talk about hireling pens, either because they are under one of those hopeless delusions, which peoples the air with enemies, or, because, in the overflow of their self-love, they believe that they are beyond the reach of honest disapprobation. But the Napiers are the last men in England, who have any right to complain, that hard words are used against them, for, of all public writers and speakers, they are the foulest and the most unscrupulous. They give better than they take. Men who are so fond of abusing others should not whine when they are abused themselves.

Here is a bit more in the same strain —

At Bombay, when the fear of Lord Ellenborough was removed, it became difficult to say whether malignant ferocity, or spiteful meanness were most predominant in the hostility displayed. Vessels, which, previous to that nobleman's recall, had been regularly despatched with the mail for Scinde, were, on his departure, stopped, and the public correspondence, continually delayed, accumulated so as to make it nearly impossible to conduct it with propriety, while, with respect to private correspondence, Sir C. Napier had to endure frequent loss of letters and to find in the *Bombay Times*, the avowed organ of the faction, sneering allusions to the contents of some which never reached him. The enmity of the official people even descended to harass him by demanding forty pounds sterling daily for his simple food, without wine, on board a Government steamer, when going up the Indus to hold the great Durbar—a charge designed, not so much to obtain money, as to impose an additional heavy correspondence on him, and when he successfully resisted this attempt at extortion, worthy of a

Swiss inn-keeper, the newspapers were directed to impute avarice '—avarice to a man, who was at the moment proposing to the supreme Government, a reduction of his salary and who, in a long life, has only regarded money as enabling him to confer on others the ease and comfort he denied to himself! "It is thus they make war on me," he wrote on this occasion "It is thus they endeavour to prevent the success of Lord Ellenborough's policy, but that policy is good, and if necessary, I will die sword in hand to support it—when I shrink, let them sing their song of triumph over me and over their country"

And again —

It was this subtle policy, coupled with the growing attachment of the whole Scindian population, which had brought the hundred and fifteen western chiefs to make salaam at Kurrachi and the display of force there had acted powerfully on their after conduct, but their previous recusancy had been principally caused by the falsehoods of the Bombay faction, published in the *Bombay Times* Continually announcing the restoration of the Amirs, that faction had disquieted all the chiefs and sirdars, and had actually prevented Nowbutt and Guddi from accepting the frequent invitations made to them for becoming good subjects Those chiefs therefore died, the first in prison, the second on the gallows—criminals indeed, but also miserable victims to the infamous arts of Dr Buist and his employers Nowbutt and Guddi could have been captured at an earlier period, but that event was purposely delayed, partly, in the hope they might submit, partly that their sudden seizure, when the General was in their country might produce a greater effect on the surrounding tribes, which would conduce to tranquillity while the army was beyond the frontier

During the march up the country, the spies had brought varying intelligence of what was passing with the robber tribes and with the Khan of Khelat. Jhat prince was vacillating. Afraid to hold the conference at Dadur and equally afraid to refuse he took a middle course, avoiding the meeting, while, to deprecate anger he assembled troops and pretended to drive Beja Khan from Pulagi. This was easily seen through and therefore the General's march was delayed under various pretences, until the Khan should be compelled to abandon Pulagi again from want of water, it being judged that Beja would then, if the whole were not a concerted fraud, harass him in his retreat. These proceedings were very embarrassing, because the plan for a surprise required that Beja should be at Pulagi, and nothing could be undertaken until he returned, but from Fitzgerald at Larkana, such information was finally obtained as produced a modification of the original scheme, and gave rise to new combinations, which cannot be understood, until some strange and some unexpected obstacles have been noticed

Both Lord Ellenborough and Sir Henry Hardinge approved of the projected campaign, and both had given discretionary power for the execution, but, when Lord Ripon was informed of the matter a scene of odious arrogance was opened. Sir C Napier had told him of the great loss of human life and property caused by the incursions of hill men—had told him of the disgraces and losses which befel the troops of whom and of their followers more than three hundred had been slain—had told him of villages in ashes, of whole districts abandoned by the wretched inhabitants—of hundreds of murdered women and mutilated children! He had pointed out the evils to be apprehended from a continuance of this state of affairs, not only to Scinde, but to all India, and shown him, that ultimately those robbers, then above eighteen thousand strong, besides their armed servants,

would infallibly increase to a powerful army and force the supreme Government, either to abandon Scinde, and with it, the navigation of the Indus and all its prospective commercial and military advantages, or to keep up a great force in Scinde at an enormous expense, and yet still be subject to continual losses from the same cause To all these representations Lord Ripon's answer was, "*You make too much of these trifling outpost affairs, which are insignificant*"

Such arrogant imbecility impels history beyond the bounds of passionless narrative What to Lord Ripon satiate with luxurious ease were the unceasing labours of officers and soldiers under a sun, which shrivelled up brain and marrow, as a roll of paper is scorched up by fire? What to him was their devotion what their loss of life? What to him were devastated districts, ruined villages, the cries and sufferings of thousands driven from their homes by those remorseless robbers? What to him were outraged women, and the screams of mutilated children, holding up their bleeding stumps for help to their maddened mothers? *They were trifling, were insignificant* For a moment indignation was excited in the lofty mind thus insulted but it soon subsided to contempt Lord Ripon was disregarded as a man devoid of sense and right feeling, and the expedition went on without his concurrence

There is more in the same strain, pitched, indeed, in a higher key but our readers must already have had more than enough of this kind of writing In Chapter XI, there is a long passage about the "Bombay faction" and Buist, which we cannot but consider discreditable, even to a party pamphleteer. We need not say that such writing provokes retaliation, and that, if hard things are sometimes said and written against the Napiers, the Napiers are, by no means, slow to wipe off the score

But there are, fortunately, better things than these in Sir William Napier's book Into the question of the internal administration of Scinde under the conqueror's Government, we cannot now afford to enter We leave that subject, which, indeed, we have already discussed, perhaps for future consideration This article is, altogether, of a lighter kind, and it is more in accordance with the intent of it to cull a passage or two from the volume before us, illustrative of the narrative portion of the work. The following incident is very well told It is an episode in the story of Sir Charles Napier's hill campaign —

When the second camp was pitched his knowledge of a prowling war fare and the ferocity of the robber warriors induced Sir C Napier to order that no man should go beyond certain precincts But always a certain thoughtless negligence, where personal danger is involved, characterizes young British officers and soldiers Captain John Napier the General's nephew McMurdo his son in law and Lieutenant Byng his aide-de camp, seeing small bands of the hill men assembling on a rocky height in front, as if to save the distant herds, went towards them As they approached fearing an ambuscade, Byng was sent back for some cavalry, but the two others soon had occasion to acknowledge the prudence of their General, for round a rocky knoll came galloping a gallant robber mounted on a small mare of great activity, himself of a fine presence,

clothed in a wadded armour, and bearing a matchlock and two swords he had a fine courage also, or he would not have hovered so close to the camp with such a pageantry of weapons, immediately after a defeat.

McMurdo fell upon him sword in hand, and some time they fought, wheeling in circles, and closing without advantage on either side save that the mare was wounded. Napier looked on, too chivalric to interfere in so fair a fight, but at last McMurdo, who had already ridden the same horse sixty miles, said, "John, I am tired, you may try him." The other, of a slight make but with as bright and clear a courage as ever animated a true English youth, advanced, and all three were soon at full speed—the Beluchi making a running fight. Suddenly the latter turned in his saddle and aimed with his matchlock, being then only a horse's length in front it missed fire, and, as Napier rapidly discharged his pistol, McMurdo, a man of ungovernable fierceness in combat, thinking the report was from the matchlock unfairly used, dashed pistol in hand past his comrade—who in vain called out not to kill—and shot the daring fellow as he was drawing his second sword. Then ensued a scene singularly characteristic. The young men alighted, McMurdo reproaching himself for using a pistol when they were two to one, and both with great emotion tried to stop the blood flowing from their dying antagonist, while he, indomitable, clutched at his weapon to give a last blow he was unable to do so, and soon after expired.

This is very well told. There is only one fault to be found with it, namely, that the sympathies of the reader are more likely to be on the side of the enemy, than that of our own countrymen.

We have alluded, with reference to a passage in one of Lieutenant Burton's works, to the old Scindian habit of settling conjugal differences with the sabre, and of its suppression under British rule. The following passage, in Sir W. Napier's book, affords a curious illustration of the subject—

Whenever a woman was guilty of infidelity, or even suspected—and that suspicion was excited by trifles, and often pretended from interested views—one man would hold her up by the hair, while another hewed her piecemeal with a sword. To kill women on any pretext was a right assumed by every Beluchi, and they could not understand why they were to be debarred. A man had been condemned for murdering his wife, his chief sued the General for pardon. "No! I will hang him." "What! you will hang a man for only killing his wife?" "Yes! She had done no wrong." "Wrong! No! but he was angry! why should he not kill her?" "Well, I am angry, why should not I kill him?" This conviction of their right to murder women was so strong and, their belief in fatalism was so firm, that many executions took place ere the practice could be even checked, but, finding the General as resolute to hang as they were to murder, the tendency after a time abated, and, to use his significant phrase, "the gallows began to overbalance Mahomet and predestination." They were, however, a stubborn race and their contempt of death may be judged of by the following anecdote, chosen rather for its forcible portraiture, than its singularity as to the indifference displayed. A Beluchi, condemned for murder, walked to execution, conversing with calmness on the road, when turned off, the rope broke, and he fell, but started up instantly, and, with inexpressible coolness, said, "*Accidents will happen in despite of care! try again!*"

How Sir Charles Napier suppressed Satti in Scinde is also shewn in the following passage —

He also put down the practice of Sattis, which, however, was rare in Scinde, by a process entirely characteristic. For, judging the real cause of these immolations to be the profit derived by the priests, and, hearing of an intended burning, he made it known that he would stop the sacrifice. The priests said it was a religious rite, which must not be meddled with that all nations had customs which should be respected, and this was a very sacred one. The General, affecting to be struck with the argument, replied, "Be it so. This burning of widows is your custom, prepare the funeral pile. But my nation has also a custom. When men burn women alive, we hang them, and confiscate all their property. My carpenters shall therefore erect gibbets on which to hang all concerned, when the widow is consumed. Let us all act according to national customs!" No Satti took place then or afterwards.

This is very good, though clearly borrowed from the story which Mr Miller relateth in this wise. Once on a time a miscellaneous party met at a tavern. One of the party, seeing a Scotchman present, stood up and stated that he was subject to a very unfortunate propensity, which he had long struggled to overcome, but in vain. The propensity was this, that when the bottle had gone freely round, he was irresistibly impelled to rail against Scotland and the Scotch. He therefore hoped that, if the fit should come on him on the present occasion, no member of the company would take the slightest offence. Whereupon up rose the doughty son of the 'land of brown heath, and stated that he for one should take no offence at such an occurrence. In fact he had every reason to sympathize with the unfortunate victim of it, as he also was afflicted with an equally irresistible propensity of a different kind, which consisted in this, that when the bottle had gone freely round, and he heard a whisper breathed against his country or his countrymen, he never could resist the propensity to rise and kick the whisperer down-stairs. He therefore trusted that if the fit should seize him on the present occasion, no member of the company would take the slightest offence!

It is well known to all the world, that Sir Charles was just in time to be too late to take part in the operations of the second Sikh war. When he reached India, the battle of Gujerat had been fought, and the war was at an end. It is known too, but not so universally, that he also had the misfortune to be "just in time to be too late" to take part in the operations of the first Sikh war. Sir Charles had sketched out the plan of a campaign, and Sir Wilham seems to think it very hard upon his brother, that he was not suffered to carry it into effect. Expert as the historian is in discovering grievances, it appears to

us that there is nothing to match what is set forth in the following —

While the Scindian British army was being assembled, the battle of Ferozshuhr was fought on the upper Sutlej, with so little advantage, that the contending forces remained in observation on the English side of the river, and a powerful corps was necessarily detached under Sir Harry Smith to protect the communications, then menaced near Ludiana by an auxiliary Sikh force. In this state of affairs the Governor General suddenly ordered Sir C Napier to direct his army on Bhawalpur and repair himself to the great camp on the upper Sutlej, a journey not to be safely made without an escort for several days which would have been slow for the occasion, but the fighting camel corps was here again made available, and the speed was as a couriers. He reached the camp at Lahore on the 3rd of March, yet only to find that the battle of Sobraon had been gained, that a treaty was in progress, that his well-devised campaign was nullified, and his life endangered by the combined action of mental and bodily fatigue for no object. Anticipated fame, health and independent command had been snatched away at once, and, worse than all to his spirit, he found that when the Punjaub was actually lying bound at the feet of England if he had been allowed to conduct the operations as he had projected the war was not to be continued by the main army—peace with the certain contingent of another war was to be substituted for complete conquest. He was received by the Governor General with honour and very great kindness, by the soldiers with enthusiasm and in Durbar he was treated by Gulab Sing then going to be raised to the sovereignty of Cashmere, with such a marked respectfulness of demeanour as to indicate that he had adopted the general opinion as to the "*nussib* or fortune of the Scindian conqueror, which the Beluchis rudely expressed by saying it was '*a cubit longer than that of any other man*'. But his mission was nought and, after a few days stay, he had to return to Kurrachi where he arrived in April, suffering in health from this useless continuous journey of eighteen hundred miles under an Indian sun.

While at Lahore, he saw and relected on the difficulties arising from the advanced season and the absolutely denuded state of the British army and as his own projected auxiliary invasion of the Punjaub, which would have insured entire conquest without imposing further operations on the main army, was set aside, he judged negotiation advisable, but his opinion was adverse to the general policy pursued. He had, before hostilities commenced, declared his belief that the British empire in India was not ripe for a frontier on the upper Indus, yet as circumstances had forced on this war, and the Punjaub was virtually subdued, he thought the conquest should and might have been consolidated without further bloodshed, whereas—"if a puppet king like Dulep Sing, and a real monarch like Gulab, were established, the battle would have to be fought again, rivers of blood would flow and the result might be doubtful." He said so and in two years Multan, Ramnuggur, Chillianwallah and Gujerat, bore red handed testimony to the truth of the prediction.

It has been said, with sufficient authority to assume the fact as historical, that his projected campaign was thus stifled, to have his aid on the upper Sutlej, where, previous to the victory of Sobraon, the war bore a dark aspect. This was a flattering recognition of merit, but having been productive only of mortification and evil to the object of it, gives the right of examination as to the possible public benefit.

Sir C Napier with fifteen thousand men, so well organized, disciplined and provided, and wrought to such frenzied eagerness for bat-

tile, was, his great reputation with the nations around considered, worth another man with thirty thousand, and his line of operation was, politically and militarily, a true one for an auxiliary force. He had a sure base and retreat on well furnished fortresses his power would have been magnified extravagantly, when he had crushed Mittenkote and invested Multan and, as nearly the whole of the warlike population on the left bank of the Indus were in secret communication with him and ready to join him in arms, he would have decisively influenced the operations on the upper Sutlej. Indeed the mere appearance of his army at Rori had so terrified the southern Sikhs, that the Dewan had secretly treated for the surrender of Multan, and, an influential native in another quarter being ready to obey his secret orders, he was very justly confident of reaching Lahore without a check, and with the Dewan and Multan Sikhs as auxiliaries. In fine the campaign was in his hands, that is using his own words, "*as far as man could know of war for, if Fortune take offence, she can make a straw ruin an army*".

Was it wise to cast away such moral and material advantages, to call such a General from a country and a people so perfectly known to him and (no slight consideration) knowing and fearing him as though he were a demon in battle—to call him at a critical moment to a country and people of whom he knew nothing? And for what? To have one man more in a council, where perhaps there was already one too many and where, unless some very unusual arrangement was contemplated, he must naturally be regarded with jealousy. Ignorant of the resources on either side he could only have advised hesitatingly, and could not act at all. Meanwhile his own army was thrown entirely out of the scheme of operations by being moved to Bhawalpur, where it was palsied and without sure communications, for the river was thus rendered useless as a communication and an invasion of Scinde was invited which would have thrown all the encumbrances of the force upon the grand army.

It really appears to us that all this is very puerile. Sir William Napier is continually setting forth that poor Sir Charles, in the performance of his duty as conqueror and administrator of Scinde, had to endure much fatigue and expose himself to a bad climate, as though all soldiers sent into the Unhappy Valley had not to endure this. But here the pamphleteer seems to imply, that because Sir Charles Napier joined, at some cost of labour, the Governor-General's camp, and because he was described as the devil's brother, and the troops were in a state of frenzied eagerness for battle, Sir Henry Hardinge ought to have reversed his own wise policy and let slip Napier and his battalions against an enemy raised for the express purpose of eliciting a new demonstration of the courage and the skill of the victor of Meani! With one more extract from Sir William Napier's book, we conclude our notice of this recent work on Scinde —

As Sir C. Napier had now returned to Sukkur, after making, as it were, the round of Scinde in conquest, a recapitulation of his labours will not be misplaced. Short it shall be, yet thick with great actions. Two years only had elapsed, since he had quitted Sukkur to war on the Amirs and in that time he had made the march to Emaum-ghur in the great desert, gained

two great battles, reduced four large and many smaller fortresses, captured six sovereign princes, and subdued a great kingdom. He had created and put in activity a permanent civil administration in all its branches, had conciliated the affections of the different races inhabiting Scinde, had seized all the points of an intricate foreign policy, commenced a number of military and other well-considered public works, and planned still greater ones, not only suited to the exigencies of the moment but having also a prospective utility of aim. In the execution of these things, he had travelled on camels or on horseback at the head of troops, more than two thousand miles, had written, received, studied and decided on between four and five thousand official despatches and reports—many very elaborate—beside his private correspondence, which was extensive, because he never failed to answer all persons, who addressed him, however humble or however unreasonable. He had besides read, not hastily, but attentively, all the diaries of the collectors and sub collectors, and had most anxiously considered the evidence in all capital trials. And these immense labours were superadded to the usual duties imposed by the command of a large army, belonging to four different Governments namely of England, Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. They were sustained without abatement under severe attacks of illness, at the age of sixty three by a man covered with wounds, and in a climate where the mercury rises to 132° in artificially cooled tents. They were sustained also amidst every mortification, every virulence of abuse, every form of intrigue, which disappointed cupidity could suggest to low minded men, sure of support from power, to him ungrateful, but to their baseness indulgent and rewarding.

We have no objection to give Sir Charles Napier credit for all that he has done—but the foregoing passage would have been just as effective without the concluding lines. An incurable monomania seems to beset the Napiers. It is not enough for them to claim credit for heroic exploits against a foreign enemy—they must make it appear that they have to contend also against domestic enemies, and that half the world are bent on thwarting the great, heroic, and philanthropic efforts of one of the greatest conquerors and administrators of the age.

POST SCRIPTUM.

We did intend, at one time, to have devoted a special article to Lieut Burton's "Goa and the Blue Mountains," but while there is much in that work to attract, there is so much more to repel, and even to disgust, that we eventually threw it aside. Mr. Burton (we trust, chiefly from affectation and bad taste) pictures himself in many passages as a sort of Tittlebat Titmouse, without even *his* occasional flashes of spirit, while the latter part of his work evinces powers of mind and observation, very unusual in so young a writer, and very incompatible with the impressions we receive from other portions of his volume. As a specimen of his better self, we extract his account of the Moplahs.

It contains the best and the fullest information we have ever

met with, on the antecedents and present condition of these dangerous fanatics, and we are confident that it will be read with interest, both in this country and in England —

We are informed by the Moslem historians that their faith spread wide and took deep root in the southern parts of Western India principally in consequence of the extensive immigration of Arabs. It may be observed that the same cause, which provided the Hindus with serfs, supplied the stranger with proselytes. A Rajah would often, when in want of money, dispose of his outcastes to the Faithful, who, in such cases, seldom failed to make converts of their purchases.

The Moplahs, or Mapillahs,*—the Moslem inhabitants of Malabar—are a mixed breed sprung from the promiscuous intercourse that took place between the first Arab settlers and the women of the country. Even to the present day, they display in mind and body no small traces of their mongrel origin. They are a light coloured and good looking† race of men, with the high features, the proud expression, and the wiry forms of the descendants of Ishmael: their delicate hands and feet, and their long bushy beards ‡ show that not a little Hindu blood flows in their veins. They shave the hair, trim the mostachios according to the Sunnat § and instead of a turban, wear a small silk or cloth cap of peculiar shape upon their heads. The chest and shoulders are left exposed, and a white or dyed piece of linen, resembling in cut and colour the ‘lung’ or bathing cloth of Central Asia, is tied round the loins. The garment, if we may so call it, worn by the males, does not reach below the calves of the legs; whereas the fair sex prolongs it to the ancles. Unlike the Hindu inhabitants of Malabar, the upper portion of the female figure is modestly concealed by a shift buttoned round the neck with large sleeves, and the opening in front according to the custom of the Faithful, a veil is always thrown over the head.

The only peculiarity in the Moplah lady's costume is the horrible ornamenting of the ear. At an early age, the lobe is pierced, and a bit of lead or a piece of Shola wood || is inserted, in order to enlarge the orifice. After a time the lobe becomes about the size of a crown piece, and a circle of gold silver or palm leaf, dyed red, white, or yellow is inserted into it—the distended skin of the lobe containing and surrounding the ring. There is something peculiarly revolting to a stranger's eye in the appearance of the two long strips of flesh instead of ears which hang down on each side of the head in old age, when ornaments are no longer worn.

* There are three different derivations of this word. Some deduce it from the pure Hindustani and corrupted Sanscrit word *ma* (a mother,) and the Tamul *pilla* (a son), “sons of their mothers,” the male progenitor being unknown. Others suppose it to be a compound of *mukhul* (a daughter) and *pilla* (a son), “a daughter's son,” also in allusion to their origin. The third is a rather fanciful derivation from *Mokhai-pilla* “sons of, or emigrants from, Mocha,” in Arabia.

† This description applies exclusively to the higher orders, the labouring classes are dark and ill-favoured.

‡ The genuine Arab, especially in Yemen and Tehamah, is, generally speaking, a Kusa, or scant-bearded man, and his envy, when regarding the flowing honours of a Persian chun, is only equalled by the lasting regret with which he laments his own deficiency in that semi-religious appurtenance to the human face.

§ The practice of the Prophet, whom every good Moslem is bound to imitate, even in the most trivial and every-day occasions.

|| The *Æschynomene paludosa*, a wood of porous texture, which swells when water is poured upon it. Lead is sometimes used to distend the flap of the ear by its weight.

The countenance of the Moplah, especially when it assumes the expression with which he usually regards infidels and heretics, is strongly indicative of his ferocious and fanatic disposition. His deep undying hatred for the Kafir* is nurtured and strengthened by the priests and religious instructors. Like the hierarchy of the Moslem world in general, they have only to hold out a promise of Paradise to their disciples as a reward, and the most flagrant crimes will be committed. In Malabar they lie under the suspicion of having often suggested and countenanced many a frightful deed of violence. The Moplah is an obstinate ruffian. Cases are quoted of a culprit spitting in the face of a judge, when the warrant of execution was being read out to him. Sometimes half a dozen desperadoes will arm themselves, seize upon a substantial house, and send a message of defiance to the collector of the district. Their favourite weapon on such occasions is the long knife that usually hangs from the waist. When entering battle, they generally carry two, one in the hand and the other between the teeth. They invariably prepare themselves for combat by a powerful dose of hemp or opium, fight to the last with frenzied obstinacy, despise the most dreadful wounds, and continue to exert themselves when a European would be quite disabled—a peculiarity, which they probably inherit from their Arab† ancestors. Like the Malay, when he runs a muck these men never think of asking for, or giving quarter. They make up their minds to become martyrs, and only try to attain high rank in that glorious body by slaying as many infidels as they can. At times they have been eminently successful. On one occasion we heard of a *rencontre*, in which about a dozen desperate robbers dropping from the window of a house into the centre of a square inopportunately formed by a company of sepoys, used their knives with such effect upon the helpless red coats backs, that they ran away with all possible precipitation. The result of a few such accidents is, that the native soldier cannot always be trusted to act against them, for, with the usual Hindu superstition and love of the marvellous, he considers their bravery something preternatural, and connected with certain fiendish influences.

In former days, the Moplahs played a conspicuous part among the pirates who infested the Malabar coast. Marco Polo mentions that there issued annually 'a body of upwards of one hundred vessels,‡ who captured other ships and plundered the merchants. He alludes to their forming what they called a ladder on the sea by stationing themselves in squadrons of twenty, about five miles from each other, so as to command as great an extent of water as possible. But in the old Venetian's day, the corsairs appear to have been by no means so sanguinary as they afterwards became. He expressly states, that when the pirates took a ship, they did no injury to the crew, but merely said to them, Go and collect another cargo, that we may have a chance of getting it too. In later times, Tavernier describes them as blood thirsty in the extreme. "The Malavares are violent Mahometans and very cruel to the Christians § I saw a barefoot Carmelite

* A name, by no means complimentary, applied to all who are not Moslems.

† The descendants of the Wild Man have at all times been celebrated for obstinate individual valour, and enduring an amount of "punishment," which seems quite incredible.

‡ Manned in those days by Hindus. Marco Polo tells us that the people of Malabar are idolaters, and subject to no foreigner.

§ Who retorted by hanging them on the spot, or throwing them overboard. This style of warfare was productive of great barbarities. There is a pile of stone rising above the sea, about seven leagues north-west of Calcut, called the Sacrifice Rock, from the slaughter of the crew of a Portuguese vessel, which was captured by the Cotta cruizers, shortly after the settlement of the Christians in India.

friar, who had been taken by the pirates, and so tortured, in order to obtain his ransom,* that his right arm and one leg were shorter by one half than the other" He alludes to their audacity in attacking large armed vessels with squadrons composed of ten or fifteen barques, each carrying from two hundred to two hundred and fifty men and describes their practice of boarding suddenly and setting fire to the ship with pots of artificial fire The style of defence usually adopted was to prepare for them by closing the scuttles and swamping the deck with water, to hinder the fire-pots from doing execution

The Moplahs being now deprived of their old occupation, have addicted themselves in some places, to gang robbery and smuggling The principal contraband articles are tobacco and salt, both of which are Government monopolies† To strengthen their bands, they will associate to themselves small bodies of Nairs and villains of the lowest Hindu castes, who shrink from no species of cruelty and outrage But generally speaking especially in the quieter districts of Malabar the Moplahs and the Nairs are on terms of deadly enmity The idolaters who have been taught to hate the Faithful by many a deed of blood would always act willingly against them, provided that our rulers would ensure subsistence to their families, according to the ancient custom of the country‡ Both are equally bigoted, violent, and fond of the knife In few parts of the world are there more deadly feuds than in this province, and whenever a Nair is killed by a Moplah, or *vice versa*, the relations will steep a cloth in the dead man's blood and vow never to lose sight of it, till they have taken revenge upon the murderer

Near the coast, the Moplahs are a thriving race of traders, crafty industrious, and somewhat refined by the influence of wealth Those of the interior cultivate rice and garden lands Some few of the latter traffic but as they do not possess the opportunities of commerce enjoyed by their maritime brethren their habitations and ware houses are not so comfortable, substantial, and spacious Both of them have a widely diffused bad name Among the people of Southern India generally, the word Moplah is synonymous with thief and rascal All are equally celebrated for parsimony—a Hindu as well as an Arab, quality, and for rigid observance of their religious rites and ceremonies The desire of gaining proselytes is one of their ruling passions consequently Islam is steadily extending itself The zeal of its followers is well supported by their means, and the willingness with which they admit new converts, even of the lowest and most despised classes, to perfect social equality with themselves offers irresistible attractions to many wretched outcasts of Hinduism They transgress the more laudable ordinances of their faith, and yet cling fondly to its worst spirit They will indulge to excess in the forbidden pleasures of distilled waters and intoxicating drugs in immorality and depravity at the same time they never hesitate to protect a criminal of their own creed and, to save him, would gladly perjure themselves, in the belief that, under such

* The sum usually paid was from eight to ten shillings, a portion of which went to the Rajah, part to the women, who had lost their husbands in these predatory encounters, and the remainder was "prize-money"

† Few would be disposed to consider the salt-duty a practical proof of the enlightened nature of our rule in the East, and there is no one, we believe, except a "crack collector," who would not rejoice to see it done away with, or at least much reduced.

‡ The rajah was expected to grant lands to the families of those, who heroically bound themselves by solemn vow to fight till death against the enemy If the self-devoted escaped destruction, he became an outcaste, and was compelled to leave the country

circumstances false oaths and testimony are not only justifiable, but meritorious in a religious point of view *

The faith professed by the Moplahs is the Shafei form of Islam. All their priests and teachers are of the same persuasion, and such is their besotted bigotry, that they would as willingly persecute a Hanafit Moslem, as the Sunnis of most Mussulman countries would martyr a heretic or schismatic. No Sheah dare own his tenets in Malabar. We doubt whether the mighty hand of British law would avail to save from destruction any one who had the audacity to curse Omar or Usman at Calicut. They carefully cultivate the classical and religious branches of study such as Sarf o Nahv, grammar, and syntax, Mantik, or logic. Hadis the traditions of the Prophet and Karaat or the chaunting of the Koran. They seldom know Persian, but, as they begin the Arabic language almost as soon as they can speak and often enjoy the advantage of Arab instructors, their critical knowledge of it is extensive and their pronunciation good. The Vernacular dialect of the Moplah is the Malayalam, into which, for the benefit of the unlearned, many sacred books have been translated. The higher classes are instructed by private tutors and appear to be unusually well educated. The priest has charge of the lower orders, and little can be said in praise of the schoolmaster or the scholar.

As regards testaments and the law of inheritance the Moplahs have generally adhered to the Koran, in some families, however, the succession is by nephews as amongst the Nairs †. This custom is palpably of Pagan origin, like many of the heterogeneous practices grafted by the Mussulmans of India upon the purer faith of their forefathers. Of course they excuse it by tradition. When Cheruman Rajah they say became a convert to Islam, and was summoned by Allah in a vision to Mecca, he asked his wife's permission to take his only son with him. She refused. The ruler's sister then offered to send her child under his charge. The Rajah adopted the youth, and upon his return from the Holy City, he instituted the custom of *murru muka tayum* in order to commemorate the introduction of Islam into the land of the Infidel.

* This is the universal belief and practice of the more bigoted parts of the Moslem world and so deep-rooted is the feeling, that it acquires a degree of power and influence truly formidable and difficult to deal with.

† The natives of India generally belong to the Hanafi the Arabs are the principal followers of the Shafei sect. Both are Sunnis, or orthodox Moslems, and there is little difference between them, except in such trifling points as the eating or rejecting fish without scales, &c.

‡ Except that a Moslem father may always allot a portion of property during his lifetime to his children.

ART IV — *Eastern Monachism an account of the Origin, Laws, Discipline, Sacred Writings, Mysterious Rites, Religious Ceremonies, and present circumstances, of the order of Mendicants founded by Gôtama Budha (compiled from Singhalese MSS. and other original sources of information), with comparative notices of the Usages and Institutions of the Western Ascetics, and a Review of the Monastic System, by R Spence Hardy*
London Partridge and Oakey, Paternoster Row 1850

WHEN the lark rises into the blue ether, it may sing as it soars, and whilst far away from the ken of the keenest eye, like a tiny skiff moored in an unruffled lake, it may float with motionless wing in its own undisputed dominion, but when the bird of passage addresses itself to its adventurous travel, in which hill and dale, and rolling river, in oft-repeated succession, will have to be crossed, and many a weary rood of the welkin measured with agitated pinion, a sternness of purpose and an indomitable perseverance are required for the accomplishment of the mighty task. By parity of process, there are some themes that we can treat lightly, and that are rather the play-toys of our leisure than the task-work of our more serious moments, but there are others that we must approach in a more solemn mood, as it is not possible to comprehend them in their immensity without patient and protracted research. The subject now before us partakes, in an eminent degree, of the more earnest of these characteristics. In an attempt at its elaboration, however, we have to descend rather than to rise, and the atmosphere around us resembles rather the murkiness that hovers above the morass, than the pure azure, in the midst of which the lark, we have started, would love to pour forth unseen its streams of melody.

There are many reasons why Buddhism deserves a more extended investigation than it has yet received. It is now, and has been nearly two thousand years, more widely spread than any other system. We speak numerically, and not of territory. This fact alone is strong proof that there must be within it some prehensile power that can lay hold upon man with a grasp of amazing tenacity. And yet there is nothing in its exterior form, which would lead us to infer that it possesses a potency so great. Its energy, like that of the simoom of the desert, is imperceptible, except by the effects it produces. It contains, also, the germ of the scepticism of every age, and in its apparent respect for any creed whatever, that has in it the semblance of what it regards as the truth, maintaining that

none are to be entirely rejected, though none but itself is to be entirely received, it is a perfect foreshadowing of too much of the educated mind of the present age. It ought to abate the pride of our modern sceptics, when they learn that their boasted discoveries are but a metempsychosis of primeval error. To call their system "neology" is a manifest misnomer. The wilds of Asia, in the most remote antiquity, generated thoughts that have only recently appeared in the schools of Europe. They are there regarded as being new, and as all-assimilative in their tendency, but with what truthfulness, let the times of old decide.

The archives of Buddhism are ample, and therefore it is not from the want of a pathway that its labyrinths have not been explored. Like all religions, that abstract their votaries from the cares of the world, it has a vast mass of traditionary lore, and if a collection were to be made of its legends, Nepal, Burmah, Siam, Tibet, China, Japan, and Ceylon, would each present its own voluminous *Acta Sanctorum*. The controversy as to whether its most precious remains are enshrined in Sanskrit or in Pali, has been set at rest by the admission of Mr Brian H Hodgson, "that the honours of Ceylonese literature and of 'the Pali language (as anticipated by Mr Prinsep) are no longer 'disputable'."

In the article on Buddhism, which appeared in our eighth number, many statements of fact were furnished, calculated to throw light on its "origin and diffusion." In the work, which heads this article, Mr Hardy has supplied information on one important department of the subject, which, to most of our readers, will be new—information, which, we venture to say, is more full, more varied, more instructive, and more fraught with interest to the philosopher and the Christian philanthropist, than what is to be found in any other available book on Buddhism in the English, or any other, language. In a prefatory note prefixed to the present volume, the author announces that he has prepared, and will publish if he receive encouragement, a work that is intended to be a synopsis of Buddhism, as the system is now professed in the sacred Lanká. In "Eastern Monachism" we have, therefore, little insight into the *general principles* of the system, as the author confines himself almost exclusively to the affairs of the priesthood. Throughout the work, there are allusions to the analogous customs of other orders of ascetics, which will be of interest to many of its readers, but lessen its value in the estimation of the mere orientalist. In our notice of the work we shall confine ourselves to such parts of its contents as are more properly

eastern in their character, and shall dwell more particularly upon the attributes of the system that are the least known out of the pale of Buddhistical erudition. The author's information upon these subjects is derived from personal observation, during a residence of twenty years in Ceylon, from conversations with the priests, and from the perusal of Singhalese manuscripts.

The work is divided into twenty-four chapters, which we shall take in order, and we shall present as complete an analysis of their pages as our limits will permit.

I *Gótama Budha*—The venerated sage, who has more worshippers upon earth than any other being, was born, according to the Singhalese records, at Kapilawastu, B C 623-4. It was at the moment of his birth he uttered the arrogant exclamation—"I am the most exalted in the universe, I am 'its chief, I am the most excellent among all the beings 'it contains, this is my last birth, hereafter there is to 'me no other state of existence." At the age of sixteen, he was married to the beautiful Yasódhará, daughter of Supra Budha, who reigned at Kóli Sudhódana, the father of Gótama, having learnt from the soothsayers that his son would become an ascetic, and that his resolution to leave the world would be caused by four things he would witness, viz, decrepitude, sickness, death, and the demeanour of a recluse—set a guard about him, that he might be prevented from meeting with any of the signs, that were to produce consequences so important. Utterly bootless were all these precautions. First, he saw an old man wending his way with trembling steps and slow, then, a leper, afterwards, a putrid corpse, and more important than all, he met a recluse, whose modesty of deportment struck him as being worthy of universal imitation. It was on his way to a party of pleasure that he saw the last of these prohibited signs, and, whilst in the midst of its amusements, it was announced to him that Yasódhará was delivered of a son, his first-born child. On his return to the palace, the master of the revels gathered around him the most attractive courtezans, loud was the music, and rude the laugh, but the thoughts of the prince were away to the wilderness, and when the witching women saw that all they did to gain his attention was vain, their wiles became gradually less animated, and after a time they fell asleep. But that which all their wantonness was unable to effect, was produced by the appearance of the sleeping throng. One was yawning here, and another rolling there, whilst a whole group were breathing loudly, in dissonant contrast to their former strain, so that the festive

hall became to him a scene of aversion. This was all that was wanted to bring the thoughts of the prince to a practical issue. Already charmed by the gentle virtues of asceticism, and now disgusted with the pleasures of the world, he rushed at once into solitude, after a passing glance at his sleeping babe, and was enabled by the Dévas to elude the vigilance of the guard that had been placed around him by his anxious father. After a long course of arduous exercise, he became a supreme Budha, at the foot of a bó-tree, near which Budha Gaya was afterwards built. By virtue of his office, he now became supreme among all the intelligences of all worlds, and was in possession of an unlimited power to do or to know.

As this mysterious energy was the result of his own will, and came by intuition, not from the teaching of another, and as others, who were willing to pursue the same course, might attain to the same dignity, he began at once to proclaim the privileges connected with a renunciation of the enthrallment of sensuous existence, and in far less time than was required by the merchant of Mecca for the establishment of Islámism, thousands upon thousands had adopted the tenets of Gótama, and followed his example. Until the day of his death, he acted as the apostle of his own religion, wandering to Benares, Rajagaha, Wésali, Sewet, and even Ceylon. Everywhere he gained converts to his creed. The opposition he met with was principally from the sect called Tirttakas, and, although the Brahmans are sometimes alluded to, we do not from this source derive any exalted idea of their respectability or influence. At the age of eighty years, Gótama Budha calmly expired, near Kusinára, his existence, according to his own dogma of Nirwána, passed into non-existence, and, after his body had been burnt with the honour due to his exalted rank, his relics were collected by his sorrowing disciples, among whom were many, in the class of Rahats, that were not much inferior, either in power or wisdom, to their great teacher.

II *The Laws and Regulations of the Priesthood.*—The number of the legislative enactments attributed to Budha, partakes of the immensity that characterizes all the thoughts of the Hindu. They are said to have amounted to ninety millions, one hundred and eighty-five lacks, and thirty-six. The more important of the laws, about 220 in number, are collected together in a manual, called in Pali, Pátimokkhan, which is to be recited twice every month in an assembly of priests, at which not fewer than four must be present. At the commencement of his ministry, Gótama promulgated a more condensed code, as he was afraid that if, at the outset, he made known the sterner

requirements of the institute, many persons would be deterred thereby from seeking to release themselves from the evils of existence. The items of this code were afterwards explained, modified, and enlarged, as the circumstances arose that called for additional legislative interference. There is a class of observances, called *Teles-dhutanga*, known also to the Chinese, to which allusion is frequently made in the works of the Singhalese authors. The priest by whom this class is respected, is to observe the following rules — 1 To reject all garments but those of the meanest description. 2 To possess not more than three garments. 3 To eat no food but such as has been received under certain restrictions. 4 To call at all houses alike, however mean they may be, when carrying the alms-bowl. 5 To remain on one seat when eating, until the meal be finished. 6 To eat only from one vessel. 7 To cease eating the instant that certain things occur. 8 To reside in the forest. 9 To reside at the foot of a tree. 10 To reside in an open space, without the covering of a roof. 11 To reside in a cemetery. 12 To take any seat that may be provided. 13 To refrain from lying down, under any circumstances whatever.

III. *Names and Titles* — Under this head is included the vexed question, as to whether primitive Buddhism admits of such a distinction as the epithets *Clerus* and *Laicus* would designate. Into this controversy we shall not enter. Mr Hardy says — “I have retained the word priest to designate the *sramana* of Buddha, he is a monk as to the economy of his own life (if he live according to the stricter precepts), but a priest as to the world without *clericus regularis*.” The following are the principal names given to these wearers of the yellow robe. 1 *Srāwaka*, from the root *sru*, to hear, answering to the *ακουστικός* of the Greeks. 2 *Sramana*, from *srama*, the performance of asceticism, answering to the *ασκητής* of the ancient church. 3 *Théro*, or elder, answering to the *Zaken* of the Old Testament and the *πρεσβυτερος* of the New. 4 *Bhikkhu*, from *bhiksha*, to beg, literally a mendicant. This was the appellation generally used by Gótama when he addressed the priests.

IV. *The Noviciate* — The aspirant to the privileges of the priesthood must be, at least, eight years of age, before he is allowed to commence the preliminary exercises, and must have the consent of his parents. No one who is diseased, a slave, or a soldier, can be admitted as a candidate, but any one else may seek the privileges, and it was to this comprehensive arrangement that Buddhism was indebted for a great part of the success that attended it at its promulgation. The novice must be at

least twenty years of age, before he can be ordained; but it does not appear how long the noviciate is to continue, if he enters on its duties in maturer years. The Sámánera, as the neophyte is called, usually begins his connexion with the monastery by becoming a pupil in the school of the priest, but when he has assumed the robe, he must comply with all the rules of the priesthood that are included in an abandonment of the world. At the time of his initiation, he has his head shaved, and bathes; and, taking a robe, he gives it to a priest, requesting that he may receive it again and be permitted to wear it. The priest then imparts to him the three-fold protective formulary, called Tun-sarana —

Budhang saranang-gach'hami,	I take refuge in Budha.
Dhammang-saranang gach hami,	I take refuge in the Truth.
Sanghang saranang gach hami,	I take refuge in the Associated Priesthood

He is also required to repeat the ten ordinances, or obligations, and declare that he will observe them —not to take life, not to take that which has not been given, to avoid sexual intercourse, the saying of that which is not true, and the use of intoxicating drinks, not to eat any solid food after mid-day, not to attend upon dancing, singing, music, or masques, to avoid the use of perfumes or flowers, not to use a seat or couch above the prescribed elevation, and not to receive gold or silver. The principal duties that are afterwards to be attended to are set forth in a manual called Dina Chariyá, or the daily observances, of which Mr Hardy gives a translation. There are several other rituals that the novice is to learn by heart. If he omits any of his duties, he is likened to “a man who daubs ‘himself all over with the most disgusting filth, in order to render ‘himself beautiful, he is like an ass among cattle, he is shunned by all, he is like the fire of a cemetery, where bodies are ‘burnt, or like one blind, or an outcast.” There are five deadly sins that are especially to be avoided —1 Matricide 2 Patricide 3 The murder of a rahat. 4 Wounding the person of a supreme Budha (his life cannot possibly be taken). 5 Causing a schism among the priesthood.

A translation is given of the history of a Brahman youth, called Rat'hapála, intended to set forth the greatness of the difficulties that the novice has sometimes to encounter, before he is allowed to assume the garb of the recluse. At its conclusion, he declares to Kórawya, king of Kuru, the reasons that induced him to abandon the world. “Four aphorisms,” he says, “have been ‘declared by Budha, and it was because I understood them, that ‘I embraced the priesthood. They are —1 The beings in this ‘world are subject to decay, they cannot abide long 2. They have

‘ no protection, no adequate helper 3 They have no real possessions, all that they have they must leave. 4 They cannot arrive at perfect satisfaction or content, they are constantly the slaves of evil desire ” After illustrating each of these positions, he proceeds to say —“ There are some men, who have much property, but on account of the false medium through which all things appear to them, it seems as if it were little, they are covetous of more, and are continually trying to add to their possessions. There are kings who subdue the whole of the four quarters, even to the borders of the sea, but they are still not content they wish to cross the ocean, that they may find out more worlds to conquer, but they are never satisfied with what they acquire, and the craving continues until death There is no means of satisfying the desire of the worldling When he dies, his friends go about with disordered hair, and weep They exclaim, he is gone, he is dead, and they then enwrap the body in cloth, and burn it upon the pyre He cannot take with him either property or wealth, even the corpse-cloth is burnt When about to die, neither relatives, friends, nor companions, can afford him any protection He who dies, is accompanied only by his merit and demerit, nothing else, whatever, goes with him, he cannot take with him children, or women, or wealth, or lands. Decay is not prevented by riches, nor is old age, and life continues only for a very little time The rich and the poor, the wise and the unwise, men of every condition, must equally encounter death, there is no one to whom its embrace will not come The unwise man trembles at the approach of death, but the wise man is unmoved Wisdom is therefore better than wealth, of all possessions, it is the chief it is the principal means by which evil desire is destroyed, and purity is attained The cleaving to sensuous objects is the cause of many dangers, and prevents the reception of *nirwāna* For these reasons I have embraced the seclusion of the priesthood.”

V *Ordination* —There is no word of ecclesiastical usage that properly designates the change undergone by the postulant, when he passes from the noviciate to the priesthood It includes, in its consequences, both the profession of the regular, and the ordination of the secular priest, and yet, in itself, it is a rite of the simplest kind The mode, in which the ceremony is conducted, appears in a work called *Kammawachan* A chapter of the priesthood having been called, the candidate is asked, if the requisites of the order (such as the alms-bowl, robes, &c, that have been previously prepared and deposited in the place of assembly) belong to him After answering in the affirma-

tive, he is asked, if he is free from disease if he is a human being, a man, and a freeman, if he is out of debt, if he is free from the king's service, if he has the consent of his parents, if he has attained the age of twenty years, and if he is provided with the priestly requisites. A few other matters are then enquired into, and the moderator then requests him to advance. The candidate, addressing the venerable assembly, says respectfully thrice, "I request *upasampadā*," admission into the order of the priesthood. The moderator certifies that he is free from the impediments which would prevent his admission into the sacred community, that he possesses the requisites, and requests "*upasampadā*," after which he thrice calls out, "Let him who assents to this request be silent, let him who dissents from it, now declare it!" If the assembly remain silent, the moderator infers that consent is given, upon which he repeats to the candidate, the more important of the rules by which he will have to abide—relating to the food he may receive, the garments he may wear, the place in which he may reside, the medicaments he may use in case of sickness, and the crimes that involve expulsion from the priesthood. It is declared that these ordinances are worthy to be kept to the end of life, to which the candidate assents, without, however, taking any vow. From this time, he is regarded as being in possession of all the privileges of the priesthood.

In the life-time of the sages, when permission was given to a postulant to wear the garment of the recluse, Gotama simply said, "Come hither, mendicant," and it is affirmed that the requisites of the priesthood were supernaturally provided. It is not improbable, that the ceremony of "*upasampadā*" is an innovation upon primitive Buddhism.

There are other usages, of too interesting a character to be passed by without notice. "There is no order among the Buddhists," says Mr Hardy, "distinct from that of the presbytery—the *sangah* being a congregation of elders presided over by a moderator, who is strictly *primus inter pares*. Whilst maintaining the necessity of a succession, the power is regarded as being resident in the association, and not in the individual. The idea of a succession is not lightly treated by the Buddhists, inasmuch as they consider that there can be no new *sangah* unless its members have been admitted to the order by a previous *sangah* of legal constitution, and they do not consider any *sangah* to be legally constituted, unless there has been in the same manner a succession of regular appointments, from the commencement of the order. When in any country the succession has been lost, no attempt has been made to create a

‘ spontaneous sangah When better times have come, application has been made to some other country, for a renewal of the authority And even when certain classes have been illegally shut out from this order, they have, in no instance that has come under my notice, regarded themselves as forming a perfect Church, until the succession was legally received Further more, if all the priests in any given temple or district, though legally ordained, were to be guilty of some misdemeanor, requiring absolution, it would be out of their power to hold a legal sangah, until they had been absolved by some priest, who was free from the same impediment, and, although the absolving priest were to be guilty of some other and even greater misdemeanor, it would be no bar to his power of absolution ”

The order is not regarded as being indelible, and, as the ordinances are to be observed *durante bene placito*, a return to the world, under certain circumstances, is permitted, either for a temporary period, or until death Inability to remain continent, impatience of restraint, a wish to enter upon worldly engagements, affection for parents or friends, or doubts as to the truth of the system propounded by Budha, are among the reasons that are regarded by Gótama as valid for the laying aside of the yellow robe But no one is allowed to re-enter the priesthood, who has abandoned it, “ without express permission had and obtained from a legal sangah ” In some countries, almost every respectable male inhabitant enters the priesthood for a temporary period

The upasampadá succession was several times lost, during the wars of the Singhalese with their continental invaders. It was last renewed in the reign of Kurtti Sri, who, however, consented to an arrangement that was greatly opposed to orthodox Buddhism A royal decree was issued, that ordination should be conferred only upon members of the gow, or agricultural caste, this being the principal caste retained among the Singhalese As Kandy was then the residence of the king, it was also forbidden to confer the privilege in any other place These regulations produced great dissatisfaction among the inferior castes, and about the beginning of the present century, application was made by some of their number to the priests of Burmah, who admitted them into the sacred order On their return to Ceylon, they established a new community, admitting postulants indiscriminately from all castes In some other matters also, they profess to aim at a reformation of the unauthorized practices of the more ancient fraternity The two communities regard each other with great bitterness and contempt

VI *Cebhacy* —The priest is told at his ordination, that “when the head is taken off, it is impossible that life can be retained in the body, and that in like manner, the priest, who holds sexual intercourse, is thereby incapacitated from continuing to be a son of Sákya, or a sramana.”

The rules to be observed by the priest, that he may be prevented from transgressing the moral requirements of the institute, are numerous, and, in their character, exceedingly comprehensive. As an instance of the complete abstraction, under which the more devoted of the priests are said to live, we may extract the following narrative. The venerated Chittagutta resided in the Karandu-lena, a cave in the southern province of Ceylon, upon the walls of which were painted, in a superior manner, the stories of the Budhas. The cave was visited by some priests, who greatly admired the paintings, and expressed their admiration to Chittagutta, but he replied, that he had lived there sixty years, and had never seen them, and that he should not now have known of their existence, if it had not been for their information. There was near the entrance to the cave, a large na-tree, but he only knew that the tree was there, from the fall of the pollen and flowers. The tree itself he never saw, as he carefully observed the precept, not to look upward or to a distance. The king of Magan having heard of his sanctity, invited him to come to his palace, that he might have the privilege of worshipping him, but though he sent three messages, the priest was unwilling to leave the cave. The king, to oblige him to comply, bound up the nipple of a woman who was giving suck to her child, sealed it with the royal seal, and declared that it should not be broken until he came. When Chittagutta heard of what the king had done, out of compassion, he went to the palace. The monarch worshipped him on his arrival, and told him that a transient sight of him was not sufficient, as he wanted him to impart to him the precepts during several days. This he did, in order that he might detain the priest, and in this way, seven days passed over. At his departure, the king and his queens worshipped him, and the king carried his alms-bowl some distance, but he merely said in return, “may you prosper.” When some other priests expostulated with him for not being more respectful, and told him that he ought to have said, “May you prosper, great king, may you prosper, illustrious queens!” he replied, that he knew not to whom he was speaking, he had not even noticed that they were persons of rank.

When the world is abandoned, all the affections of relationship are to be entirely annihilated. A priest, who resided at

Koranakara, in Ceylon, had a nephew, who was a priest in the same Vihara, but in the course of time, the nephew went to reside at Ruhuna, in the southern province of the island. After this, his parents were continually asking the older priest, if he had heard any news of their son. At last, as they were so importunate, he set out for Ruhuna, that he might enquire after the welfare of his nephew, and be able to satisfy the wishes of his parents. By this time, the nephew thought it would be well to go and see his uncle, as he had been absent from him a considerable period. The two priests met on the borders of the Mahaneli, and, after mutual explanations, the uncle remained near the same place, to perform a certain ceremony, and the nephew proceeded onward to his native village. The day after his arrival, his father went to invite him to perform the rite called *wass*, at his house, as he had heard that a stranger was come to the monastery. The priest accordingly went every day, for the space of three months, to his father's house, to say *bana*, but he was not recognised by any of his relatives. When the ceremony was concluded, he informed his parents, that he was about to depart, but they entreated him to come the next day, and they then gave him a cruse of oil, a lump of sugar, and a piece of cloth nine cubits long. After giving them his blessing, he began his journey to Ruhuna. The two priests again met on the borders of the river, when the nephew informed his uncle, that he had seen his parents, and at the same time anointed his feet with the oil, gave him the sugar to eat, and presented to him the piece of cloth. He then proceeded on his journey, and his uncle set out to return to Koranakara. From the time that the son began to perform *wass*, at his father's house, his parent went out every day in the direction of Ruhuna, to see if the priest was returning with his child, but when he saw him alone, as he concluded at once that his son was dead, he threw himself at the feet of the priest, wept, and lamented aloud. The priest saw the error into which the father had fallen, and made known to him what had taken place, convincing him of the reality of what he said, by showing him the cloth he had received. The father then went in the direction his son had gone, fell on his face and worshipped, saying that his son was without an equal, as he had visited his parents' house every day during three months, and yet never discovered himself to any of his relatives.

VII *Poverty* — The sramana is allowed to possess, in his own right only eight articles, called *pirikara*, which are regarded as the requisites of the priesthood 1, 2, 3 Robes of different descriptions 4 A girdle for the loins. 5 A *pátara*, or alms-

bowl 6 A razor 7 A needle 8 A perahankada, or water-strainer The strainer is considered to be a necessary article, as, "if any priest shall knowingly drink water containing insects, 'it is a fault that requires confession and absolution'" As among other orders of ascetics, a distinction is made between the individual and the community, and a chapter of the priesthood can receive almost anything that the faithful choose to present, except gold and silver The possessions of the sramanas in Ceylon are extensive, and include some of the richest domains in the island.

VIII. *Mendicancy*—The priest is not allowed to bring with-in the door of his mouth any substance not given in alms, unless it be water, or some article used for the cleaning of the teeth, and "when in health, the food, that he eats, must 'be procured by his own exertions in carrying the alms-bowl 'from house to house, in the village or city near which he 'resides.'" When going to receive alms, the bowl is slung across his shoulder, and is usually covered by the outer robe. It may be made of either iron or clay, but not of any other material The priest may not, when carrying the bowl, by any word or sign whatever, intimate his wish to receive any particular alms, unless he be sick But this law is not unfrequently evaded There is an ancient legend, that a certain priest, who was suffering from hunger, went to a house to receive food The woman of the house said that she had nothing to give him, but she pretended that she would go and ask something from a neighbour, for which purpose, she left the house, and went to a little distance The priest took the opportunity to look and see what the good woman had in her store, and in the corner, near the door, he saw a piece of sugar-cane, he also saw some sugar-candy, salted meat, rice, and ghí, in different vessels, after which he again retired to the outer court When the woman returned, she said that she had not succeeded in obtaining any rice The priest replied, "It is not a fortunate 'day for our order, I have seen an omen'" She asked what it was, and he proceeded, "I saw a serpent, like a piece of sugar-cane, on looking for something to strike it with, I saw some 'stones like pieces of sugar-candy, the hood of this snake was 'like a piece of salted meat, its teeth were like grains of rice, 'and the poisonous saliva falling from its gums was like ghí 'in an earthen vessel'" The woman, on hearing this, was unable to deny the truth of the inference, so she presented the priest with the whole of the articles he had seen But in this manner, to speak of what is near is forbidden it is samanta jappana

IX *Diet* —The requirements under this head are much less severe than might have been expected. The priest is entirely to abstain from the use of intoxicating drinks, as it is said that "they lead to indifference towards religion." After the sun has passed the meridian, he may not partake of solid food, but, previous to that hour, he may eat whatever is presented to him, and, indeed, is absolutely forbidden to partake of any thing else, but what is put into the bowl, when going his morning's round, unless food should have been provided for the priesthood of the Vihâra in which he lives, by some other mode. The death of Gôtama was occasioned by eating pork.

X *Sleep* —The night is divided into three watches, of four hours each. It is said that "Gôtama slept during one third of the third watch, or one hour and one-third." In the first watch he preached, or engaged in religious conversation, in the second watch he answered questions put to him by the Dévas, and in the first division of the third watch he slept, in the second, exercised meditation, and in the third, looked abroad on the world, with his divine eyes, to see what being or beings it would be proper to catch in the net of truth during the day."

The last of the thirteen ordinances requires that the sramana, who keeps it, shall not lie down to sleep, and, during the whole of one watch of the night, he must walk about. He may not recline at full length, but may walk, or stand, or sit. All the ordinances of the dhutanga are divided into three classes, and the priest, who enters the superior class, may not lean on any place, or make his robe into a seat, or take hold of a piece of cloth fastened to a tree. He who enters the middle class, is allowed to make use of any of these assistances. He who enters the third class may make seats (in particular ways that are mentioned.) But no member of any of the three classes is permitted to lie down.

XI *The Tonsure* —From the commencement of his noviciate, the priest must be regularly shaved. All capillary excrescences are to be carefully removed from the body. There are fifteen evils connected with the growth of the hair, such as, that it must be ornamented, anointed, washed, perfumed, purified, unloosed, tied, combed, curled, unknotted, and freed from vermin, and when it begins to fall off, there is regret. The hair is not to be permitted to grow to a greater length than two inches, but it is the usual custom to shave every fortnight. The priests generally shave each other, but it is not forbidden to have the operation performed by a laic.

XII *The Habit* —The precepts given in the Pâtimokkhan,

relative to dress, are numerous. The priests are permitted to have three robes, and are not allowed to retain an extra robe more than ten days. The whole three are always to be in his possession, unless danger be apprehended, in which case, he may leave one robe in the village, but not more than six days, unless specially permitted. We have a further insight into the customs of the priesthood upon this subject, in a legend of the king of Kósala. His queens having given 500 splendid robes, monuments of his affectionate munificence, to the priests, he spoke in anger to Ananda, the nephew of Gótama Budha and his own personal attendant, and enquired if the priests intended to sell them, reminding him that Budha had declared that no priest was to have more than three robes. Ananda replied, "Yes, as their own property but the priests may receive 'whatever is presented, in order that the giver may thereby 'obtain merit." The king enquired what the priests did with their old robes, and the priests informed him, that after stitching them, they took them for loose wrappers. The king then enquired what became of the former wrappers? Ananda "They cut away the old pieces, and taking the good pieces that are left, they make them into inner robes." The king "What becomes of the inner robes that have been cast off?" Ananda "They spread them upon the ground, that they may sleep on them at night." The king "What becomes of the cloths upon which they slept previously?" Ananda "The priests spread them in the places where they dwell, that they may walk upon them." The king "What is done with the cloths upon which they formerly walked?" Ananda "They make them into the rugs, upon which they wipe their feet." The king "What becomes of their former rugs?" Ananda "They use the shreds in preparing the clay of which their huts are built." The king's anger was appeased by these answers, and to show his satisfaction, he presented to Ananda 500 other robes of similar value, greatly praising the institutions of Budha.

XIII. *The Residence* — There appears to be an inconsistency upon this subject in the teachings of Buddhism. Under some of its phases, it would seem to require peremptorily an abandonment of all the comforts connected with a substantial dwelling, and yet, upon other occasions, it would appear as if the Vihāra were a usual and necessary part of the economy. In the Pátimokkhan, it is directed, that "the residence of the priest, if it be 'built for himself alone, shall be twelve spans, according to the 'span of Budha, in length, and seven in breadth inside. The 'site must be chosen in a place that is free from vermin, snakes, 'wild beasts, &c, that the life of the priest, or of those who

‘ resort to him, may not be in danger, and that the destruction of
 ‘ animal life may not be caused by its erection There must be
 ‘ a pathway round it, wide enough for the passage of a cart
 ‘ Before possession is taken, a chapter of the priests must pro-
 ‘ nounce, that it is not larger than the prescribed limits Whe-
 ‘ ther the residence is intended for one priest or for many, this
 ‘ rule must be observed. At the time the dwelling is erected,
 ‘ the priest may direct materials to be brought, two or three
 ‘ times, from grounds not under immediate cultivation, that the
 ‘ parts requiring stability, may be rendered firm, but this num-
 ‘ ber of times is not to be exceeded ”

The priest who keeps the eighth of the thirteen ordinances, called *Aranyakango*, is not allowed to reside near a village, but must remain in the forest, and never leave it, for any purpose whatever, if he belong to the superior class. The priest who keeps the ninth of the ordinances, called *Bukhamúli-khanga*, is to avoid all tiled houses, and live at the root of a tree (the root being defined to be the space within which the leaves fall, on a calm day, or on which the shadow falls at noon) But trees of the following kind are prohibited, a tree at the limit of a country, a tree in which any *Déva* resides, who receives offerings from the people, a tree whence gum is taken or edible fruits are gathered, a tree in which there are owls, or a hollow tree, and a tree in the midst of the ground belonging to a *Vihāra*. The tenth of the ordinances, called *Abbhókāsikanga* enjoins, that the priest, who keeps it, shall not live in an inhabited place, or at the root of a tree, but in an open space. The eleventh of the ordinances, called *Sósānikanga*, requires the priest to live in a cemetery, a place where dead bodies have been deposited, or where they have been burnt. He may not make a place like a court of ambulation, nor frame a hut, he may not sit on a chair, or recline on a couch, and he is forbidden to provide water, as if it were a priest's regular dwelling. This is a very difficult ordinance, and is to be observed with much sorrowful determination. He is never to enter a house, as he lives in the midst of the smoke arising from the funeral pile and the stench of dead bodies.

The residences of the modern priests are usually mean erections, in *Ceylon* and *Burmah*, although the monasteries in *Siam* and *China* are of a more permanent character, but in no country do we now find the devoted recluse of the primitive *Buddhists*.

XIV Obedience — As there must, necessarily, be great difficulty in keeping order among masses of celibates, who have few of the common cares of the world to engage their attention,

monastic discipline has always been stern in its character. Among the Sramanas, it is forbidden to the inferior priests to be in the company of the superior, or those who are more aged, without paying them proper respect. They are not to jostle them, nor go in front of them, when seated, nor are they to sit on a higher seat, or, to talk when near them, or, when talking with them, to use action of the hands or feet, they are not to walk near them with their sandals on, or to walk about, in some part of the same court, at a higher elevation, or to walk at the same place at the same time. They are not to go before them, or press upon them, when carrying the alms-bowl. They are not to be harsh with the novices. And they are not to take upon themselves matters, with which they have no right to interfere, such as to put firewood in the place where water is warmed for bathing, or to shut the door of the bath without permission. If any priest causes divisions in the community, he will have to suffer for his crime, a whole kalpa, in one of the Narakas, (hells).

XV *The exercise of Discipline* — When the priests meet together, to listen to the reading of the Patimokkhan, the position in which they are to place themselves, the order in which they are to sit, and the kind of place in which they are to assemble, are minutely prescribed. "When one section of the rule is read," we learn from Eastern Monachism "the enquiry is made three times, if all, that are present, have observed the precept, and if no answer is given, it is supposed to be in the affirmative, but if any one has broken the precept and does not confess it, he is regarded as being guilty of a wilful lie. When a priest has been guilty of any of the thirteen enumerated crimes that involve suspension and penance, and conceals the fact, upon its discovery, he is placed under restraint, as many days as he has concealed it, then for six nights he is subject to a kind of penance, and after this period, he may be restored to his position by a chapter, at which twenty priests must be present. No priest is allowed to question the utility of reading the Patimokkhan, in the manner prescribed, and if any priest is convicted of manifesting impatience, relative to the reading of this code, he is to confess his crime and receive absolution. The matters brought before the chapter are to be deliberately investigated, and the sentence is to be determined by the majority. The modes of punishment, that are appointed, are of the mildest description, including reprimand, forfeiture, penance, suspension, and exclusion. The principal exercises of penance, appear to be, sweeping the court-yard of the Vihāra, and sprinkling sand under the bô-tree, or near the Dāgobah. In

‘ one legend, it is stated, that some ascetics, who were required, as penance, to go to the Ganges and take up a portion of sand which they were to bring to a certain place, had, by this means, in the course of time, made a mound of sand that was many miles in extent ” It appears from the Thibetan works on Budhism, as illustrated by Csoma Koros, that priests of that country were accustomed to put under ban or interdict, any person or family who had rendered themselves liable to ecclesiastical censure, in the following manner In a public assembly, after the facts had been investigated, an alms-bowl was turned, with its mouth downwards—it being declared, by this act, that from that time, no one was to hold communication with the individual against whom the fault had been proved According to the text, no one was to enter his house, or to sit down there, or to take alms from him, or to offer him religious instruction After a reconciliation had taken place, the ban was taken off, by the alms-bowl being placed in its usual position

XVI. *Miscellaneous Regulations*—These will not admit of abridgment, and to transcribe the whole chapter would far exceed the space we have at command We shall, therefore, confine our attention to one or two of the more important of the rules “ The priest is not allowed to take even so little as a

‘ blade of grass, when it is not given, and if he takes a sandal, or anything of the same value, or above that value, he ceases to be a son of Sákya, as the withered branch, that is severed from the tree, ceases to put forth the tender bud or bear fruit

“ The priest is not allowed, knowingly, to deprive any animal, though it be even so insignificant as an ant, of life, and if he deprives any being of life, though it be no more than the causing of a miscarriage, he ceases to be a son of Sákya, as the mountain that has been severed in two, cannot again be united.

“ The priest (who is yet under the influence of the sensuous principle) is forbidden to make pretensions to the possession of the rahatship, and if any priest acts contrary to this precept, he ceases to be a son of Sákya, as the palm-tree cannot continue to grow, when deprived of the branches that form its head ”

The above rules are literally translated from the Kammawáchan. Relative to the taking of life, we have further information, from other sources. In the time of Gótama, there was a priest, who was under the influence of passion, and as he was unable to subdue it, he thought it would be better to die than to continue under restraint. In consequence, he threw himself from a precipice, near the rock Gijakúta, but it so hap-

pened, that as he came down, he fell upon a man, who had come to the forest to cut bambus, whom he killed, though he did not succeed in taking his own life. From having taken the life of another, he supposed that he had become *pārāṇhika*, or excluded from the priesthood, but when he informed Budha of what had taken place, the sage declared that it was not so, as he had killed the man unintentionally, his intention being to take his own life, whilst the death of the woodman was an accident. A law was made, however, forbidding the priests to commit suicide. Several stories are repeated, in the Thibetan *Dul-vār*, of suicide or poisoning among the priests, or of causing themselves to be slain or deprived of life, out of despair, upon hearing of the various kinds of miseries or calamities of life. Budha, in consequence, forbade any one from discoursing on these miseries in such a manner as thereby to cause desperation. These circumstances will remind the classic reader of the story of Hegesias, whose gloomy descriptions of human misery were so overpowering, that they drove many persons to commit suicide, in consequence of which he received the surname of *Peisi-thanatos*.

In the city of Wésali, there was a priest, who, one day, on going with the alms-bowl, sat down upon a chair, that was covered with a cloth, by which he killed a child that was underneath. About the same time, there was a priest, who received food mixed with poison into his alms-bowl, which he gave to another priest, not knowing that it was poisoned, and the priest died. Both of these priests went to Budha, and, in much sorrow, informed him of what had taken place. The sage declared, after hearing their story, that the priest, who gave the poisoned food, though it caused the death of another priest, was innocent, because he had done it unwittingly, but that the priest, who sat upon the chair, though it caused only the death of a child, was excluded from the priesthood, as he had not taken the proper precaution to look under the cloth, and had sat down without being invited by the householder.

XVII *The Order of Nuns* — An order of female recluses was instituted by Gótama, but the severe restrictions under which they were placed, are proofs of the low opinion he entertained of that division of the human species, which Christianity raises into the "better sex." "That, which is named woman," said Budha, with unwonted severity, "is sin," i. e., "she is not 'vicious, but vice.'" Other insults did he heap upon woman, which we shall not repeat. The female recluses carried the alms-bowl from door to door, in the same manner as the priests, and are represented as being present, upon some occasions, at

the chapters of the priests. They formed a chapter of their own, where females were admitted to the order. The convents were, in some instances, contiguous to the Vihara, but the intercourse between members of the two orders was guarded by many restrictions. To violate a priestess involved expulsion from the priesthood, without the possibility of restoration.

In Ceylon, there are at present no female recluses. They exist in Burmah, but in far less numbers than the priests. They forsake the sisterhood, when they can secure husbands. The profession is looked upon as only a more respectable mode of begging. They are not numerous in Siam. In Arrakan they are equal in number to the priests. Their dress is white, and their heads are shaven. The Chinese nuns are said to be of coarse manners and unprepossessing appearance.

XVIII *The Sacred Books* — The Budhas, the sacred books, and the associated priesthood, are regarded as the three most precious gems of the universe. The second of these inestimable treasures is called in Pali, Dharma, which Mr Hardy translates the Truth, under the supposition that the Law, its usual rendering, "gives an idea, contrary to the entire genius of Buddhism." In common conversation, it is called the Bana, or wood. The different portions of the Dharma, when collected together, were divided into two principal classes, called Suttani and Abhidharmāni. These two classes are again divided into three collections, called respectively — 1 Winaya, or discipline. 2 Sūtra, or discourses. 3 Abhidharma, or pre-eminent truths. The three collections are called in Pali Pitakat-tayan, from pitakan, a chest, or basket, and tayo, three. A glossary and a commentary on the whole of the Pitakas were written by Budha-gósha, about the year A. D. 420. It is not unfrequently said, but not with much precision, that the Winaya was addressed to the priest, the Sūtra division to the laity, and the Abhidharma to the Dévas and Brahmas of the celestial worlds. The Winaya Pitaka is divided into five books (the names of which are given), and contains 42,250 gathás, or granthas, whilst the commentary contains 27,000. The Sūtra Pitaka, divided into seven sections, contains 142,250, and the commentary 254,250. The Abhidharma Pitaka contains 96,250, and the commentary 30,000. Thus, according to the native authorities, the discourses of Budha contain 84,000 khandas, 737,000 gathás (including the commentaries), and 29,368,000 separate letters. The information upon these subjects is taken from Turnour's *Mahawansa*, Turnour's *Pali Buddhistical Annals*, the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, July, 1837, Gogerly's *Essay on Buddhism*, *Journal of the Ceylon*

Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol I, and from the Singhalese Sadharmālakāra

The system that bears the name of Gótama was not committed to writing during the life-time of the sage. It is said that his discourses were preserved in the memory of his followers, during the space of 450 years, after which they were reduced to writing in the island of Ceylon. For the establishment of the text of the Pitakas, three several convocations were held. The first was at Rajagaha, sixty-one days after the death of Gótama, the second was at Wésālī, B C 443, and the third was at Pāṭaliputra, B C 308. Of each of these convocations, the history is given, taken from Singhalese authorities, "The whole of the text of the Pitakas was rehearsed, every syllable being repeated with the utmost precision, and an authentic version established, though not committed to writing. As the whole of the persons, who composed these assemblies, were rahats, and had, therefore, attained to a state in which it was not possible for them to err on any matter connected with religion, all that they declared was the truth, every doctrine was correctly delivered, and, in the repetition of the words of Budha, and of the other interlocutors, the *ipsissima verba* were faithfully declared. The rahats did not possess inspiration, if we consider this power to mean a supernatural assistance imparted *ab extra*, but they had, within themselves, the possession of a power, by which all objective truths could be presented to their intellectual vision. They therefore partook of what, in other systems, would be regarded as divinity." At the second and third convocations, the text was repeated without any alteration, except that an account of the previous convocations was added. It was further preserved, in a similar manner, *i e*, *memoriter*, from the reign of Asōka to that of Wattagamani, who was king of Ceylon, from B C 104 to B C 76. It was then, according to the Mahawansa, Chapter XXX., first committed to writing — "The profoundly wise priests had, therefore, orally perpetuated the text of the Pitakattayan and the Atthakathā commentary. At this period, these priests, foreseeing the perdition of the people (from the perversions of the true doctrines) assembled, and, in order that religion might endure for ages, recorded the same in books." It is said that when Mahendra, son of the monarch Asōka, introduced the religion of Budha into Ceylon, he carried thither, in his memory, the whole of the commentaries, and translated them into Singhalese. By Budha-gōsha, about A. D 420, they were again translated from Singhalese into Pālī, and it is this version that is now in existence, the original Pālī version

and the Singhalese version having alike perished. It is said in the *Mahawansa*, Chapter XXXVII, that "all the Th'éros and Acháryas held this compilation in the same estimation as the original text." Until recently, this was also acknowledged by the priests of Ceylon, but when the manifest errors, with which the commentaries abound, were brought to their notice, they retreated from this position, and now assert, that it is only the express words of Budha, which they receive as undoubted truth.

The high state of cultivation to which the Pali, the Vernacular language of Magadha in the time of Gótama, was carried, may be inferred from the fact, that a list of works in the possession of the Singhalese, formed by our author during his residence in Ceylon, includes thirty-five works on Pali Grammar, some of them being of considerable extent. The oldest of the grammars referred to in these works is by Kachchayana, but the original is not now extant in Ceylon. It contains the well-known stanza—"There is a language which is the root (of all languages,) men and Brahmas, at the commencement of the kalpa, who never before heard or uttered a human accent, and even the supreme Budhas spoke it—it is Mágadhi." The Singhalese suppose that it is also the language of the Déva and Brahma lókas. They have a story, in proof of its authority, similar to that which is related of the Egyptian Psammetchus.

XIX. *Modes of Worship, Ceremonies, and Festivals*—The Budhists of the present age are invariably image-worshippers, but it is not known, at what period they adopted this custom. The Singhalese have a legend, that, in the lifetime of Gótama, an image of the sage was made, by order of the King Kósala, and the Chinese have a similar story, but it is rejected by the more intelligent of the priests. The limits of the Vihára are to be defined by a chapter, the form to be used on the occasion, appearing in the Khammawáchan. It is not a consecration, but a segregation, or appointment of boundaries. Attached to one of the Viháras, in Kandy, near the burial-place of the kings, there is an area, which was regarded as a sanctuary under the native Government. In the court-yard of nearly every temple in Ceylon, there is a bó-tree, supposed to have sprung from the tree under which Gotáma attained the Budhaship. The authority to worship this tree is derived from the following occurrence—"At the time when the usual residence of Gotáma was near the city of Sewet, the people brought flowers and perfumes, to present to him as offerings, but as he was absent, they threw them down near the wall of the Vihára, and went away. When Anápidu and

‘ the other lay devotees saw what had occurred, they were grieved, and wished that some permanent object of worship were appointed, at which they might present their offerings, during the absence of the sage. As the same disappointment occurred several times, they made known their wishes to Ananda, who informed Budha on his return. In consequence of this intimation, Budha said to Ananda. — ‘ The objects that are proper to worship, are of three kinds, *seririka*, *uddésika*, and *paribhógika*. In the last division, is the tree under which I became Budha. Therefore, send to obtain a branch of that tree, and set it on the court of this *Vihára*. He who worships it, will receive the same reward as if he worshipped me in person.’ When a place had been prepared by the king for its reception, *Mugalan* went through the air, to the spot in the forest, where the bo-tree stood, and brought away a fruit that had begun to germinate, which he delivered to Ananda, from whom it passed to the king, and from the king to *Anápídu*, who received it in a golden vessel. No sooner was it placed in the spot it was intended to occupy in the court, than it at once began to grow, and as the people looked on in wonder, it became a tree, large as a tree of the forest, being 50 cubits high, with five branches extending in the five directions, each 50 cubits in length. The people presented to it many costly offerings, and built a wall around it of the seven gems.” By this legend, the arborolatriy of the Budhists is carried back to the origin of their system. The vastness of the ruins now seen at Budha Gaya, is evidence that the original bó-tree must have been visited by great numbers, and have been regarded with peculiar veneration.

The *dágobas*, under which relics of the Budhas, or of their more celebrated disciples, have been placed, are found in all countries, where there are any traces of Buddhism. The most stupendous are those at *Anurádhapura*, in Ceylon. The *Abhayagiri dagoba* is now only 230 feet high, but at its erection it towered to the elevation of 450 feet, being about 50 feet less than the highest of the pyramids. The *Jaitawanaráma*, completed A. D 310, was originally 315 feet high, though now reduced to 269 feet. It has been calculated that the contents of this erection are 456,071 cubic yards, and that a brick wall, 12 feet high, 2 feet broad, and 97 miles long, might be built with the materials that yet remain. All the mounds in this neighbourhood have been built of brick, and covered over with a preparation of lime, cocoanut-water, and the juice of the *paragaha*. This composition is of so pure a white, and can be so highly polished, that when perfect, the structures are

said to have resembled "a crystal dome or a half-melted iceberg" The circum-ambulation of the dagoba is regarded as a work of great merit, and any mark of disrespect to it, is a grave crime. After the cremation of Gotâma's body, his remains were collected, and worshipped by his followers with tokens of the most profound respect The most celebrated relic now in existence is the Dalada, or left canine tooth of the sage. The sanctuary of this treasure is a small upper chamber in the Vihara, attached to the palace of the former kings of Kandy, where it is deposited in a costly shrine, composed of six cases, the outermost of which, upwards of 5 feet high, is formed of silver, on the model of a dagoba.

Another form of relic-worship is seen in the respect paid to the impressions of Gotâma's foot, called *Srî srî-pada*. One of these impressions was left by him on the summit of the mountain, called Adam's Peak by Europeans—7,420 feet above the level of the sea. The soles of his feet are represented as being divided into 100 compartments, each of which contained within it some emblem or figure

If Gotâma has passed away from existence, it appears singular that he should be worshipped at all, as he can now render no manner of aid whatever to his most devoted followers Is he not unconscious? How, then, can he bless? The argument is illustrated by the Budhists from a great number of comparisons but the following extracts from a long conversation between the priest Nâgaséna and Milinda, king of Sâgal, will suffice for our present purpose Nâgaséna "Does the earth say (when its vegetable productions appear), Let such and such trees grow upon my surface?" Milinda "No" Nâgaséna "Then how is it that flowers, and buds, and shrubs, and trees, and creepers, passing from one to the other, are produced?" Milinda "The earth, though itself unconscious, is the cause of their production" Nâgaséna. "Even so, Budha, though now unconscious, is nevertheless the source of comfort, to those who seek his protection" Nâgaséna "Did you never hear of the Yaka Nandaka, who struck the head of the priest Serizut with his hand, and the earth clove, and he went down to hell? Was this cleaving of the earth brought about by the will and appointment of Serizut?" Milinda "No, this could not be the world 'and all the beings, that inhabit it, might pass away, the sun 'and moon might fall to the earth, and Maha Méru be destroyed, but Serizut could not wish the endurance of sorrow by any 'being whatever, the rising of anger would be at once over-'come by the virtue he possessed as a rahat, he could not be in-

'censed even against his murderer It was by the power of his own demerit that Nandaka was sent to hell" Nāgaséna "It was even so But if this demerit, though itself unconscious, could cause the yaká to be taken to hell, so may merit, though also unconscious, cause those, who possess it, to be taken to a Déva-lóka, and receive happiness" Thus, as the worshipping of Budha is a merit, and all merit is followed by an adequate reward naturally from its own innate power, though there be no conscious entity to appoint it, so will the man, who worships Budha, receive a reward for his act, though Budha is unconscious of its performance

The principal festivals of the Buddhists are at the reading of the "bana," during the three months of the rainy reason, when the priests are permitted by their founder to live in a fixed habitation This period is called *wass* The place of reading is a temporary erection, usually seen near a Vihára In the centre, there is an elevation for the convenience of the priests, around which the people sit upon the ground These erections present, upon some occasions, an imposing appearance, and the crowds that assemble, all in the gayest attire, behave with much propriety, but they can derive no moral benefit from the ceremony, as it is conducted in a language they do not understand. The platform is occupied by several priests at the same time, one of whom reads a portion of the sacred books, in a kind of recitative, between singing and reading Upon some of the festivals, one priest reads from the original Pali, and another interprets in the Vernacular Singhalese, but this method is not very frequently adopted Whenever the name of Budha is repeated by the officiating priest, the people call out simultaneously, "Sadhu!" which gives them a participation in the proceedings, and prevents them from going to sleep

The *bana* is usually read on the days called *poho*, when there is a change of the moon Upon these days, it is not proper for the upásakas, or lay disciples, to do any manner of work, they are not "to trade, or calculate the profits of trade" Their food is to be prepared on the preceding day, and they are to spend their leisure moments in reflecting on "the impermanency, sorrow, and unreality connected with all things"

There is a ceremony called Páritta, or Pirit, which consists in reading certain extracts from the "bana," intended as a protection from the malice of the yakás These discourses have been translated by that distinguished Pali scholar, the Rev D J Gogerly, and appeared in the *Ceylon Friend*, April, 1839 The ceremony continues during seven days—a preparatory ceremony being held on the evening of the first day From the com-

mencement of the service on the morning of the second day, until its conclusion on the evening of the seventh day, the reading platform is never to be vacated, day or night. Not fewer than twelve, and in general twenty-four, priests are in attendance, two of whom are constantly reading. When the courses are relieved, one priest continues to read, whilst the other resigns his seat to his successor, so that the sound of the "bana" never ceases. All the priests engaged in the ceremony are collected, three times in each day, at sunrise, mid-day, and at sunset, when they chaunt in chorus the three principal portions of the Pirit.

In some parts of Ceylon, the priests are partially supplanted by the upasakas, who go about from house to house, after the manner of the Scripture-readers in Europe, and read works on religion that are written in the Vernacular Singhalese. The same custom prevails in other countries, where this system is professed, and is attended with important results.

XX. *Meditation.*—In this and the following chapter, we are introduced to some of the extravagancies of thought and action, that are peculiar to the inhabitants of India, that other nations have striven in vain to imitate, and that present to the moralist a field of almost limitless investigation. There are said to be five principal modes of meditation—1 *Maitú* 2 *Mudita* 3 *Kāaruna*. 4 *Asubha*. The account given of the last will be the most suited to our limits, and, from its description, an idea may be formed of the character of the rest.

"The principal meaning of the word 'asubha' is inauspicious—that which is the opposite of good fortune, and so, that which produces dissatisfaction, aversion, and disgust. In this exercise, the priest must reflect that the body is composed of thirty-two impurities, that as the worm is bred in the dunghill, so it is conceived in the womb, that it is the receptacle of filth, like a privy, that disgusting secretions are continually proceeding from its nine apertures, and that, like the drain into which all kinds of refuse are thrown, it sends forth an offensive smell. This is *asubha bhāwanā*.

"The body exists only for a moment, it is no sooner born than it is destroyed, it is like the flash of the lightning as it passes through the air, like the foam, like a grain of salt thrown into water, or fire among dry straw, or a wave of the sea, or a flame trembling in the wind, or the dew upon the grass. He, who exercises meditation, must reflect upon these comparisons, and learn that thus impermanent is the body.

"By a continued repetition of birth and death, the sentient being is subject to constant suffering, he is thus, like a worm

‘ in a nest of ants , like a lizard in the hollow of a bambu, that
 ‘ is burning at both ends , like a living carcase, bereft of hands
 ‘ and feet, and thrown upon the sand , and like an infant that,
 ‘ because it cannot be brought forth, is cut from the womb piece-
 ‘ meal He, who exercises this mode of meditation, must think
 ‘ of these comparisons, and of others that are similar, and remem-
 ‘ ber that their application is universal These are the signs
 ‘ connected with *dukkha*, sorrow, or suffering

“ The body is unreal, even as the mirage that appears in the
 ‘ sunshine, or a painted picture, or a mere machine, or food seen
 ‘ in a dream, or lightning dancing in the sky, or the course of an
 ‘ arrow shot from a bow He, who exercises meditation, must
 ‘ think on these comparisons, that, in like manner, the body is
 ‘ unreal ‘ *anata* ’

“ These three reflections on the impermanency, suffering, and
 ‘ unreality of the body, are as the gates leading to the city of
 ‘ *nirwāna*

“ The ascetic, who would practise this mode of meditation,
 ‘ must apply to some one who is able to instruct him, who must
 ‘ take him to a cemetery, and point out to him the offensive parts
 ‘ of a dead body , but, if he hear that there is a body in the
 ‘ forest, he must not go there, as he may be in danger of the wild
 ‘ beasts that are attracted to the same spot , nor must he go to
 ‘ any place that is very public, as in such a spot his mind would
 ‘ be distracted by the various scenes he would witness, and he
 ‘ would meet with women A man must not meditate on the
 ‘ body of a woman, nor a woman on the body of a man. When
 ‘ about to leave the *Vihāra*, he must inform the superior priest
 ‘ of his intention, as in the place where the body is deposited there
 ‘ will be noises from *yakás* and wild beasts, and he may become
 ‘ so much afraid as to be sick The superior priest will see that
 ‘ his alms-bowl and other requisites are taken care of during his
 ‘ absence And there is another reason why he should give no-
 ‘ tice of this intention The cemetery is a place resorted to by
 ‘ robbers , and, when they are chased, they might throw down
 ‘ their booty near the place where the priest was meditating ,
 ‘ and when the people come in pursuit, and see the articles near
 ‘ him, they might accuse him of the theft , thus he might be
 ‘ exposed to much trouble But if the superior priest could
 ‘ affirm that he went to meditate, he would be freed from sus-
 ‘ picion at once He must go to the place of meditation with
 ‘ joy , as the king goes to the hall where he is to be anointed, or
 ‘ the Brahman to the *yāga* sacrifice, or a poor man to the place
 ‘ where there is hidden treasure He may take with him a staff,

‘ to drive away dogs and wild beasts. In the exercise, he must
 ‘ turn his eyes and ears inward, and must not allow them to
 ‘ wander after any thing that is without, save that he must re-
 ‘ member the direction in which he came. In approaching the
 ‘ body, he must not come from the leeward, or he may be over-
 ‘ powered by the smell, and his mind will become confused. But
 ‘ if there be in the other direction any rock, fence, water, or other
 ‘ hindrance, he may approach the body from the leeward, pro-
 ‘ vided he cover his nostrils with the corner of his robe. In
 ‘ fixing his eyes on the body, he must look athwart the course of
 ‘ the wind, he must not stand near the head or feet, but opposite
 ‘ the abdomen, not too near, or he may be afraid, nor too far
 ‘ off, or the offensive properties will not rightly appear. He
 ‘ must meditate on the colour of the body, its sex, age, and
 ‘ different members, joints, and properties—that this is the head,
 ‘ this the abdomen, and that these are the feet, and he must
 ‘ pass in order to the different parts of the body, from the foot
 ‘ to the head. Thus, in relation to the hair of the head, the
 ‘ following reflections must be made — ‘ It is different to all
 ‘ other parts of the body, even to the hair that grows in other
 ‘ places, it is in every respect impure, when not regularly clean-
 ‘ ed, it becomes offensive, and, when thrown into the fire, it sends
 ‘ forth a disagreeable smell.’ Fixing his eyes on the body, he
 ‘ must think a hundred and a thousand times on its offensiveness,
 ‘ that it is like a bag filled with wind, a mass of impurity, and
 ‘ that none of its excretions can be taken in the hand. And at
 ‘ times he must shut his eyes, and think inwardly and intensely
 ‘ upon the same subjects. All dead bodies are alike, the body
 ‘ of the king cannot be distinguished from that of the outcaste,
 ‘ nor the body of the outcaste from that of the king.”

The course of discipline, upon which the sramana is invited to enter, is most painful, but its results are a commensurate advantage. “Whoever considers these things,” says Gótama, “will be convinced that in the body there is nothing but decay and misery, and therefore he will cast off all affection for it, and turn all his desires to *nirvāna*, when these things do not exist.”

XXI *Ascetic Rites and Supernatural Powers* — It is believed by the Budhists, that it is possible, by the performance of certain ceremonies, and the observance of a prescribed course of moral action, to arrive at the possession of supernatural powers. The circumstances, in which the recluse of India is placed, are eminently fitted to prepare him for an unwonted extravagance of pretension, and as we glance at the record of his deeds, we

seem to be perusing the history of some aerial being, or of the inhabitant of some other world, rather than that of one, who is of the earth, and mortal.

One of the principal of these rites is called *Kasina*. Its moral intention appears to be, by fixing the mind intensely upon some serious object, to free it from agitation, and bring it to the imperturbable calm, that is regarded as the highest state to which any intelligence whatever can aspire. Its mode of action is thus illustrated. When a bullock, unaccustomed to the yoke, is fastened to a waggon, it runs hither and thither, in any direction, whether there be a road or not. The husbandman, therefore, takes a grown-up calf from its mother, and fastens it to a pillar, and, though at first it attempts to get away and is restless, it is not able, it is made to eat and sleep near the pillar, until its wildness is overcome, and in this manner it is, by degrees, rendered docile. So also, the mind of the priest, who does not exercise the various ordinances of meditation, wanders after that which he sees, and is never at rest, but when he fastens his mind to the prescribed objects by the cord of wisdom, it is restrained, and is no longer attracted by sensuous appearance.

There are ten descriptions of *Kasina*, or ten prescribed objects, to which the mind may direct itself for the production of tranquillity. 1 *Pathawi*, earth. 2 *Apo*, water. 3 *Tégo*, fire. 4 *Váyo*, wind. 5 *Níla*, blue. 6 *Píta*, golden. 7 *Lóhita*, blood-red. 8 *Odáta*, white. 9 *Ahóka*, white. 10 *Akása*, space. Of each of these *Kasinas*, we have a full description. The priest, who exercises the first, must make a frame of four sticks, which may be set up in such a way as to be easily removable to another place, or it may be fixed in the ground. Upon the top, a piece of skin, or cloth, or matting, must be extended, upon which earth must be spread, free from grass, roots, sand, and pebbles, and it must be well tempered, and made very smooth. After being gradually kneaded and worked, until it is of the proper consistency, it must be formed into a circle one span and four inches in diameter. If the frame be fixed in the ground, it must be narrow at the bottom and broad at the top, like the flower of the lotus. The circle of earth is to be to him as a sign upon which he is to fix his attention, like a man looking at himself in a mirror. In some circumstances, the circular threshing-floor in a field may be used as the sign, and, if the priest has been accustomed to exercise *Kasina* in former births, the sign may be dispensed with altogether. When a sign is used, it is necessary, that it have a limit. When the frame has been properly prepared, the priest must take

water that falls from a rock, and therewith render the circular limit of earth perfectly smooth and even, like the head of a drum. Then, having bathed, he must sweep the place where the frame is erected, and place a seat, without any irregularities on its surface, one span and four inches high at the distance of two cubits and one span from the frame. Remaining upon this seat, he must look at the circle, and exercise meditation. If the seat be further distant than the prescribed space, he will not be able to see the circle properly, and, if nearer, its imperfections will be too apparent. If it be higher, he will have to bend his neck to see this circle, if lower, his knees will be pained. Thus seated, he must reflect on the evils connected with a repetition of existence, and on the manner in which it is to be overcome. By this method he will arrive at the possession of *ñimutta*, or interior illumination, which will prepare him for the exercise of *dhyāna*, and initiate him into the deeper mysteries of the system.

The acquisition of supernatural energy is the result of these performances and it is varied in its character and degree by the particular method pursued by the ascetic. "By the practice of *pathawi-kasina*, the priest will receive the power to multiply himself many times over, to pass through the air or walk on the water, and to cause an earth to be made, on which he can walk, stand, sit, or lie. By *āpo-kasina*, he can cause the earth to float, create rain, rivers, and seas, shake the earth and the rocks and the dwellers thereon, and cause water to proceed from all parts of the body. By *tijo-kasina*, he can cause smoke to come from all parts of the body, and fire to come down from the sky like rain, by the glory, which comes from his person, he can overcome that which comes from the person of another, he can dispel darkness, collect cotton or fuel, or other combustibles, and cause them to burn at will, cause a light, which will give the power to see in any place as with divine eyes, and, when at the point of death, he can cause his body to be spontaneously burnt. By *vāyo-kasina* he can move as swiftly as the wind, cause a wind to rise whenever he wishes, and can cause any substance to move from one place to another, without the intervention of a second person. By the other *kasinas*, respectively, the priest, who practises them in a proper manner, can cause figures to appear of different colours, change any substance whatever into gold, or cause it to be of a blood-red colour, or to shine so with a bright light, change that which is evil into that which is good, cause things to appear that are lost or hidden, see into the midst of rocks and the earth, and penetrate into

‘ them , pass through walls and solid substances, and drive
‘ away evil desire.”

There is another power, called *puti-udwega*, which enables its possessor to rise into the air, and pass through it to any distance , and yet another, called *sacha-kurza*, which acts as a powerful charm By the aid of the last-mentioned energy, the courtesan, Bindumati, was enabled to cause the waters of the Ganges to flow back towards their source

XXII. *Nirwána its Paths and Tuton* —By nirwána, some persons understand annihilation , others, a celestial tranquillity , but by our author, it is called, “the cessation of existence” The passages from native authors, which he has translated, presenting the arguments through which he was led to form this conclusion, are of deep interest, but would require a dissertation, devoted to this subject alone, to make them understood by those who are strangers to Buddhistical ontology According to this system, if Mr Hardy’s conclusions be correct, “all sentient beings are called upon to regard the cessation of existence as the only means, by which they can obtain a release from the evils of existence This can only be accomplished by cutting off the moral cause of its continuance, viz , the cleaving to existing objects. This sensuous adherence may be got rid of by obtaining freedom from the efficient cause of its continuance, which is *harma*, or the united power of *kusala*, merit, *akusala*, demerit, and *avyakratya*, that which is neither one nor the other In order that this may be obtained, there must be an entrance into one of the paths leading to nirwána” In the sequence of existences propounded by Gótama, the two causes we have named, are not coeval, but consecutive, as in a chain composed of many links The entire chain, one link naturally and necessarily producing the sequent link, is as follows —ignorance, merit and demerit, the conscious faculty, the sensitive power, the perceptive powers, the reasoning powers, the body, the six organs of sense, contact, or the action of the organs, sensation, the desire of enjoyment, attachment, existence, birth, decay, sorrow in all its forms, and death (See Gogerly’s Essay on Buddhism, Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1 15) Thus, the process is rather like the undulations of a wave, one producing the other, and flowing into it, than the independent links of a chain

The first of the four paths leading to nirwána is called *sowán* After it has been entered, there can be only seven more births between that period and the attainment of nirwána, which may be in any world but the four *narakas*. The second is called *sakradagàmi*, because he, who enters it, will

receive one more birth. He may enter this path in the world of men, and afterwards be born in a Déva-lóka, or he may enter it in a Déva-lóka, and afterwards be born in the world of men. The third, *anàgami*, is so called, because he, who enters it, will not again be born in a sensuous world. He may, by the apparitional birth, enter a Brahma-lóka, and from that world attain nirwána. The remaining path, *arya*, that of the rahat, is so called, because he, who enters it, has overcome, or destroyed, as an enemy, all cleaving to sensuous objects. The rahat, at his death, invariably attains nirwána. When the fruit-tree is cut down, the latest fruit that is in it, which has not yet appeared, but which would appear in due time if the tree were permitted to grow, is destroyed. In like manner, by an entrance into the fourth path, the principle is destroyed that would otherwise have remained, and brought forth the fruit of successive existence.

Nirwána is said to be "the destruction of all the elements of existence." It is the end of sangsára, or successive existences—that which, in other systems, would be called transmigration, but of transmigration in the strict sense of the terms, Budhism knows nothing. It is an arriving at the opposite shore of existence—its completion. In answer to a question put to him by Milinda, Nágaséna said, "When the most meritorious Budha has attained nirwána, then there is no repetition of birth, we cannot say that he is here, or that he is there. When a fire is put out, or a lamp is extinguished, can it be said of the heat or the light, that it is here, or that it is there? Even so, our Bhagawat has attained nirwana."

XXIII. The Modern Priesthood—As the priests procure their food by taking round the alms-bowl, they are as regularly seen every morning in the street of the villages and towns, where Budhism is professed, as the postman or coster-monger is at the door of the dwellers in Britain. They usually walk along the road, at a measured pace, apparently unconscious of the scenes, that are passing around. They have no covering for their shaven heads, however fierce may be the sunbeams, and are generally bare-footed. They carry a fan in the right hand, with which they cover the face, when in the presence of any object it is improper for them to look upon. The alms-bowl is slung from the neck, and, except when held out for the reception of the alms that are presented, it is covered by the robe. The priest is easily distinguished from all other persons by his bare head and yellow garment.

The priests of Ceylon do not refuse to hold intercourse with Europeans. Our author was frequently visited by them

at his own house, especially by one old man, who had travelled through Bengal, Burmah and Siam, and prided himself upon being able to make Calomel much better than the European doctors, as his preparation did not cause the falling out of the teeth, soreness of the mouth, or salivation. He learnt the secret from an ancient sage, whom he met with, under circumstances, of much mystery, in one of the forests of India. Mr Hardy informs us that, when travelling through unfrequented parts of Ceylon, he was accustomed to take up his abode at the priest's *pansal*, and was seldom refused a night's lodging, or a temporary shelter during the heat of the day. The priest would bring out the alms-bowl, when they saw that he was hungry, and, stirring about the contents with the bare hand, exhibit them before him, that he might be tempted to partake of them, or they would bring tobacco, or some other luxury, to express their satisfaction at his visit. All that he had with him, was a wonder to them, from the mechanism of his watch to the material of his hat. The paper, upon which the Scriptures or Tracts he gave them was printed, was supposed to be the leaf of some English tree.

The priests of Budha manifest little hostility to the other religions that are professed around them. They cannot, consistently with the tenets they profess to venerate, be persecutors. At the commencement of the Wesleyan Mission, the priest of a certain village requested the use of the school-houses in which to read "bana," and could scarcely be brought to understand the motives, upon which it was refused.

There is a school attached to each of the *pansals*, and in all Budhistical countries, the ability to read is general among the more respectable members of the male population. There is a regular course through which the student has to pass, before his education is regarded as complete, but the teachings of the sramana, though his appliances are vast, are not calculated either to expand the intellect or purify the heart. The attendance of the children must be a great relief to the monotony of the priest's life, they tell him the news of the day, are a link between his seclusion and the world without, and assist him in such little offices, as lighting his fire, bringing water from the well, running to the jungle to find some herb to make his potage more savoury, &c.

The interests of literature among the yellow-robed clergy appear to be at a low mark. No new books are written, no auditions are made to the *pansal* library. The study of Pali is almost entirely neglected, and many of the priests are unable

to read at all. There is a general inertness as to the present, and a tone of despondency, when referring to the future

"In no part of the island that I have visited," says the author of *Eastern Monachism*, "do the priests, as a body, appear to be respected by the people, though there are individual exceptions, in which a priest is popular, either from his learning, his skill in medicine, the sweetness of his voice, or his attention to the duties of his profession. I feel unwilling to make any positive statement as to their conduct, as it was generally described to me by interested persons. It may be inferred, in some measure, from their position as constrained celibates, in a country where the people pay little regard to the most sacred bonds. But when I have heard them spoken against, it has been rather on account of their rapacity than their licentiousness."

The permission to take off the robe, and marry for a limited period is a strange custom, though not without a parallel among the monks of Christendom. (See Pascal's *Provincial Letters*, *letter vi*.) It has a tendency to preserve the official character of the priesthood, but lays open the system itself to severe animadversion. In many places, the people stand in awe of the priests, as they suppose that they have the power to inflict various calamities upon the subjects of their wrath. This fear is not, however, of universal prevalence. In 1839, some females went with brooms in their hands to the *pansal* at Raddalowa, near Negombo, and requested the priest to leave the place immediately, threatening, in case of his refusal, to use the brooms upon his back. The quarrel arose from an attempt of the priest to overcome the virtue of a young woman, who had brought some cakes as an offering to Budha. The indignation of the broom bearers triumphed, and the priest was obliged to leave the village.

At the conclusion of this chapter, we have a rapid sketch of some of the principal features of the system, more especially in reference to its practical results.

The titles of the two remaining chapters, entitled "The voice of the past," and "The prospects of the future," are an index to the matter they contain. We have a glance at the history of Monachism in all ages, with an account of the agreement or otherwise, that is presented between the principal elements of other systems, and the "bana" of Gótama Budha. There is an ancient prophecy, that, after the lapse of five thousand years from the period of their establishment, "all knowledge of the doctrine of the Budhas will have entirely disappeared from the earth," and "*Eastern Monachism*" appropriately closes with

a translation of the legend, in which this singular announcement is contained.

Having thus furnished our readers with an analysis of the leading contents of "Eastern Monachism," our principal task is ended. The work itself we most earnestly recommend to all our readers, who are interested in the welfare of the hundreds of millions, who acknowledge in some form or other the sovereign sway of Budha. It is a work of great research—abounding with original information—and, altogether, one of the most valuable contributions of our day to the cause of oriental religious literature. The title, "Oriental Monachism," is, perhaps, against it. It is apt to suggest to the minds of general readers, the case of the oriental churches, of which they may suppose they have already heard enough. "Budhism," or "the Budhist priesthood," would, probably, attract more attention—more especially at a time when the interest of the religious world is so greatly excited towards Hinduism, Budhism, and other forms of oriental faith. But our own readers will now learn what the real objects and characteristics of the work are, and they ought to lose no time in possessing themselves of so rich a treasure. One effect of an increased demand for the present work would be, that the able and learned author would, thereby, be encouraged to risk the publication of his other work on the system of Budhism, now ready for the press. The non-publication of such a work, by so competent an author, we should regard as a prodigious loss at once to oriental literature and to the cause of Christian philanthropy.

ART V—1 *Friend of India*, November 13, 1851

2 *Madras Athenæum*, 1851

SOME little controversy took place, a few months ago, between the *Madras Athenæum* and the *Friend of India*, respecting the dependent position occupied by the minor Presidential Governments of British India, and the effects of that dependence. The former journal asserted, that the three Governments of the North West Provinces, Madras and Bombay, were in subordination to that of Bengal, and that, as a consequence, the last two, at least, were crippled and impeded in their efforts at improvement. The latter paper, on the other hand, in the number which we have specified at the head of this article, denied that there was any such dependence at all on the Government of Bengal, and maintained that the power of control, vested in the Supreme Government of India, was "seldom, or never" exercised, and was no real cause of inaction in the rulers of the minor Presidencies. The question is one of no inconsiderable importance to the good government of those extensive portions of our Indian empire, which are placed under the minor Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, and we propose to state, in a few pages, our reasons for considering our Serampore contemporary to be in error respecting it, both in his facts and in his opinions.

We will first notice his assertion, that the Government of Bengal has no power in the affairs of the sister Presidencies—"has no more to do with the Government of Madras than it has 'with the Government of Ceylon'" This is true in the letter, and yet the *Athenæum* is quite correct in ascribing to "the 'Deputy-Governor of Bengal, or his Secretary, a veto on the 'propositions of Sir H. Pottinger'" The Charter Act of 1833 (Clause 39) constituted a Governor-General and Council for the Government of British India, and gave to that body (Clause 65) absolute power "in all cases whatsoever," over the presidential Governments. By the same Act, (Clause 56) the Governor-General for the time being is also Governor of Bengal, and a Council for Bengal is provided but, under the powers conferred on the Court of Directors by Clause 57, that Council has long been discontinued. It is also a part of the same enactment that the Governor-General, when he sees fit, may appoint a Deputy-Governor of Bengal, and also, that, whenever he deems it expedient that he should visit any part of India without his Council, the Governor-General in Council shall have power to appoint one of the Councillors to be President of the Council,

THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

ART I—*Kabikankan Chand*

2 *Annada Mangal and Bydya Sundar*

3 *Gangabhakti Tarangini*

4 *Panchak, Nos 1, 2, 3 and 4*

THOUGH the Bengali language has sprung from, and bears a close analogy to, the Sanskrit, it is, in several respects, better adapted than the original tongue, as a vehicle for the interchange of thought. Being of comparatively modern origin, it has not undergone any of those deteriorating changes, which have rendered the Sanskrit different from what it once was. With it the perverse ingenuity, which delights to invent difficulties where no difficulties exist, and to turn clearness itself into mystery, has not been at work. Neither has the jealousy of an ambitious priesthood endeavoured to counteract its diffusion. Spontaneous in its growth, it has branched out of the parent stock unrestrained and uncared for, possessing many of its beauties, and few of its imperfections. Of all the derivative languages of the East, it is, perhaps, the most simple in its structure, and lucid in its syntax. Its nomenclature, though not quite so full as that of the Sanskrit, is varied and precise. It is the spoken language of upwards of twenty-five millions of inhabitants, which is more than any thing that could have been said of the Sanskrit even in its most palmy days, the days of Kalidas and Bar-ruchi.

Of the merits and demerits of Sanskrit poetry, we have, on more than one occasion, spoken at large. We have endeavoured, with the help of Jones, Wilson, Schlegel, and other illustrious scholars, to give the reader some idea of those gigantic epics, the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*, and to acquaint him with the beauties of some of the ancient Indian dramas. The capture of Sita by the ten-headed Ravana, from the forest of her exile; the invincible prowess and miraculous feats of the son of the Wind, the lamentations of Rama in search of his beloved, the trial of Sita by the flames, the audience-hall of Durjodhan, the bridal of Rukmini, and the incidents previous thereto; the conflict between the Kurus and Pandavas, the virtue of Yu-

dhristur, the loyalty of Draupadi to her five lords, and the affecting story of Damayanti, the queen of Nishada, are subjects with which he is already familiar. Of the renowned king Dushmanta, and Sacantola, the nymph favored of the sylvan goddesses, of the loves of Malati and Madhava, of the famed princess, Ratnavali, and of the courtesan, Vasantesena, he has often heard. He is also aware of the sceneries, dresses, and decorations that were used on the Hindu stage, seventeen hundred years ago, and how that stage has gradually deteriorated. In the present notice, therefore, we shall have nothing to do with Sanskrit literature, or even with translations from the Sanskrit. The celebrated translations of Kasidas and Kirtivasa shall be passed over in silence. We shall confine our attention to *Bengali* poetry, and to the books placed at the top of this article.

But before we proceed with our task, we must premise that Bengali literature stands in exactly the same relation to Sanskrit, as Latin literature stands to Greek. As in Latin, many metres, the heroic, elegiac, and lyric, for example, are of Greek origin, so, in Bengali, the metres *payar* and *totak* are of Sanskrit origin. As the best Latin epic poems are faint echoes of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, so the best Bengali epic poems are faint echoes of the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*. As the best of Virgil's pastorals are imitations of Theocritus, so the best Bengali pastorals are imitations of Jaydeva. As Latin plays, the plays of Livius Andronicus and Ennius and Plautus, are bad copies of Greek dramas, so Bengali plays (which are not many) are bad imitations of Kalidas and other Sanskrit writers. Almost all the standard Latin works are fashioned after Greek models, and almost all the Bengali works are on Sanscrit models. If ever there is a Bengali philosopher, we have little doubt that he will borrow as much from the *Nyaya* and *Patanyah* schools, as Seneca borrowed from the Portico and the Academy.

By far the greatest portion of the rules of Bengali *versification* have not, however, been derived from the Sanskrit, but owe their birth to the talent and ingenuity of Bengali poets. The following metres, viz., the *ekabah*, the *mal jhamp*, the *malati*, the *chamar*, the *lahita jhamp*, the *laghu bhanga tripadi*, the *laghu tripadi*, the *dirgha bhanga tripadi*, the *dirgha tripadi*, the *laghu chatushpadi*, the *dirgha chatushpadi*, the *laghu lahita*, and the *dirgha lahita*, are of this class. Dr Yates thus explains them —

“The *ekabah* consists of eleven syllables to the line, and the last syllable of each first line rhymes with the last syllable of the succeeding one

“The *mal jhamp* consists of fourteen syllables in each line, the

‘ final syllable of the first line rhymes with the final of the second, and the final of the third with that of the fourth, besides which, the fourth, eighth and twelfth syllables of each distinct line rhyme

“ The *malati* consists of fifteen syllables to the line, with the last syllable of the first rhyming with the last of the second, &c

“ The *chamar* has the same number of syllables as the preceding, and the same rhymes in the lines, but which differs from it in the regularity of its long and short syllables. With some trifling exceptions, it consists entirely of trochees, i. e. a long and short syllable throughout.

“ The *lahita jhamp* has fifteen syllables to the line, and the finals of the lines rhyming as before, but besides this, it has the rhyme extended to the fourth, eighth, and twelfth syllables in each line

“ The *laghu bhanga tripadi* has sixteen syllables in the first line, and twenty in the second, which rhyme at the end. Also in the first line, the eighth, and sixteenth syllables rhyme, and in the second, the sixth, twelfth and eighteenth syllables.

“ The *laghu tripadi* has twenty syllables in each line. Besides the usual rhyme, at the end of each two lines, it has also a rhyme between the sixth and twelfth syllables in each line. The *dirgha bhanga tripadi* has twenty syllables in the first line, and twenty-six in the second. In this, beside the rhyme at the end of each two lines, there is also a rhyme between the tenth and twentieth syllables of the first line, and between the eighth and sixteenth of the second line

“ The *dirgha tripadi* has twenty-six syllables to each line, with the rhyme between the eighth and sixteenth of each line, and the final of every two lines.

“ The *laghu chatushpadi* consists of twenty-three syllables to the line, with the rhyme between the sixth, twelfth and eighteenth syllables of each line, and the final of every two lines.

“ The *dirgha chatushpadi* has thirty-one syllables in each line, with the rhyme at the eighth, sixteenth, and twenty-fourth syllables of each line, and the final of every two lines

“ The *laghu lahita* has twenty-four syllables in each line, with the rhyme at the sixth, twelfth and eighteenth syllables of each line, besides the final of every two lines.

“ The *dirgha lahita* has thirty-one syllables to the line, with the rhyme at the eighth and sixteenth syllables of each line, and at the end of every two lines.”

The oldest Bengali poem extant is the *Chandi* of Kabikankan. It is an epic celebration of the glory and power of *Chandi* or *Parvati*, and occupies the same place among Bengali epics

as Milton's *Comus* occupies among English dramas. It is decidedly pastoral. It commences with prayers to Ganesa, Sursutti, Lakshmi, Chytunno, and Rama. Then follows an account of the author, of which the reader shall have the substance. Kabikankan was the son of Damunya, who lived on the lands of a wealthy zemindar, close to the city of Simlabaz. The honest and sturdy farmer knew no grief, and died at a patriarchal age. Kabikankan succeeded to the paternal acres, but his life's course was far different. Then it was that Mushaud Sheriff was placed at the head of the Government of the three provinces, and tyrannized over certain landholders and their dependent ryots. Kabikankan was obliged to flee from the place of his birth, with his wife and children. Passing over many miles, he had to cross the River Damuda. While reposing on its banks, he dreamt a dream. He dreamt that the goddess, *Chandi*, girt with all her glory, had come to him, and commanded him to sing her praise. When he awoke, he determined to carry out the command, and proceeded on his journey. Several days elapsed before he reached Arora, the city of Brahmins. The king of this place received him with every mark of favour, and made him instructor to his only son, upon a liberal allowance. While "teaching the young idea how to shoot," Kabikankan wrote the *Chandi*.

The book consists of two stories, not very ingeniously constructed. The first story related briefly is as follows. The son of Indra had, time out of mind, been banished from heaven by the gods, and was born on earth of humble parents. His name was Kalketu. As Kalketu grew up, he became a mighty hunter, and betook himself to the woods with his wife, Phulura. One morning, as he was going to his daily labours, accoutred with a bow and arrow, he saw a lizard lying on his path. Angry with the animal, the sight of which is considered unpropitious to the success of an undertaking, he tied it up by the tail to the branch of a tree, determined to make a fare of it, if he should chance to meet no other game. When he returned, he took the lizard down, and carried it to his wife to be roasted, not having been able to kill even a heron or a rabbit. Phulura then went out to fetch fuel, and Kalketu departed to bathe in the neighbouring stream. On the good dame's return, she found that a maiden "beautiful exceedingly" was standing at the door of the hut. Supposing her to be a rival, she hastened to her husband, and accosted him with angry words. Kalketu said that he knew nothing of the matter, and arrived at his dwelling place, questioned the maiden as to who she was, threatening to slay her if her answer was not prompt. When, lo! the beautiful maiden

assumed the shape of Durga, as represented every year in Bengal. The hunter and his wife fell on their knees "Follow me," said the goddess to Kalketu, "I am come to do thee good." The command was obeyed. In a secret part of the wood, where feet of man had never before intruded, Kalketu found hordes of treasure. His divine guide melted into air, but through her favour, which, to him, was great from that time, he at length became king of Guzerat.

The second story relates to the adventures of a soudagur named Dhunputti, and of his son, Shrimant. Dhunputti had two wives, Luhuna and Khuluna, who were loving cousins before they became rivals. At the time of his departure for Sinhala (Ceylon,) from his native city, on urgent business, the young Khuluna was "as all women wish to be, who love their lords," and he therefore extracted a solemn promise from his other wife to take every care of her during his absence. The promise, however, was only lip-deep. For no sooner was Dhunputti gone, and the girl delivered of a son (Shrimant), than Luhuna practised every art to give her pain and sorrow. Her conduct was even more severe than that of the younger wife of Elkanah toward the mother of Samuel. She pretended that she had received a letter from her husband, to the effect, that Khuluna must be disgraced and degraded from the position which she then occupied. Khuluna was commanded to put off her *sauree* and *orna*, and to wear the robes of a menial. Nay, she was ordered to do something still more degrading. A flock of goats was placed in her care, and every evening she had to count and lock them up in the fold, and to lead them again to "fresh fields and pastures new" on the morrow morn. While engaged in her sylvan duty, one hot summer's day, on the banks of the River Ajuya, sleep had overcome her senses. Just at this time, *Hari* and *Parvati* were journeying through the air in a golden car, and pitying the poor soul's sorrows, determined to bring them to an end. When Khuluna woke, she found that one of the goats was missing. Apprehensive of the anger of the jealous Luhuna, she wept, and prayed for its recovery. *Parvati* or *Chandi* now appeared before her, and enjoined her to go back fearlessly to her home, as she would be persecuted no more. Khuluna obeyed the divine command, though doubtful of the treatment she should meet with. She was received by her rival with the utmost kindness.

We shall now accompany Dhunputti on his voyage to Sinhala. Many a barge "strong and trim" was fitted out for the expedition, and favoring winds wafted him to his goal. When

he visited the king of the place, he recounted to him a wonder which he had seen. Against the red of the distant horizon (such was the wonder), there often appeared a lotus-bush and a beautiful woman with a young elephant in her arms, striking terror into the hearts of all who saw her. On his narration being disbelieved, he said that he was ready to substantiate it to the king and his court, on pain of perpetual confinement. Again the barges were put to sea, crowded with men, women, and children, anxious to behold the sight. Nowhere, however, was it to be seen, and after many days of expectation, Dhunputti was thrown into prison. Years rolled away. A similar scene was once more acted in the court of Sinhala, but with a far more terrible and startling termination. Shrimant had come to Sinhala in search of his father, and had related the same story to the king, perilling his life to prove its truth. He failed in his undertaking, and, bound hand and foot, was immediately carried to the place of execution. Here, while the headsman was sharpening his axe, a woman, "with age grown double," made her appearance and demanded Shrimant as her only child. The guards laughed and insulted her, but she went not away. A moment after, another decrepid female came to them with the same request, and the next moment another, and another, till at last the whole yard was filled with crones, who began to dance hand in hand. While all wondered at the unexpected interruption, the whole company suddenly vanished, and *Chandi* descending from the skies with a sword of flame, commenced the work of destruction. Taking up Shrimant in her arms, she spared neither age nor sex. The very horses and elephants in the stalls were butchered, and one man only remained to carry the rueful intelligence to the king. Agitated and frightened in the extreme, the monarch hastened to the place of slaughter, and fell at the feet of the wrathful divinity, who consented to spare him on condition that Shrimant should be married to his only daughter, Shushilya, and be allowed to go back to the place of his birth with his father, who was still a prisoner. This was readily consented to, and every thing ended happily.

The following passage, literally translated from the *Chandi*, is in the original really admirable —

Spring accompanied by the god of Love, had now come to the earth, and the trees and creepers were loaded with flowers. On the bank of the River Ajaya, and under a fragrant and spreading *Asoka*, the young woman had fainted with the pangs of separation. As she cast her eyes on the new leaves and tendrils, she thought the bridal of the earth was nigh, for the robes which it wore were the robes of a bride. The bee sucking the honey from one flower hastened away to another, as a *Guru* hastens from the

hospitable home of one *shushya* to that of another The flowers were dropping to the ground, and with these Khuluna paid an offering to Cama. The kokila was cooing his love song, the breeze was blowing softly, and the *shari* and *shuke* were kissing each other with their bills Overcome with sadness at the sight, she thus addressed the latter in a tone of reproof—“*Shuke* thou art the cause of my lord's departure, at the king's command, has he gone to Sinbala to bring a golden cage for thee, hence all my pangs and sorrows My condition is quite forlorn, nor food, nor clothing have I Fly thou to him whom I love and acquaint him with all I suffer If thou neglectest my injunction, I shall learn the fowler's art and entrap thee, and so give pain to *shari*, the she bird” Both birds then winged away their flight A creeper twisted round the stem of a tree then met her eyes, and she ran to the place where it was Embracing the tender plant, she accosted it as sister, and as one most fortunate The peacock and peahen, dancing with joy she also saw, and was forcibly reminded of her own desolate state To the male and female bee, she said the following words with joined palms — ‘Hum no more, hum no more your song of pleasure, for my breast is startled at the sound You know not the pangs of separation O' male bee, if thou hast any regard, any love for your partner, cease thy song Alas 'thou mindst not my entreaties Settling on that pale Dhatura, thou singest again

Here is a description of the unsubstantial show or miracle which Shrimant beheld on the sea It is short, but characteristic of the author's mind and style of writing —

“Look! look! brothers,” said Shrimant to the rowers “at yon beautiful lotus bush, the flowers are of various colours—white, green, blue, red and yellow It must be the garden of some *Debta*, for the treasures of every season adorn it The snow white swan is passing a lotus from its own bill to that of its mate The many colored kingfisher is wheeling over the water for fishes The *chaoravusa* is screaming with joy, and as the thunder rumbles at a distance, the peacock and peahen display their gorgeous plumage And look! most wonderful of all is that beautiful woman (some goddess perhaps) holding a young elephant in her arms”

In concluding our notice of the *Chandr*, we have to observe that the copy before us is embellished with several wood-cuts, which do no credit to the artists

The works of Bharut Chunder, the *Annada Mangal* and *Bydya Sundar*, are familiar as household words to the people of Bengal. They are read with delight and admiration by every class of native society They while away the leisure hours of the Hindu lady of rank, as well as of the well-fed and wary *banya*, and materially lighten the labours of the *manji* at the helm. We ourselves have witnessed young Bengali women lounging about from room to room, with one or other of the books in their hands, and can well conceive how their minds are contaminated by the perusal There is nothing more grossly indecent in sense than certain chapters in the *Bydya Sundar*, made attractive to readers by the help of rhyme, rhythm, and diction Idolatry, the bane and curse of India, is inculcated in all imaginable shapes, by every one of the poets with whom

we have to deal. The call for a healthy, and, at the same time, popular, literature in Bengah, is really imperative, and we wish all success to those who are labouring to supply the want

The *Annada Mangal* is a collection of hymns to different gods, and a metrical narration of the principal incidents in the life of Shiva. Of the hymns, we shall faithfully render two into English prose, and these, we believe, will give the reader a pretty correct idea of the whole batch —

HYMN TO SHIVA

Sankara, the lord of Gowri, to thee, to thee, I bow Thy throne is an ox, and thy three eyes are the moon, the sun, and fire A necklace of human heads dangles from thy neck, a scull is in thy hands, and ashes are over thy body Ghosts and spirits accompany thee wherever thou goest Thy locks are long and matted, thy throat is blue, and red stripes beautify thy forehead Thou hast bangles of snakes, and clothings of snakes Thou art wrapt in meditation, but what thou art meditating, I know not None can say thy origin Those who repose under the shadow of thy feet are blessed with virtue and wealth in this world and with salvation in the next. Thou, that art the giver of wisdom and joy, remove my sorrows and crown my undertaking with success

HYMN TO VISHNU

Kesava, I bow to thee Thou art the eldest born of Time Thou hast four arms, and dost bestride that winged monster, Gurura Thy complexion is that of the clouds and a gem like a star illumines thy breast A garland of wild flowers encircles thy neck A conch, a *chakra*, a mace, and a lotus are in thy hands Thy garments are yellow, and thy feet are sandalled and jewelled Thy lips are redder than coral thy face is fairer than the moon The whole world is lighted by a reflexion of thy beauty In Heaven Indra and Varuna worship thee, and Nareda on his *vina* sings thy praise There, where the six seasons are all at once present, thou revelest in the moonlight or in a *cadamba* grove blowest thy musical shell Grant that my master's wishes be fulfilled

Of the metrical tale which follows, we shall merely remark that it is not unworthy of the author's great name, the best portions of it verge even on the sublime, a characteristic very rarely to be met with in Eastern writers.

The *Bydya Sundar* is the most popular and admired of all Bharut Chunder's productions, and but for the indelicacies which disfigure it at places, would, perhaps, have been justly so

The Venus and Adonis of the bard of Avon was not a greater favorite with the pensioners and court beauties of Queen Elizabeth than is the *Bydya Sundar* with the young ladies of Bengal

The best way to deal with the book, would, we think, be to give a few translated extracts, and an outline of the plot But first we shall recount the origin of the story, which, according to our author, was as follows. Pratap Aditya, Rajah of Bengal, had his seat of Government in the city of Jessore His

temper was haughty, and his passions knew no restraint. Having engaged in a feud with his cousin, Katchu Roy, for a supposed injury, he wreaked his vengeance on him by putting all his friends to the sword. Katchu Roy besought the help of the Emperor Jehangire, who, highly incensed at Pratap's tyrannical conduct, sent his General Maun Sing, with a round number of his soldiers, to bring the offender to his senses. While Maun Sing was marching through Burdwan, he beheld a number of builders and masons, working under-ground, near the palace of the Rajah of that place. They were stopping the breach, which *Sundar* had long ago effected to gain admittance into the apartments of *Bydya*. On enquiry they narrated to him the history of the lovers.

Bydya was the daughter of Bira Singha, and was famed, far and wide, for her beauty and accomplishments. While scarce a woman, she had mastered the difficulties of the Sanskrit language and philosophy, and had vowed a vow to give away her hand to any that excelled her in learning. Princes and potentates came to her from various parts of India, but invariably their mental acquirements fell far short of those of the young woman whom they came to woo, and they were sadly disappointed. Bira Singha had therefore great difficulty in finding a fitting bridegroom for his daughter.

While affairs were in this state, arrived at Burdwan a prince, named *Sundar*, after a toilsome journey of many days. His appearance was extremely prepossessing, and his mind highly cultivated. As his horse browsed at a little distance, and he himself was reflecting on the best means of bringing to a happy termination his mission of love, a party of women in Bira Singha's service passed to fetch water from the neighbouring stream, and were greatly struck with his beauty. None, except *Hira*, had, however, the effrontery to speak to him. *Hira*, the flower-dealer, naturally bold, questioned the youth as to his name and parentage, and invited him to partake of the comforts of her home. To this, *Sundar* gladly agreed. Being harboured with the flower-dealer, *Sundar* contrived various plans of winning the heart of the lovely *Bydya*. On one occasion he sent to her a flower effigy of Cupid. So artfully was this thing constructed, that the moment she saw it, she fell in love with the unknown author. An interview took place between the pair, in which *Bydya* was deeply smitten. Day and night she thought of none else but *Sundar*.

" Her lute strings gave an echo of his name

She spoilt her half done 'broidery with the same '

One night, as she was conversing with her women in her sleep-

ing apartments, Sundar suddenly made his appearance by the subterranean passage already alluded to, but none then knew how. Surprised and agitated at this unexpected meeting, the young woman asked the purpose of his visit, and being answered in a *sloke*, or couplet, of which she could not understand the meaning, she was obliged to confess her inferiority in learning. Sundar then claimed her as his bride. The nuptials were celebrated by the attendant women, and night after night did he pass in the company of his wife, without the knowledge either of the king or queen. But when Bydya was with child, the secret could no longer be kept from them. Both were now under the impression that the marriage ceremonies were not duly performed, and that Bydya had lost her honor. Guards were set about the house to apprehend the intruder, and when apprehended, he was immediately carried to the place of execution. But a voice from heaven spoke aloud that Sundar was no culprit. It was proved to Bura Singha's satisfaction, that he was the rightful lord of the matchless Bydya, and the lovers were once more happy.

The reader will perceive, that there is nothing either in the substance or arrangement of the above story, which an English author of the present day would be proud of. In it there is little of *passion*, and the denouement is not at all striking. The manner in which it has been worked out and embellished, however, is indeed worthy of admiration, and affords an incontestable proof of Bharut Chunder's thorough mastery over the language in which he wrote. Each page is more musical, and contains a greater number of beautiful similes than the one that precedes it, and the reader is often lost in a labyrinth of sweets. To those unable to read and understand the work in the original, we can merely give an idea, and a very imperfect idea, of its contents. In the extracts, which we shall now make, we shall endeavour to retain, so far as possible, the author's meaning. But to infuse the *harmony* and *spirit* of the original into the translation, is a task which we dare not undertake.

BYDYA

Beautiful was she, that maiden of fifteen summers. Her face was fairer than the moon of autumn, at its sight the lotus, instead of closing, expanded with joy. Dark were her eyes, and more transparent than those of the fleet gazelles. Her gait was firm and majestic. More music there was in her voice than sounds drawn from the *vina* of *Sursutti*. Her locks were black and curled. Her nails were red as rubies. Her eye-brows were the bows of *Cama*, and from underneath them shafts of light struck the gazer's heart. Pearls could not be compared to her well set teeth. The *amrita*, for which the *Debtas* and *Asurs* fought of old, was hid in her mouth. Her hands were slender and pliant. *Cadamba* blossoms could not vie with the softness of her bosom, neither could the golden *champac*

vie with her complexion As she moved, the clanking of her armlets and bangles taught the bees their musical hum In the deep shade of fragrant groves, she loved to loiter and meditate Her presence diffused light and life, and she charmed the hearts of all that came nigh to her

THE SUDDEN APPEARANCE OF SUNDAR IN BYDYA'S CHAMBER

Sundar decked himself to visit his lovely bride His dress set off his person to such advantage, that even the wife of Cama would have fallen in love with him had she seen him His heart palpitated with a mingled feeling of hope and fear, not knowing how he would be received, he often brought himself to a stand, and then walked on again

In the meanwhile Bydya was sorrowing and eagerly longing to see her heart's lord The chances of another interview, however, seemed to her to be so slight, that she had given up all hopes of it Said she to her favorite attendant, Shulachuna—"Say, sister, how shall we bring him, for I can no longer bear his absence, where shall I ease my heart, if not to you? The moon which was erst so fair seems now to rain poison from her sphere The water, scented with camphor is now nauseous and distasteful The flowers have lost their perfume The songs of my maidens are harsh and unharmonious The winds are no longer gentle but boisterous The voice of the *kukul*, and the hum of the bee, yield me no delight The ornaments that deck my body are like burning coals, and the blue cloths which I wear, sting me like serpents The bed on which I sleep is a perfect disgust to me The nights are long and dreary Say how shall I survive my pangs' Thus sorrowed Bydya At times she fell on the neck of one or other of her women, and at times on the marble pavement of the room Of a sudden Sundar made his appearance, the effect of his coming was, as if the moon had risen upon the earth The first feeling of Bydya, and her companions, at sight of Sundar, was that of fright, when they recovered from their surprise, Shulachuna, on being instructed by her mistress, thus spake to Sundar—"Harm us not stranger, for we are helpless women We know not who you are, but whether you are a *Gandarva*, *Naga*, *Yaksha*, or human being, reveal to us thy name, and purpose of thy visit Sundar answered—"Fear not, fair maidens, I am no spirit, but a man I am the son of Guna Sindhu, Rajah of Canchipur My name is Sundar Having heard of Bydya's vow, I have come hither to try my fortune Let her withdraw her veil for all her attempts to conceal herself are ineffectual Can a piece of cloth confine the lightning of heaven, or can the stars of the sky hide the lustre of the full orb'd moon? *Her presence is as the fragrance of a lotus, or as the brilliancy of a precious gem* *

MAUN SING'S ARRIVAL AT DELHI, AND THE EVENTS WHICH FOLLOWED

Maun Sing arrived at Delhi with his prisoners of war His victory was proclaimed throughout the city by trumpeters and he was forth with summoned to the Imperial presence Jehangire commanded him to relate his adventures Making a low obeisance, the General thus began—"The conquest of Bengal, great Kung has been effected, but not without the loss and trouble which always attend such undertakings Pratapaditya, the rebellious Raja of Jessore, has been defeated and captured, but the glory of the victory cannot be claimed by me alone On the eve of battle a great storm swept over the province, and the men, horses, elephants, and camels of the army under my command would all have been utterly destroyed, had not Mazundar, who now stands on my right hand, given us shelter To him is due the credit of having pro-

* This passage almost reminds us of Longfellow's description of Evangeline —

"When she passed, it seemed like the ceasing of exquisite music."

pitiated the goddess *Annada* by prayers and offerings, to put an end to the raging storm To him I, and several of my companions in arms, owe our lives The reward which my sovereign can most appropriately bestow upon him, is the governorship of Bengal Let the word of favor drop from his lips, and Mazundar is at once exalted and recompensed' A frown passed over the brow of Jehangire "Renegade," exclaimed he, after a pause, "you too have been imposed upon by that wicked and deceiving race, the Brahmins The faith of our Prophet hast thou disgraced in the eyes of idolators, who should not be touched but by the sword Hinduism is full of abominations Its doctrines and rites are both abominable It inculcates the shaving of one's beard It restrains widows from marrying It commands the worship of stocks and stones, and creeping things The Hindu race is composed of cheats and liars It is priest ridden Its *Puranas* have been penned by the evil one Pratapaditya was a Hindu, and I have hurled him from his throne, shall I then consent to place another of the same faith in his stead? Name some other reward Mazundar, and I will grant it thee It would be foolish in me to entrust to you the government of the conquered province' Mazundar, being thus accosted, spake to the following effect—"I am a Brahmin and I have heard my class reviled the authorship of the books I venerate and the religion I follow has been ascribed to the evil one Fear, therefore has departed from me The augustness of the presence in which I stand shall not restrain me from speaking out my mind freely The religion of Mahomet is false and puerile but the religion of the *Purana* comes direct from Heaven The Mahometans pray in a vacant room, and not as they should do before god's image and likeness many of their rites cannot be named Their widows are allowed to take husbands unto them "Hindu," said Jehangire, interrupting the sage, 'no more of this—there is uselessness in thy look and words, call on thy thousand gods to save thee Mazundar was immediately surrounded by the imperial guard But who can harm the man that is favored of heaven? *Annada* heard his prayers, and on the third day of his captivity, came to his rescue with an army mighty and invincible Thus sing I Bharut Chunder Roy, the favourite of my master, and a true Hindu

Without tiring the patience of our readers with any more prosy extracts like the last, we shall now proceed to a comparison of the respective merits of Kabikankan and Bharut Chunder* Although Kabikankan is at times more pathetic and soft than any Bengali author we have met with, yet the palm of superiority must undoubtedly be awarded to his great rival The genius of Bharut Chunder was more versatile and more prolific of poetical thoughts He had the creative power,

"The vision and the faculty divine,"

in a more eminent degree. Kabikankan loves to depict in words, which become tender thoughts, the sorrows of a love-lorn damsel, the forests in spring, a moonlit bank, or a beautiful landscape The Apsaras of heaven, and the nymphs of the wood, are his favourite companions. Purling streams, and flowering declivities, the song of the kokila, and the hum of the bee, sylvan

* They were contemporaneous authors of the time of the celebrated *Raja Krishna Chunder Roy*, the great encourager of Bengali literature, and the second *Vikramaditya* of India.

solitude, and the breeze laden with fragrance, are to him more than delights. There is a calm transparency, a tender beauty in his narrative, which fascinate every reader, and which are seldom, if ever, interrupted. Bharut Chunder is far more varied, and his style, although possessing less of what Cowper calls "creamy smoothness," is always felicitous and appropriate to the subject-matter. He describes, with equal truth, the court of a puissant prince, an evening cloudless and serene, a beautiful woman, the gathering tempest, the peal of the trumpet, and the neighing of war-steeds. The passages of imitative harmony, which we have met with in his works, have convinced us, and will, doubtless, convince all who read them, that Bharut Chunder was one of the gifted of heaven.

With the names of Kabikankan and Bharut Chunder must be associated the name of another poet, who lived at a comparatively modern time, and fully equalled his predecessors in the grandeur and pathos of his compositions. It is that of Durga Persaud, author of *Gangabhakti Tarangini*, a mytho-heroic poem, on the bringing of the Ganges from Swarga to earth by Bhagirath, in order to preserve the souls of sixty thousand of his ancestors, who had been reduced to ashes by the curse of Kapila, a sage. The work is well written, and although founded on a portion of the *Scanda Purana*, is quite within our range, not being a translation from it. The subject also is well chosen, for in the legend connected with the noble river, there are ample materials for poetic inspiration, and these our author has turned to very good account. The sacrificial horse, arrayed with gorgeous trappings, and checked in his course by "the ever sounding sea," the sudden transformation of Sagar's numerous sons into ashes, for charging Kapila with the theft of the same, Angshuman's intercession in their favor, the birth of Bhagirath, his prayers for the souls of his forefathers, the descent of the Ganges from heaven on the matted locks of Shiva, and from thence on the earth beneath, its impetuous course over leagues and leagues, and finally the ascension of Sagar's sons in sixty thousand radiant chariots, are all of romantic interest, and ably delineated. The episodes in the book, in general, describe the difficulties which Bhagirath met with in carrying on the stream in its onward flow. On one occasion it leapt in its wild fury among adamantine rocks, and was unable to extricate itself. Bhagirath hied him back to Indra's heaven, and besought the aid of *Eyrabut*, a huge white elephant, with tusks that could penetrate the hardest substance. The required assistance was given by the royal beast, on condition that Ganga would acknowledge him to be her lord and deliverer. But when the waves once more,

freed from obstructions, dashed themselves up to the welkin's pinnacle, he trembled at his late audacious proposal. On another occasion a sage, named Janhu, drank up the whole river in a sip for disturbing his meditations. Bhagirath fell at his feet. The sage relented. Forth sprang the foaming torrent from his thigh, and inundated the land. Elated with joy, the heroic and virtuous youth bounded before, sounding the conch-shell, which he had received from Vishnu

And now that we come to speak about Bengali ballads and songs, a few remarks on that description of poetry, generally, will not, perhaps, be out of place. It is certain that ballads and songs are a species of composition, with which all ages, and all nations, are more or less familiar. In Greece and in Rome, metrical accounts of the achievements of gods and of heroes, were sung to the lyre by wandering bards. The Anglo-Saxons celebrated in rude poems the victory of Brunanburgh and the precipitate flight of Anlaff and his confederate sea kings. Taliessin and Modred recited, from the cliffs overhanging the Conway, prophetic visions of the future destiny of Wales. The women of the interior of Africa, who sheltered the renowned traveller, Mungo Park, poured forth their lamentations in song at his departure. The North American Indian invoked the aid of Manitou, in lays full of spirit, before he rushed into the battle with his tomahawk and scalping knife. In Spain ballads and songs were once the delight of the people. The maiden danced to them on the green. The day-labourer solaced himself with them among his toils, and the mendicant repeated them to gather alms. Amid the "brooms and braes" of Scotland may still be gathered relics of old songs, which were at one time exceedingly popular.

The ballads and songs of a people are a true index to its national character. With an idolatrous race they are tinctured with sentiments at which the mind revolts, as for example, the lyrics of the Khonds addressed to Laha Pinu, the god of battles, and Bira Pinu, the earth goddess, reveal to us that these deities were propitiated with human sacrifices, and the Rig Veda Sanhita, which is a collection of Sanskrit hymns, lays bare the abominations of the pristine mythology of the Hindus. Among a race prone to war and bloodshed, their tone is martial and their music wild and thrilling. Delicacy of texture they have none. They stir the soul like the sound of a trumpet. Again, the ballads and songs of a people naturally timid are characterized by softness, and have seldom anything in them to startle or terrify. The mind of the ballad and song-maker is moulded and fashioned by the society in which he lives. He

can, therefore, have no true sympathy with that which does not accord with the tastes and habits of that society. But supposing even that he *had* a genius, which could appreciate every kind of excellence, and an ear which could discern the music of a lute, as well as that of a war-horn, his labours would scarcely be directed to efforts that would not have for their guerdon the praises of those around him.

In most countries the ballad preceded the song. The reason of this probably is, that the former was more easily composed. The excellence of a ballad consists not in *sentiment*, but in its *story*. The hurried narration of events does not task the poetical faculties to a very great degree, nor need the feelings of the author's mind be wrought up to a high state of sensibility. With abstract ideas, the ballad writer has little or nothing to do. The bloody feuds of chiefs and nobles—the adventures of some errant knight or beauteous damsel, form the staple of his verse. The legends that exist in the language in which he writes, furnish him with ample materials. His imagination is not wholly inactive, but it does not soar to unexplored regions. Greater powers are undoubtedly required to compose a song like Buras's *Mary Morison* than to compose a ballad like *Chevy Chase*.

The ballads of *King Karna* and *Prakhaud Charitra* are both of Sanskrit origin, and highly celebrated throughout the length and breadth of Bengal. Many a young man, and woman too, have laughed and wept over them after the twentieth perusal. *Karna* was a king famed for his good qualities, every morning the needy flocked to his palace gate, and were fed and clad in a princely style. The gods were jealous of his virtues, and Krishna descended from Bycunt to make a trial of his charity. Assuming the shape of a blind old Brahmin, he begged of him to give him food and shelter. *Karna* took him by the hand, and promised him all that he desired. The Brahmin then made a request at which even the cannibals, into whose hands the Arabian sailor, *Sindbad*, is said to have fallen, would have shuddered. The only repast which would please him, was the flesh of *Karna's* only child, prepared and cooked by the hands of his parents. The king was in a dilemma, his promise to supply his guest with all that he wanted recurred forcibly to his mind. Slowly, and with down-cast looks he repaired to his queen, and told her all that had happened. Rather than have the stain of perjury and uncharitableness to one of the priestly class upon them, they both determined, like Abraham of old, but with misdirected faith, to overcome their natural affection and slay *Brisacatu*. The careless boy, whose heart nor sin nor sorrow had touched, was

summoned from the field, where he was playing, and sawed to pieces by Karna and his wife. When the repast was ready, the inhuman guest wished that his host and hostess, and some other person from the neighbourhood, should also partake of it, and commanded Karna to go in search of the third party. No sooner had his feet crossed the threshold, than he beheld at a distance Brisacatu, and a few of his playmates, running toward him. With infinite joy and wonder he once more clasped his boy, carried him in his arms to the expiring queen, and fell at the feet of the disguised god.

The *Pralhaud Charitra* is a ballad on the destruction of Hirana Kashipu, the father of Pralhaud, and an *Asur* of mighty strength, by Krishna. Pralhaud had, at an early age, learnt to repeat the name of Krishna. The *Asur* considering his prowess and dignity insulted, punished him for this. But the boy was not to be dissuaded. The words, "Krishna, Krishna," were ever on his lips. Numerous were the trials and hardships which he had to endure, but his faith was strong and never swerved for a moment. He was dashed headlong from a high mountain, he was thrown into the raging sea, but rocks and waves alike spared him, and he was as sound as ever. At length Kashipu, tired out of all patience, asked him where his Krishna was. The child answered that he was everywhere, and that even within the crystal pillar on which the *Asur* then reclined, Krishna was present. With one stroke of his ponderous sword, the *Asur* broke the pillar into fragments. Instantly a monster, half man and half lion, made its appearance. Gradually dilating in size, it seized Kashipu and tore out his entrails with its claws.

Of the song-writers of Bengal, the most renowned are *Nidhu* and *Dasrathi Roy*. Their productions, although lively and clever, are by no means without fault. A *sameness* in the ideas is their principal defect. There is an endless jingle about heart-consuming woes, and women with beautiful eyes, and the love of the lotus for the day-god. The amorous feats of Krishna are the subjects of many of them. Similar to the *Hymeneos* of the ancient Greeks, the Bengalis have their bridal songs, which are sung in Zenanas on the occasion of a marriage. When the bridegroom, in most cases a boy of twelve or thirteen, decked with pearls, and with a glittering conical cap, stands in the middle of the yard or open space of the quadrangular building, accompanied by the bride, and surrounded by dark-haired damsels, the *Shankha* is sounded, and these songs are sung by professional songstresses. We wish we could give the reader translations of some of them, so that he might have an insight into the present state of native female society, but

they are nowhere to be found in writing The following is the late Dr Tytler's versified translation of a song very popular in the streets of Calcutta twenty years ago It has allusion to the failure of Messrs. Palmer and Co, and to the opinions of Rammohun Roy —

From Bengal land, the Hindoo faith must quickly now decay, man,
 Since Suttia, all, both great and small, are banished quite away, man,
 And Messrs Palmer Company, so flourishing and gay, man,
 Have lost their stores of bright gold-mohurs, and can no longer pay, man ,
 In all our town, there's nought but sights and raree-shows to see, man,
 But how shall I, or any tell, what sort of sights they be, man ,
 A Brahmin's son, brought up with all a Brahmin's holy rites, man,
 Has left his caste, and printed books of politics indites, man ,
 He once believed the holy Veds, and all their ancient stories,
 The heretic forsakes them all, to talk of Whigs and Tories ,
 His penances, his holy water, and his long bead roll, man,
 He stops,—and stops the masses for his pious father's soul, man.

While on this subject, we are compelled to admit the truth of a charge often urged against the Bengali poets All their writings, and more especially their *panchalis* or songs, are interlarded with thoughts and expressions grossly indecent The seclusion of women from society is not, as some have supposed, the only cause of this turpitude Sanskrit authors, living at a time when in India women mixed freely with men, and the wits of the Restoration, from Dryden down to Duffey, are open to the same objection. The Plain-Dealer and the Country Wife are of a more immoral tendency than even Bydya Sunder They were written to please men, who were determined to avenge themselves for the enforced morality of the protectorate. Whatever, therefore, outraged the feelings of the puritan, to them yielded delight, whatever the one avoided with the utmost scrupulosity, the others were the most forward to join in. The male characters in Wycherly's plays are not libertines merely, but *in-human* libertines, the women are not merely without modesty, but are devoid of every gentle and virtuous quality. The blots in the poetical literature of Bengal are more properly ascribable to the *religion* and *moral training* of its inhabitants, than to the seclusion of women from society Let these be as they should be, and all that is bad shall soon be consigned to oblivion, or no more be read Let these be as they should be, and a better race of authors shall adorn its annals. Let these be as they should be, and the rights and privileges of the Hindu lady shall be no longer denied her Let these be as they should be, and the dying shall no more be exposed by his nearest relatives to the inclemencies of an ever-varying sky Let these be as they should be, and horrible atrocities shall cease to be perpetrated, and invidious distinctions shall be abolished, and all shall live in brotherhood and love.

We have all along spoken of the Bengali poets in the spirit of kindly criticism. We have endeavoured, as much as we could, to palliate their faults, and have been lavish of praise on their beauties, but now that we have finished our notice of them, we must make the admission, that compared with the poets of Britain, and even with the Sanskrit poets, they sink into utter insignificance. Valmiki and Vyasa and Kalidas have no compeers among the authors reviewed, far less have Milton and Shakspeare. The poets of Britain are indeed a glorious band, and their productions are wonderfully varied. The profound simplicity of Chaucer, the luxuriance of Spenser, "immortal child in poetry's most poetic solitudes," the truth and depth of Shakspeare, the sublimity of Milton, the dreaminess of Coleridge, the gorgeous mysticism of Shelley, the rich coloring of Keats, the unaffected devoutness of Cowper, the deep feeling of the Ayrshire ploughman, the grandeur of him who sung of Thalaba, "the wild and wondrous song," the vigour and freshness of Thomson, the polish of Campbell, the gaiety and sparkle of Moore, and the philosophic thoughtfulness of Wordsworth, are unequalled in their several ways. Nor can the ballads of King Karna and *Pralhad Charitra* bear any comparison with the old English ballads of Chevy Chase, Sir Canine, and Childe Waters.

Meanwhile we have strong hopes of better days for Bengali poetry and Bengali literature generally, as well as for the people of Bengal. Already have issued, under the patronage of the Council of Education, works in the Vernacular tongue, which, whatever may be their defects, have a laudable object in view, and under that of the Vernacular Literature Committee, an illustrated Penny Magazine for the diffusion of useful knowledge among all classes of native society. These and like undertakings will materially help to develop the latent capabilities of the Bengali language. They will accelerate the approach of the wished-for time, when the Bengalis, instead of being an idolatrous, priest-ridden and semi-barbarous race, shall rank high in the scale of civilization. And this time is not distant. The great and glorious consummation is at hand. Glimpses of the promised land, the land of Beulah, the land flowing with milk and honey, are clearly discernible, and our joy is similar to that of the thirsty stag in a trackless desert, so often described by Bengali poets, at the far off semblance of refreshing waters. Ours, however, is no transient delusion,—no unsubstantial show. Ere long the prospect before us shall be vividly defined, the uplands and hills shall "wear like a garment, the glory of the morning;" the clouds shall disperse and vanish from the firmament, and the sun shall shine *until it is perfect day*.

There are unfortunately too many readers to whom this disclaimer will be any thing but a recommendation. Some even of the lady-readers of *Life in Bombay* would not like it the less for eliciting from them occasional ejaculations of "Oh—fie! Mr G." We will not answer for it, however, that such exclamations may not be heard, in spite of the author's confident assurances, that there is nothing personal in his book, and nothing offensive in his anecdotes. If the anecdotes are true, they are, certainly, personal anecdotes. If the persons initialised in them are mere myths—if they are intended to typify whole classes of society—some of the stories may be considered rather offensive, as they are of a character to convey an unfavorable opinion of society at large. But this latter hypothesis, indeed, is hardly to be considered for a moment. The author of *Life in Bombay* has declared his personal cognizance of the incidents which he has narrated. He heard, or saw, or was, in some way, mixed up with what he records,—and we are not quite sure that if we thought ourselves the individuals pointed at in one or two of our author's anecdotes, we should not be inclined to regard them as undeniably personal, and, perhaps, a little offensive.

However, the general character which is here given of life in Bombay, is sufficiently favorable to reconcile the residents at that presidency to the exceptional anecdotes with which the author has interspersed his work. The following picture, for example, of the general aspects of society in the Western settlement, is not likely to give offence.—

The society of Bombay may be cursorily described, as consisting of two grand divisions, usually distinguished in local parlance, as "those who belong to the service, and those who do not." Under the former head are classed all members of the civil, military, and naval departments. The latter comprises the gentlemen of the legal profession, private medical practitioners, and last, though not least, our large and wealthy merchant community.

But before entering into any details of the various ramifications of Bombay society, we must beg permission to offer a few observations relative to the most striking points of distinction between "men and manners," here and in England.

Foremost in the list, we would particularise the absence of all approach to broad vulgarity in the circles of an Indian salon, and startling as this fact may appear, it is clearly deducible from, firstly, the circumstance that we have neither "parvenus" nor "nouveaux riches" among us to shock one with their upstart airs, and, secondly, that with very few exceptions, no one comes to this country without either having laid the foundation, or completed the accomplishment, of a gentleman's education. The youngest ensign, who frequently enters upon his career at the early age of sixteen or seventeen, comes straight from his school, or college, and though we must admit that this early plunge into the independence and temptations of a military life, is too often detrimental to the scarcely developed intellectual

faculties, yet to a moderately well constituted mind, the abundant leisure now at his disposal, opens a wide field for exertion and improvement. With all the pride of opening manhood, he feels that he is no longer considered as a boy, but entitled henceforth to association at the mess-table, on terms of equality, with men whose services and talents command universal admiration and respect.

It is notorious that from this class of half, or rather self educated youths, have sprung some of the most efficient officers in the Company's service, and one instance is more especially before us in the case of a gentleman, now the able commandant of a corps of irregular horse, who came to this country about five or six and twenty years ago, a raw, unfledged boy of fifteen, with no other advantages than those of the mere rudiments of education, good principles, and indomitable spirit. His subsequent career has been that of a dashing soldier, an upright magistrate and a good man. Applying every leisure moment to the acquirement of those practical mechanical arts, which have proved invaluable blessings in the distant and half civilized districts of India, he is at once the father of his corps, and a most useful servant to Government.

The foregoing observations do not apply to the civilian, who rarely arrives in the country before he has attained to the age of twenty one, and after a course of severe study, and passing through the ordeal of a collegiate examination, it is to be presumed that he makes his *debut* in India, a scholar in attainment, and a gentleman in address.

We repeat, therefore, that absolute vulgarity, or gross ignorance is rarely if ever encountered in our circles, and though different degrees of refinement doubtless exist here, as elsewhere, the man of cultivated mind will, perhaps, meet with less to shock his fastidious tastes, than in the necessarily mixed society of England, where the aristocracy of birth, and the aristocracy of wealth, alike struggle for pre-eminence. With neither of these have we anything to do, our aristocracy is that of age, and precedence is strictly regulated according to the degree of seniority attained in 'the service,' beginning with the civilians, as the judges and law administrators of the land — *Pp* 29—32

We are not sufficiently acquainted with the personalities of Bombay society, to be able to identify, with any great certainty, the model officer here introduced. We hope that the passage does not refer to the one, who recently exemplified his goodness and uprightness by maligning the whole Bengal army.

When we come to sketch a model officer for ourselves, we shall not introduce into our sketch the words, "he maligneth the army of the presidency to which he doth not belong, and calleth them all rogues and vagabonds." But we have no right to assume the identity of these two officers, simply on the ground that their standing in the service must be about the same (about 25 years), and that both are commandants of corps of irregular cavalry.

As-reste, the passage is sufficiently true of Indian society in general. There is not amongst us much obtrusive vulgarity. There are vulgar-minded men among us—and women too—but their displays are not very offensive. There is, sometimes, among the men a little official *hauteur*, which is not

no further than the foggy precinct of their native isle. It may be, that our icy natures are thawed beneath the genial influence of a milder clime, or (alas! for the poetry of the idea!) it may be, that as every creature's position is here so conspicuously marked, the characteristic suspicion of our countrymen is never excited by fruitless endeavours to ascertain who such a person is and what he has?—*Pp* 34—85

There are some excellent reasons why the ladies should not invite their morning visitors to tiffin. Having, already, given up the forenoon to the reception of their acquaintance, it would be hard upon them, indeed, if they were compelled to give up their afternoons too—and such is generally the inevitable result of asking one's friends to tiffin. In England, visits are not paid till after luncheon, so the tax is necessarily avoided. We think it would be very hard upon householders if they were expected to pay it here.

The following remarks on dinner etiquette contain nothing absolutely new, but they are expressed in a lively manner —

In a place where the rules of etiquette are so strictly enforced as in Bombay, it may easily be surmised that a tolerable amount of tact is an essential requisite in an aide de camp, to carry him with "eclat" through the delicate intricacies of his position. His duties are both manifold and important on the occasion of a large party involving not only the selection of names for invitation but the arrangement of all those finer minutæ of details, upon which the success of a fête so materially depends. For instance, in this country, where ladies are so greatly in the minority, it is considered of higher importance than elsewhere, that their companions for the dinner-table should be previously appointed, in order to avoid confusion, and repress presumption in those, whose youth or standing do not entitle them to the privilege of escorting a lady.

A list is therefore prepared beforehand by the aide-de camp, which is rigorously acted upon and adjusted with the nicest regard to the distinctions of rank, or rather seniority. Thus it frequently happens, that the most charming women are allotted to some prosy old civilian, or mumbling old colonel, whose sole merit consists in his length of service, which would seem to their lively partners, as qualifications entitling them much more consistently to admission into an alms-house, than to a seat by their side.

Oh! vivid is the recollection of our first public dinner at Government House, when, having steered our way by slow but skilful approaches towards a lady, whose lively sallies and animated conversation had, only the night before, rendered a dinner party enchanting, we were in the very act of eagerly petitioning for the happiness of escorting her, when up rushed an A D C, accompanied by a toothless old colonel, with "Mrs. R——, permit me the honour of presenting Colonel —— to you."

With an expression of comic dismay, she threw a parting glance over her shoulder as she accepted the arm of her venerable escort, and, "paired not matched, the couple descended to the dining room. Every other attempt to obtain a congenial companion was similarly frustrated, and we were at length forced to the mortifying conclusion, that being antique neither in age nor service, we were consequently "nobody," so falling back as resignedly as might be, into the ranks of the "awkward squad" who brought up the rear, we yawned through three mortal hours of dinner, in

the enlivening society of a couple of juvenile middies fresh on shore, and blushing like peonies if a single word were addressed to them — *Pp. 52—54*

The less there is of this kind of restraint in private society, the better. It is nothing more than an elaborate device to make dinner parties disagreeable. There are reasons for it beyond a doubt, but every body's experience teaches him, that the most agreeable parties are those at which people are suffered to take care of themselves.

From dinner-parties, the transition to balls is an easy one. Here is an anecdote illustrative of the heroism of an aide-de-camp, which on every account is worth quoting —

“A pleasing instance once came under our immediate notice, at a ball given on the occasion of some public rejoicing when, consequently, admission was afforded to many, who would not otherwise be entitled to an *entree* at Government House. Among this class, a rather extraordinary looking woman made her appearance, whose apparent age and unwieldy figure, would certainly never induce a suspicion that they could belong to a votary of Terpsichore, and the good lady remained sitting as the band struck up the first quadrille. Every couple had taken their place, when one of the aides-de camp standing near us, was suddenly accosted by a brother aide-de camp, with—

“‘D—, my dear fellow, what on earth is to be done? That fat old woman says she wants to dance, and there's not a man in the room I would venture to ask to shew off with her.’

“‘I will dance with her myself,’ was the immediate reply, and in less than two minutes, the dashing looking young officer had made his bow, presented his arm, and led his bulky, but elated partner, within the circle of the dance, paying her throughout such respectful attention as effectually to keep within due bounds the merriment of his tittering *vis a vis*. Absurd as this incident may appear, it yet marks the innate refinement of the real gentleman, and it gave us as much pleasure then to witness, as it now gives us to record — *Pp. 55—56*

And it gives us pleasure to peruse such an incident. The gallant officer who achieved this feat, deserved a companionship of the Bath. We would, at least, have promoted him to a brevet-majority on the spot, if we had had the dispensation of military honors.

Not forgetful of the principle, that the best society, — mixed society, having introduced our readers to literary men and soldiers, we now launch them among the lawyers —

A tropical country does not admit of that field for the display of forensic eloquence, which the crowded law courts of England present. There the graces of elocution may well be cultivated, with the certainty of exciting the plaudits of an admiring audience, but no such reward, no such beacon of encouragement, awaits the aspiring barrister in India. Excepting on rare occasions of deep or general interest, few would expose themselves to the oppressive heat of a court-house thronged by natives, to listen to the details of any case, and it can scarcely be a matter of blame or surprise, that the actual business should be hurried onward, and brought to a conclusion as rapidly as the administration of justice will allow.

The most wealthy clients are usually found amongst the Parsees, who, as a general rule, cannot certainly be designated as a talkative race, though possessed of as much acuteness and intelligence as the European. As an exemplification of their ideas of unnecessary oratorical display, we annex a rather amusing instance, which came under our observation not very long ago.

A well known and influential Parsee was endeavouring to impress upon a young barrister the most effectual means of distinguishing himself, and gaining both clients and popularity.

"We do not," said he, "care for too much plenty words, but we like this thing you know" throwing his arms about with the funniest imitation of declamatory action.

But where the glorious gift of eloquence exists, though for a time it may be dimmed, it cannot be extinguished, though obscured, it cannot be quenched, and when repressed in public, naturally finds for itself a vent within the limits of social life. Did we not desire to avoid all invidious distinctions and personalities, we might easily particularise how often the refined wit of a H—— the irresistible humour of a C——, and the provokingly incontrovertible arguments of a D—— have contributed to render the dinner table a 'Feast of Reason and a flow of Soul'—*Pp* 59—60

This is worth knowing—although it might be thought that, especially where the judge is judge and jury, the "plenty this kind of thing" is not of much substantial value.

From the lawyers we pass on to the clergymen. There is a well-earned tribute to the zeal of some of our Anglo-Indian ministers —

Great, indeed is the privilege, though deep the responsibility, of the Indian pastor! In using his utmost efforts to cultivate the good seed implanted within our hearts, and in striving to arouse us alike from apathetic indifference to our religious state or too great an indulgence in the pleasures of this life, which are given us "to use, but not to abuse," his career as a faithful minister of Christ's flock, must be one continued round of anxious labour and love.

Thanks be to God! we have such men among us—men equally well fitted to awaken from the pulpit our slumbering energies, by teaching us, in the words of one of our most zealous chaplains, that "God works in us, and with us, but never without us, and to cheer the closing hours of the dying sinner by showing him where to cast his burden, and by imparting the Saviour's assurances of pardon and peace to the true penitent, so dispelling the terrors of death that even amidst the struggles of decaying mortality, "The face grows beautiful, as the soul nears God —*P* 63

And from the men of God, we may pass on, not inappropriately, to those of whom it has been said that "of such is the Kingdom of Heaven" —

It has often struck us, with reference to these little creatures, that although everywhere engaging they are here peculiarly objects of passionate love, whether from the consciousness that they must so soon disappear, or that they are actually more attractive from the circumstances which are inevitable in an Indian household. Unshackled by the discipline of an English nursery, and the tyranny of a head nurse, both of which tend to engender a spirit of reserve and even cunning, they roam at will through

every part of the house prattling with all the artlessness of fearless childhood, and effectually twining themselves round the affections of every member of the family, and visitor to the house, whilst to the native servants they are objects of positive idolatry. Great care and watchfulness are requisite on the part of a mother, to prevent the evil effects which might result from the overwhelming indulgence which the ayahs especially are too apt to bestow upon their little charges—*Pp* 82—83

There are evils, doubtless, in this companionship of native servants, but there are advantages, too, the loss of which people feel very sensibly, on their return to England. Many an English mother has longed for her old native bearers, whose sole duty, from morning to night, it has been to watch the movements of their little charge, and whose tender and assiduous zeal is not to be matched by the care of the best of English nurses. Our native servants are a thousand times more patient than the nursery domestics of Great Britain, and patience is one of the first—if not *the* first essential qualification of a good nurse. Our children are a source of amusement to our native servants, who attend the little ones, for hours and hours together, with a look of unvarying cheerfulness—always gentle, and tender, and playful, for they are little more than children themselves. Talk as we may, of good English servants—and we are far from undervaluing 'their worth—few English nurses so love, or are so beloved by, their little charges, as the native bearers who attend them in this country.

But these little ones must go home in time, to return to us after the lapse of many years, as writers and cadets, or as "young ladies on their promotion." We, by no means, undervalue the advantages of respectable matrimonial connexions, and do not altogether believe those parents, who profess themselves to be indifferent whether their daughters marry or not. But India is not the marriage-mart that it once was; and it is no longer the one object of parents, and guardians *pro tem*, to marry off their interesting charges to the wealthiest suitors, with the utmost possible despatch. Wherefore, we feel a strong inclination to reject, as something (to say the least of it,) rather apocryphal, the following amusing story—

We recollect once witnessing a scene, which certainly could not occur at the presidency, under the present existing forms of etiquette, and which, though strictly speaking, not altogether "*à propos*" of the subject under discussion, we yet venture to introduce, from a grateful recollection of the hearty amusement it afforded us. Well then, once upon a time (to commence in approved story telling style), it so fell out, that we were on a visit in a most agreeable family, residing temporarily at Mahabuleswar, and comprising, besides the host and hostess, a young lady recently arrived from England, consequently in all the flutter of her debut in the Indian world. Now although, as we before remarked, every one

position, and even family circumstances, are usually well understood in this country, yet it does sometimes happen that a sanitary station like Mahabuleshwar is honored by the presence of officers from the sister presidencies of Bengal and Madras, or occasionally some perplexity may arise by a visitor making his appearance, whose card proclaims him the possessor not only of a rather common place name, but of the very common place title of Captain. Just such a case occurred upon the occasion to which we allude.

A card was presented to the lady of the house, bearing the address, "Captain Smith, — Regiment," and a stranger made his bow, with exterior so pleasing, and manners so fascinating that the chord of sympathy was touched between the parties, and they were speedily on the happiest footing engaged in that genial flow of conversation which naturally results from the contact of good breeding, refinement, and intelligence.

After an unusually long visit Captain Smith reluctantly rose to depart, and then it was that inspired as we suppose, by the air of Mahabuleshwar, the host (Mr G——) actually committed the daring solecism of inviting a stranger to join the family circle that evening at dinner, before even his visit had been returned! We need scarcely say that the reply was a gratified assent.

The door had scarcely closed, when Mrs. G—— exclaimed to her husband —

"Well, my love! without any exception that is the most delightful man I ever met in India! Did you observe his glances of admiration towards our dear girl?"

Then followed a grave discussion upon the question of his identity with one Captain Smith, who was reported to be a rich bachelor, ergo undeniably eligible or another, notoriously a married man with an incalculable amount of children or a couple of Madras Captain Smiths of whom nothing at all was known or half a dozen Captain Smiths bachelors to be sure, but not worthy of mention, possessing nothing but their laced jackets to settle upon a wife.

The arrival of other visitors interrupted the conversation, and various engagements succeeding the important point remained undecided at the hour of dinner, when the eagerly expected guest again appeared.

Matters went on most swimmingly. The ball of conversation was kept up with unflagging spirit, now bounding and rebounding in the hands of the lively hostess, anon, propelled with deliberative aim by the grave but well informed host, occasionally receiving a gentle impetus as it glanced past the modest débutante, but always revolving with double rapidity and brilliancy, when caught up and circulated by the animated guest.

This was all unaffected enjoyment, but a chance observation suddenly called our hostess to order, by reminding her of the mornings' perplexity, and with exquisite tact she threw out a feeler by enquiring

"How had Captain Smith passed the last cold season?"

"Oh!" he replied, "in the most delightful sporting excursion, in company with four or five pleasant fellows, as idle as myself."

"If all right," soliloquised Mrs. G——, "he is a bachelor."

A few more skilfully put questions elicited the information, that money was no object to this favoured individual — "Then he is the Captain Smith, and no mistake," she continued in momentarily increasing elation. But as the night wore on, and his evident admiration of the young lady became more and more conspicuous, the spirits of the fair hostess rose to absolute

exuberance, and seizing her delighted visitor's hand, she shook it cordially, exclaiming

"Captain Smith, we already look upon you quite in the light of an old friend, and insist that you will make our house your home, during your stay at the hills

"Oh! replied the grateful man, as he made his parting bow, "what would I not have given for such friends on my last visit to this place, when I could procure no other shelter than a miserable unfurnished bungalow for my poor sick wife, and three young children"

As the door closed, Mrs. G—— fell upon her sofa, faintly repeating "sick wife, and three young children!" but speedily recovering herself, she sprang up with indignant energy, thus emphatically addressed her husband, whilst natural fun struggled powerfully to gain the mastery over mortification and disappointment

"I will trouble you Mr G—— when next you invite a total stranger to your house, to ascertain beforehand whether he is, or is not, a married man, and never again impose a doubtful person upon me —*Pp* 107—112

We do not say that this is an old "Joe Miller"—but we have a shrewd suspicion that it is an old "Theodore Hook." The readers of *Gilbert Gurney* will remember the charming story of Mr Wells and his daughters (one of whom became, if we mistake not, Mrs. Gurney), and the dreadful blow which the reverend husband-hunter sustained, when he discovered, that a certain captain, who had come into the neighbourhood to recruit, and whose attentions to one of the Miss Wellses, had raised a belief in the minds of papa and mamma, that he was about to propose to the young lady, was in reality a husband and a father. Certainly the two stories are very much alike. But as the author of *Life in Bombay* "recollects witnessing" the above scene, we are bound to believe either that the same thing happened twice, or that his is the original and Hook's the copy

Here is something more, illustrative of this same subject of husband-hunting —

The bachelor civilians are always the grand aim of manœuvring mammas, for, however young in the service they may be, their income is always vastly above that of the military man, to say nothing of the noble provision made by the fund for their widows and children. We remember being greatly amused, soon after our arrival in the country, at overhearing a lady say, in reference to her daughter's approaching marriage with a young civilian, "Certainly, I could have wished my son in law to be a little more steady, but then it is three hundred a year for my girl, dead or alive!"

The ball rooms in India always present a very gay appearance, from the vast majority of red-coats and handsome uniforms amongst the gentlemen. Here, the very reverse of England, a black coat is the rarity, and is held in high estimation as the distinctive mark of a civilian in full dress, consequently, few mammas object to the introduction of a stranger in plain clothes to their daughters, whilst they would look rather discouragingly at any young red coat who presumed to make his bow

We once witnessed, with considerable glee, the discomfiture of a lady of this class, on the occasion of a public ball, when, for a wonder, there was a superabundance of the fair sex present, and for a few minutes her daughter remained unasked for the approaching dance. She was beginning to look uneasy and fidgety, when one of the stewards quickly made his way to them, accompanied by a gentleman dressed in plain clothes, who was speedily introduced, and graciously received by both mamma and daughter. The dance went merrily on, and "La Madre" watched with delight the apparently animated conversation going on between the young couple, when it suddenly occurred to her to ask of her neighbour

"Who is that gentleman like looking person dancing with Fanny?"

"Oh! don't you know him?" said the friend, "he is Mr ———, the artist just arrived from Bombay, who takes such excellent likenesses

The good lady started with dismay. A stranger from England since her childhood, she was totally unconscious that the exercise of the fine arts, as a profession, is not there considered incompatible with the position of a gentleman, or that the possession of talent is an universally acknowledged passport to the highest circles of society. With a face inflamed with anger, she hastily bounced from her seat, and seizing upon the unfortunate steward, who had introduced the ineligible partner, she exclaimed

"Why, Captain ———, how could you think of bringing such a person to dance with my daughter?"

"What can you mean, Madam?" said the poor frightened-looking man, "I mentioned his name, and thought you seemed pleased with the introduction."

"You make me lose all patience," retorted the indignant lady. "Of course, from his dress, I supposed him to be a civilian, and watching for the termination of the dance, she approached her daughter and with a stiff bow of cool defiance to the petrified partner, she marched her off to the other side of the room — *Pp* 171—174

Certainly, the first part of this contains a colloquialism, stereotyped in all the presidencies of India. The joke, indeed, of the "three hundred a year, dead or alive"—a ghastly joke, by the way—is so old and so current, that we doubt, whether any lady in India would venture to make use of the words, except in jocular reference to the old story—in fact, as a *quotation*. If the author of *Life in Bombay* had heard the words used, as we have, there would hardly have been in them *vis* enough to amuse. As to the second story, we cannot help thinking that we have heard something, too, very much like *that* before.

Our next extract is something of better quality. The truths contained in the following bear repetition better than an old story —

The lavish expenditure bestowed upon the table equipage and mess kit in general, has lately been the subject of much and deserved animadversion. However, too many voices cannot be raised in deprecation of this fast spreading evil, equally unnecessary for the present, as it is ruinous for the future. In most of the Company's regiments, the senior officers are married men, and consequently only frequenters of the mess-table upon

rare and stated occasions, others again are permanently absent upon staff appointments, and thus it often occurs, that the only "habitués," for whom this magnificent display is prepared, and so large an expenditure is incurred, consists of a few junior lieutenants and young ensigns, whose enjoyment of a good dinner might possibly survive the shock of even seeing it served in less costly array.

In corroboration of these remarks, we will mention a circumstance which came under our own observation not very long ago. We were invited by a juvenile ensign to inspect the unpacking of a very splendid dessert service just received from England, by the mess of the —th regiment, the glass centrepiece of which, alone, cost seventy guineas, and upon enquiring what number of officers daily attended the mess to enjoy the sight of so much grandeur, we were answered 'Oh, most of our fellows are married men, or away upon staff appointments, there are only about five or six of us youngsters who dine here every day. But,' said the youth, with an 'esprit de corps' look flashing from his dark eyes, "I suppose you think we might put up with something less expensive?" We must candidly admit, such a thought did occur to us, but with reference to the fiery glance which we felt was upon us as we modestly cast down our eyes, and fortunately calling to mind that "discretion is the best part of valour,—that "truth is not to be spoken at all times,"—and various such Sancho Panza like aphorisms, we meekly received the inferred rebuke, and took refuge in silence.

It is all very well to laugh, but the evil is a crying one, and too serious in its nature to be overcome by mere ridicule. But we earnestly hope the day is not far distant, when the subject will be taken steadily in hand by the commanding officers of regiments, and a stop put to this excessive and unnecessary display, which is the leading cause of many a career of irretrievable involvement and consequent unhappiness. Some instances have occurred within our own knowledge, in which the junior officers of regiments, thus shackled by heavy mess expenditure, have actually not received one rupee of their pay for several months! The small surplus remaining from the inevitable items of Mess Bill, Military Fund, Library, and Band being totally absorbed in the extra charges for "guest nights, balls, and "contributions for new mess kit."

It is evident that a regiment, taken collectively, must suffer from this system. In a well principled mind the horror of debt is inherent, and when even the strictest self denial is found insufficient to avert it, can it be a matter of surprise, that the most honourably disposed amongst the young men should eagerly seek for any post which would remove them from the never-ending demands, and harassing difficulties of a regimental life. And thus it happens, that many a noble heart, whose example might diffuse a salutary influence on all around him, becomes alienated for ever from his corps who are consequently deprived of the benefit, which his talents and excellencies bestow elsewhere—*Pp* 175—178.

We may doubt whether there are many infantry regiments in the service, whose mess establishments are of the expensive character here indicated, but still the expenses of a mess, where there are very few members to contribute towards them, do fall very heavily upon young officers, who often get a very Flemish account of their *tullaub*, when pay-day comes round. An occasional examination of the mess-bills (including

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all regimental funds) of a regiment, would not be beneath a Division General, or even a Commander-in-Chief; and commanding officers of regiments ought to be held responsible for any excess in the mess expenditure of the officers serving under them. The mess system is too good a one on the whole, for us to wish to see it abolished; but it has its abuses as well as its uses, and we would fain see the former reformed.

Here is something of another kind.—

A lady of our acquaintance, in pathetically lamenting the great waste of time incurred by receiving morning visitors, gravely assured us that she had come to the determination of never relinquishing her crochet needle, but, to continue working undisturbed by all the entrees and exits of a reception day as though her livelihood depended upon the velocity with which she plied her needle. Now this would be by no means an agreeable system to establish universally in society. It is all very well for the ladies thus to employ themselves whilst spending a morning at each other's houses, but for the poor gentlemen, uninitiated in the mysteries of crochet, and deplorably ignorant upon the subject of knitting and netting, it would become a positive hardship if, during the short half hour of their visit they were to find the attention of their fair hostess distractingly divided between the reception of her guests, and the number of long stitches to be squeezed into the large space or the amount of chains to be crammed into the small space. Thanks to "Punch" we begin to be rather scientific in the technicalities of the art, and boldly defy all criticism upon the correctness of these expressions—*Pp* 199—200

For our own parts we are rather inclined to commend the lady, who did not wish entirely to sacrifice her mornings to the "strenuous idleness" of receiving visitors. We have a notion, too, that ladies' fingers and tongues can work pretty well together.

Our next extract contains another of the author's reminiscences—

One luxury is found in the great cave of Elephanta, which Bombay with all its advantages, does not possess, that is, a spring of delicious water, which gushes through the black rock in one of the compartments of the cavern, where the sun's rays have never penetrated, and falls sparkling and bubbling into a stone basin beneath. It is so cool, so pure and refreshing, that it is positively well worth an expedition to Elephanta only to drink of this fountain, especially after being long doomed to the brackish waters of Bombay. In fact, before the happy introduction of ice, few people were so rash as to venture upon a draught of unadulterated Adam's ale, consequently the consumption of wine, beer, &c, was in a much greater proportion than in the present day, when we possess the inestimable advantage of obtaining in a glass of iced water all the refreshment of a stimulant, without any injurious results. Hence the custom—now almost universal in Bombay—of handing round a tray covered with glasses of this simple beverage alone, previous to the breaking up of the family party for the night, and often, with great amusement, have we watched the dismayed faces of out-station visitors, or newly arrived guests from

England, as this intoxicating draught is presented to them, whilst in vain they cast an exploring eye over the tray in the hope of detecting a stray bottle of sherry lurking in one of the crowded corners.

On one occasion in particular, we remember dining at a small party in company with an English gentleman just arrived from China, and of course still unemancipated from the board ship habits of taking brandy and water at nights. Rather taken by surprise at the colourless appearance of the fluid, which a servant was offering him, he seemed for one instant a little puzzled, but in the next a bright idea appeared to flash across his brain, and looking benignantly into the attendant's face, he touched one of the glasses, and said, inquiringly

"Milk punch?"

"Na, Sahib replied the man

The countenance of the thirsty interrogator visibly fell, but as speedily brightened as a new thought suggested itself, and with a feverish eager ness he exclaimed

"Noyau?"

"Na, Sahib, was the imperturbable reply

"Then, what the deuce is it?" roared the half frantic man

"Sahib, peena ka panee hy (It is drinking water, Sir)

"Oh! groaned the victim of a hopeful delusion, sinking back exhausted into his chair, but with an expression of irresistible fun, he soon sprang up, and accosting the lady who was next to him politely entreated her to partake of some refreshment, after the heat and exertion of the evening, waving his hand with an air of comic importance towards the long array of tumblers, and as if in anticipation of her refusal he added "Pray, don't be alarmed, Madam, it is not by any means strong, the refreshment consists of 'cold water!' and in a similar strain he did the honours of the tray round the room

But the most amusing part of the story is, that after an absence of twelve months from Bombay, we were dining on our return with the same family, precisely as the clock struck ten, the host exclaimed

"Butler, bring the refreshment, and to our intense delight, the summons was peremptorily obeyed by the appearance of the majestic Mussul man bearing with solemn deportment his tray of cold water!"—*Pp 215—218*

We cannot say much more for the good taste of the "victim of a hopeful delusion" He certainly had not learnt good manners in China

The next story that we find in the volume does not illustrate any greater amount of good breeding —

We remember some time back being present at a farewell entertainment, given to an officer on the eve of his departure for Europe. Now whether the spirits of the guests were affected by the heat of the weather, or that the coming separation "cast its shadows before, we cannot pretend to decide, but certain it is, that the party could scarcely, with truth, be designated as "lively, in fact, we might almost venture to pronounce it "deadly lively" as during the hour of dinner no one seemed inclined to open their lips, a solemn silence would pervade the whole assembly for five successive minutes interrupted only by the lulling hum of the punkah, as it swayed to and fro over our heads

The unusual taciturnity of the host at length attracted our attention, and on looking towards him, we plainly perceived from his abstracted air, that

some mighty thought was at work within the temple of his brain, even whilst we gazed, the spark of intellect kindled in his eye, spread rapidly into a glow of light over his countenance, and finally exploded in a burst of emphatic eloquence, as he rose to propose the health of his "honoured guest." Now, had this speech been of anything like reasonable duration, doubtless the unfortunate "dénouement" we are about to relate would not have occurred. We all bore up manfully through the laudatory introduction, experienced a degree of mournful resignation as the orator dilated upon the loss we must so soon sustain, but one and all abandoned ourselves to utter despair, as he proclaimed his intention of giving "the deeply interesting details of this respected individual's career in India."

It was notorious to every one in the room, that "nothing could well be more common-place than this "respected individual's career in India," and moreover, an uneasy consciousness stealing over our minds that his society had been generally considered rather an infliction than otherwise, and that it was just possible his departure might not be regarded exactly in the light of an affliction, the reader may imagine the consternation of the company when, after an impressive pause, followed by a preliminary hem, our host thus proceeded

"Gentlemen, I have ascertained from undoubted authority, that my esteemed friend landed in this country on the 24th of March 18—, and early distinguished himself by his urbanity of manner, and mildness of disposition qualities, gentlemen, which must ever endear a man to those who have the pleasure of his acquaintance (Here a faint snore was audible) It does not appear that any circumstances arose during the succeeding ten years, calculated to give him an opportunity of taking a conspicuous part. Doubtless had such occurred, he would have been foremost in the path of glory, but, gentlemen, a day was approaching—" at this interesting moment, the voice of the orator was fairly overpowered by such a chorus of loud snores, that, with a look of consternation, he suddenly pulled up, and gazed aghast at the sight before him

Out of twenty guests, twelve were in a sound sleep, and the remaining eight fast lapsing into a state of unconsciousness

"To this day, we have always sturdily protested that 'twas the punkah "did it"—*Pp* 227—230

Bad manners, decidedly, to say the least of it—but the following is still worse —

Upon one occasion, we remember arriving, under similar circumstances, at a friend's house, and detecting speedily, by the uncomfortable looks of the host and hostess, that something was wrong. The rooms did not appear to be as brilliantly lighted as usual, and it struck us that the lady's dress—though we do not pretend to be a *connoisseur* in such matters—was of a more simple description than is customary at a dinner party, for which a week's invitation had been issued. There was, apparently much confusion going on in the adjoining room, sounds like shifting of furniture and rattling of crockery were distinctly heard, and when, after a long solemn sitting, dinner was at length announced, we discovered with dismay, that beyond our own party, no other guests seemed likely to make their appearance, while the host's temper was too visibly discomposed to enable him long to conceal the fact, that calculating with certainty on the state of the weather being such as not even a dog would unnecessarily face, he had given orders two hours previously for the arrangement of a dinner *en famille*, with the snug anticipation of a quiet evening, and the enjoyment of

a new *Quarterly** This was pleasant! but determined to make the best of a bad business, we set to work indefatigably to render ourselves as agreeable as possible, praised every dish upon the table, pronounced the wines superb, and patted the heads of a couple of odious, ill-managed children, protesting they were the living images of their papa, and even smiled with a kind of ghastly hilarity when one of the imps inserted his dirty fingers into our soup plate, declaring he was 'playful as a kitten'. But it was all in vain, the host still looked surly and the hostess frightened, so there was nothing for it but to decamp the moment dinner was over, breathing a solemn vow never again to venture forth on a wet night to fulfil an engagement, unless, indeed, we were pretty well acquainted with the tempers of our entertainers.

Our Bombay readers are the best judges of the probabilities of this story. We need not say, that the incident could not have occurred in Calcutta. Rain, or no rain, dinner parties go on here, and if a gentleman invites friends to dinner, he is civil to them when they come. Perhaps they manage matters differently in Bombay—we are sorry for it, if they do.

With these extracts we conclude our notice of what is really a very agreeable, as it is a very handsome volume. Our extracts have been principally of an anecdotal character, and have related to different aspects of Anglo-Indian Society. But there is much good descriptive writing in the book—many graphic sketches of Indian scenery, and some snatches of history, which are not without their value. On the whole, we are thankful to the anonymous (but not unknown,) author of *Life in Bombay*, for the pleasure his volume has given us upon perusal, and the opportunity it has afforded us of transferring to our pages matters of a somewhat more lively character than those of necessity form the general staple of the articles in the *Calcutta Review*.

* Perhaps it was the *Calcutta* that had just come in, in that case, of course there was some excuse for his desiring to have a quiet evening, and we all know how unconsciously "the wish is father to the thought."

ART V.—1. East India Superintendence of Native Religious Institutions, and Discontinuance of Pecuniary Payments to the support of the Idol Temple of Jagannáth Parliamentary Return August 9, 1845 Pp 109

2. Idolatry (India) Parliamentary Return August 1, 1849 Pp 555

3. Idolatry (India) Parliamentary Return May 7, 1851 Pp 48

THE temple of Jagannáth has obtained notoriety throughout the extent of Christendom. Years ago it became known in Europe, that upon the sea-coast of Orissa, among the sand-hills of Púri, stood a pagoda with a lofty tower, which millions of Hindus regarded with the profoundest reverence, and that this sacred temple, with its halls for worship, and portal guarded by colossal griffins, had been erected centuries before, by one of the great rulers of Orissa, at a cost of more than half a million of pounds sterling. Men heard with astonishment, that the object of worship in this stately temple, was a hideous idol, seven feet in height, without legs, with huge flat eyes, a peaked nose, and stumps of arms projecting from his ears, adorned with the emblems of the great Vishnu, and dignified with the high-sounding title of "Lord of the whole world." They heard, that about three thousand brahmins were supported in connection with the temple, of whom more than six hundred were enrolled as the idol's immediate attendants, while a majority of the others were employed in travelling through all parts of Hindustan, to celebrate the fame of their deity, and invite pilgrims to his shrine. They heard that, in extolling the wonders of this Indian Mecca, the wandering priests would declare, that the whole country, within a distance of ten miles, is so holy, that all who die upon its sacred soil, are carried straight to the heaven of Vishnu, that the whole ground is strewn with gold and jewels, that there is no shadow to the temple, that the sound of the roaring sea, so loud at the temple-gate, cannot enter within the enclosure, that, of nine rice-vessels placed one above another in the temple kitchens, only the uppermost will have its contents cooked, while the others remain raw, that the idol himself consumes a thousand pounds of food every day, and that all can see him propel his gigantic car. But pity took the place of astonishment in Christian minds, when it became well understood, that in consequence of these lying tales, and the extraordinary merit supposed to be acquired by a visit to the "Sacred Land," vast numbers of

pilgrims, varying from 70,000 to 300,000, were annually drawn from all parts of India to this celebrated spot, and that of these, nearly a third part (of whom two-thirds, or two out of every nine of the whole body of pilgrims, were widows), journeyed through Bengal alone at a most dangerous season of the year, for one particular festival. Imagination pictured, what the eyes of Englishmen had often beheld, these streams of pilgrims pouring into Pûrî, visiting with devout earnestness its sacred tanks, and dipping their feet in the rolling surf, which their eyes now beheld for the first time, subjected to the grasping exactions of the "vile pandas" or priests, journeying homewards, laden with heavy baskets of "holy food," travelling in heat and rain and storm, weary and foot-sore; sleeping, like sheep, upon the bare road or on the soaked grass, supplied but scantily with food, and suffering deeply from fatigue and disease. Attention was roused in the most indifferent, by tales of pilgrims crushed as a voluntary sacrifice beneath the wheels of the idol's ponderous car, while the more thoughtful dwelt with horror upon the fearful amount of disease, which was drawing from this celebrated pilgrimage an annual sacrifice of more than ten thousand lives. Indignation was superadded to pity, when Christians awoke to the fact, that the destructive system of idolatry, in the pagoda of Jagannâth, was maintained in efficiency by the English Government in India, that they had constituted themselves the special guardians of the idol, that they had laid a tax upon the pilgrims, from the proceeds of which they repaired the temple, paid the salaries of the idol's servants, and furnished the supplies for celebrating his great festivals, that their protection had made the pilgrimage safe, their patronage increased the idol's influence, that in consequence of their favor the pilgrims had greatly increased in number, and the annual profit become large.

All this was true. But the pagoda of Jagannâth was not the only temple in India, whose services and resources were maintained by the gifts of the Government. This was only one of numerous temples, which had, by degrees, been taken under its fostering care, and which exhibited that Government to the Christian world, not merely as the royal protector, but as the intimate friend and patron of the Hindu and Mahomedan religions. There was, however, great advantage in having the attention of the public fixed especially upon a single instance of the evil, and in rendering them familiar with all its details. The principle which proved the support of idolatry wrong in that instance, was applicable to all others. The evils which

sprang from that support in the case of Jagannáth, found their parallel and new illustrations in that of other temples, and the separation required between the Government and idolatry in the town of Púri, was the same as was needed in other parts of Hindustan. It was only natural, therefore, that the case of Jagannáth should prove, throughout its history, a fair representative of the whole question. When the Government connection with idolatry at Púri was in its worst condition, it was worst elsewhere when it diminished there, it diminished in other places, and the unsatisfactory position, which the connection has recently assumed at Jagannáth, is but an illustration of that which it now occupies over the whole continent of India.

We propose to lay before our readers a brief statement of the rise of this Government patronage of the native religions, the extent to which it was carried, the effects which it has produced, the measures employed for dissolving it, and the position in which the question now stands.

During its early history, the Government of India appears scarcely to have patronized the Hindu and Mahommedan religions at all. Their patronage has grown with their empire, especially in the Madras and Bombay presidencies. We see little of it, therefore, before the present century. The power of the Government was at first based purely upon military force, but it was felt desirable to secure by love what had been obtained by fear. Dread of conspiracy continually haunted our rulers, and it was considered that the least slight to the native religions would at once rouse the fanaticism of the people, and set the country in a blaze. Various means were therefore adopted to conciliate the people, and amongst them, a readiness was shown to honor their temples, to endow their worship, and do what the natives thought necessary to promote its prosperity. It must be remembered also, that the chief officers of Government, when the connection began, belonged to a peculiar class. Those who, between 1790 and 1820, possessed the greatest experience, and held the highest offices in India, were, on the whole, an irreligious body of men, who approved of Hinduísm much more than Christianity, and favored the Korán more than the Bible. That class of men was in power, who numbered in their ranks the bigoted Prendergasts, Twinnings and Warnings, the Hindu Stewarts and Younge, that have since been reckoned such a reproach to the Christian name; some who hated Missions from their dread of sedition, and others, because their hearts "seduced by fair idolatresses, had fallen to idols foul."

It was by just such a man, that the Government was first led

to take Hindu shrines into their favour in the presidency of Madras. Many of our readers have probably seen or heard of the great pagodas in the town of CONJEVERAM. This town, the "golden city" as its name implies, lies about forty miles to the south-west of Madras; it contains broad streets, which cross each other at right angles, has several tanks, the sides of which are faced with stone, and bears unusual marks of neatness and prosperity. In Great Conjeveram is the pagoda dedicated to Mahadeva. Amongst other massive buildings, made of stone and engraved with all kinds of figures, it contains an immense tower, sixty feet broad, and two hundred feet high. From this tower, which is built over the gateway, and is ascended by nine flights of stairs, an extensive view is obtained across a wide-spread plain, skirted by a line of distant hills, covered in parts with villages and rice-fields, and ornamented in others by shady woods and a sheet of water. Within the sacred enclosure is a large tank, faced with stone, in the centre of which is the great hall or *mondop*, supported by numerous pillars. At Little Conjeveram is the second pagoda, the temple of Vishnu, or, as he is there termed, Devaráswami, 'lord of the gods.' Though not so high, nor so massive as its rival, it is built in a superior style, and is much more carefully finished. To the worshippers of Vishnu, it is of course an object of far greater attraction than the former pagoda, and has obtained a greater name in Southern India. The hall within its enclosure, which is used as a resting place for travellers, is of immense extent, the roof is said to rest upon a thousand pillars, which are curiously carved with figures of Hindu deities in various groups. Near the pagoda are laid out large gardens, adorned with beautiful trees. At a particular festival in the year, the presiding deity in this temple, we believe, goes to visit his powerful rival in Great Conjeveram, and a hundred thousand worshippers are usually assembled to take a part in the ceremonies of that august event. Sometimes the idol walks in solemn procession, sometimes he is floated round one of the sacred tanks, amidst the discharge of fireworks, or accompanied by music and songs; sometimes he mounts his immense car, and is drawn by some two thousand votaries to the pagoda of his rival. In 1795, these two pagodas attracted the notice of Mr Laonel Place, the collector of the Company's jaghire at Madras. He found, on examination, that their funds had been misappropriated, that the magnificence of their festivals and processions had decayed, that the rich ornaments, which decked the idol, had been lost, and that the pagoda of Little Conjeveram was threatened with total destruction, by the roots of a tree

which had "insinuated" themselves into its walls. Sighing over the decay of idolatry, and, apparently thinking, that a temple and church were synonymous terms, Mr. Place laid a report before the Board of Revenue, and earnestly entreated the Government to take the temples under its own charge, since "in a moral and political sense, whether to dispose the natives of this country to the practice of virtue, or to promote good order by conciliating their affections, such a regard to the matter," he deemed to be "incumbent" upon them. His letter so thoroughly illustrates the notions of his day, that we quote it almost entire. It is but little known, and at one time the Court of Directors put this high estimate on it, that they refused to allow its publication a reason for which our readers will, doubtless, be doubly anxious to peruse it —

The pagoda marah explains itself to be for the support of religious ceremonies and public worship. In Tripassore, it amounted to 48 64ths, in Caranguly, to 53 64ths, and in Conjeveiam to 46 64ths the principal pagoda of Conjeveram receives a general marah throughout the jaghire, except in three pergunnahs, and that of Tripassore in three of them, all the lesser pagodas enjoy mannams where they are situated, and many also shotrums.

The management of the church funds has heretofore, been thought independent of the controul of Government, for this strange reason, that it receives no advantage from them, but, inasmuch as it has an essential interest in promoting the happiness of its subjects and as the natives of this country know none superior to the good conduct and regularity of their religious ceremonies, which are liable to neglect without the interposition of an efficient authority, such controul and interference becomes indispensable. In a moral and political sense, whether to dispose them to the practice of virtue or to promote good order and subordination, by conciliating their affections, a regard to this matter, I think incumbent. So forcible was the effect of even a short attention which I was able to give to it, that at the late Conjeveram feast, which, from a want of it had always been interrupted by feuds and competitors, the greatest harmony subsisted, opposite pretensions were accommodated and compromised, and no part of the festival, to which crowds from all parts of India assembled, suffered the smallest obstruction. Testifying so fully as the circumstance does, the good effects of indulgence to the religious prejudices of the natives, I do not hesitate giving, as my opinion, that the managers of the church funds should be chosen from among the most respectable and substantial natives that are to be found, and who, I imagine, are the most ready to accept the trust, that several of the present although appointed by the Board, and because being men of no property, they embezzle the funds under their care, should be set aside, that the accounts of expenditure should be, at all times, open to the inspection of the circar, and that the Board should take into their serious consideration the repairs that are absolutely requisite to the principal pagodas of the country, particularly those of universal resort at Conjeveram. In every country, although funds may be assigned for keeping in repair and preventing the decay of places of public worship, they will occasionally require and receive the effectual aid of the existing Government. yet none of those now in allusion, have participated of its bounty since the English have had a footing in India. That they

are in a ruinous condition may, therefore, be inferred from hence, but the fact cannot be more clearly demonstrated and how loudly relief is called for, when I mention that the sacred temple, where the idol is deposited, at Little Conjeveram, is threatened with total destruction by the roots of a tree which are insinuating themselves through the walls, and cannot be eradicated, but by incurring an expense for a necessary ceremony, of, perhaps, 500 pagodas, which the funds are not able to bear. Several of the other buildings are also in an equally ruinous condition, and some utterly destroyed.

I cannot take a more proper occasion than this, to represent a subject which, I should hope only required it in order to obtain the relief which I am about to solicit. The Little Conjeveram pagoda formerly received, and continued to receive, after the accession of the present Nabob, and even after the grant of the jaghire, a very considerable marah and some shot-rums in many parts of his country, but since the war of 1780, these have been entirely taken away from it. Whether or not, this circumstance may be known to the Nabob I am not informed, but as I can hardly think that he would withhold, on a proper representation, what has immortalized preceding princes—that he would be the first to destroy the benevolent end for which it was instituted—and that he is not sensible of the self-satisfaction which so laudably arises from promoting the general happiness of the people whom he governs, so I would wish to engage the good offices of the Board and of Government, to intercede for a restoration of the advantages which these pagodas anciently enjoyed. The magnificence of the festivals, and processions of this celebrated pagoda, is miserably fallen off for want of them, and the rich ornaments which decked the idol but were lost during the war, have, on account of the poverty of the church, never been replaced.

The gifts of pilgrims and others, at the anniversary festivals at Trivalore and Peddapollam, have, heretofore, been collected and appropriated to the uses of Government they are, however, trifling, together not amounting to much more than 600 pagodas per annum, and it would be a liberal sacrifice to allow them to be added to the church funds, or disbursed in such a manner, for the benefits of the church, as the council may direct, with whom, I would, nevertheless, recommend that the collection should remain.

I have already said much upon the subject of repairing the pagodas and, perhaps, no stronger inducement could be held out for the attainment of the end proposed, (the rebuilding of towns) When completed, the tanks will, for many years, be monuments of British dominion in India, and it would be a pity that the same spirit of liberality should not be extended to other objects, uniting to accomplish the same public benefit—*Friend of India*, 1839

We need not comment upon this lamentable letter, nor on the principles which it advocates. The Government listened to Mr Place's recommendation, and the chief pagoda, in 1796, was, with some others in the same district, taken under the collector's charge.

Not content, however, with securing this high patronage, Mr Place endeavoured, by personal exertions, to render its services efficient. He laid out the garden still attached to the temple, he himself presented offerings at the shrine, and to this day, the brahmins there (who call themselves "church-

wardens,"¹⁵ exhibit his offerings to their visitors. The principle once established, that the Government might, and even ought to interest itself in the prosperity of Hindu temples, the application of it to other cases, as their territory extended, was easy and natural. Step by step, therefore, they proceeded, without misgivings, without qualms of conscience, committing themselves more and more to the support and maintenance of idolatry, compromising their consistency, and bringing disgrace upon their name. We shall not enumerate the particulars of this course, but shall merely refer to a few illustrations of its working, and the extent to which it was carried.

In the Presidency of BENGAL, the temple of Boidyonáth or *Deoghur*, in Birbhúm, was the first to which the attention of Government was drawn. This temple is one of the largest in Bengal, at one time three hundred and fifty priests were supported in ease and plenty from its gains, in ten districts its endowment included the rent of ninety-five villages, and its total revenues were estimated at forty thousand rupees a year. When the English took the country, they found that two-thirds of the income belonged to the Government, and accordingly received their share, as the Mahomedan rulers had done before them. But in 1791, the priests wishing to secure the whole for themselves, pleaded that their temple was very poor, and requested the Government to give up their share to them. No doubt fraud was employed in the transaction, but their request was acceded to. Still the Governor-General retained a veto on the appointment of the *gah* or chief priest. This veto was, however, rarely exercised, and when, on one occasion, a quarrel arose about the appointment of a priest named Sorbanondo, Lord William Bentinck withdrew altogether from the strife. In 1837, this priest died, and two claimants appeared for the office. An enquiry into the matter was instituted by the collector, Mr Stainforth, he found that an extraordinary amount of peculation and villainy had been committed by the late priest, and his family, that they had taken offerings worth a lakh of rupees, had alienated twenty-two villages from the temple endowments, had assaulted pilgrims, broken down the houses of their opponents, and engaged constantly in affrays. After ascertaining these facts, the Governor-General adhered to the resolution of his predecessor, refused to exercise his power in the appointment of the priest, and thus left the temple and its votaries to manage their own affairs.

The first place, at which the Government connection with idolatry was rendered complete and profitable, was *Gayá*.

This spot is considered, by every Hindu, sacred in the highest degree, and pilgrims visit it in immense numbers. Here they offer funeral cakes to the manes of their ancestors, and perform a variety of ceremonies calculated to secure their complete happiness in the heaven of Vishnu. It is fabled, that here an immense giant, from whom the place is named, was attacked by Vishnu, but could not be conquered. He consented, however, to go down to hell, at Vishnu's request, provided he pressed him there with his foot. The god did so, and the mark of his foot (called the Vishnu-pad) remains upon the rock to this day. Near this mark, the object of their devout adoration, the Hindus place their cakes and other offerings: and when doing so, repeat the name of some dead friend or relative, who passes, in consequence, direct to heaven. Considerable gifts are sometimes presented. On one occasion, the Raja of Nagpore filled the small silver enclosure round the foot-mark with rupees, thus making a gift to the temple of about £30,000. There are said to be in Gayá, 1,300 families of priests, having 6,500 houses, where the pilgrims lodge. These priests, called *Gayáwáls*, conduct the pilgrims to all the holy places about the town, they are said to be very oppressive, and to take from the pilgrim not only what he has, but to demand promissory notes for payments at future periods, after his return home. As they have travelling pilgrim-hunters, who journey to the boundaries of Northern India, and become acquainted with all the chief villages and towns which it contains, they readily obtain the money, and induce thousands of other pilgrims to visit the shrine. It is not known, at what period, or under what circumstances, the Government first laid a tax upon the Gayá pilgrims. It must, however, have been fixed very soon after their possession of the country, for we find it in operation in 1790. Mr Harrington, in his *Analysis of the Bengal Regulations*, speaks of it thus:—

*It is a statement from the collector at Gaya, dated July, 1790, the rates of duty paid by pilgrims for permission to perform their religious ceremonies, chiefly in honour of deceased ancestors, at the river Phulgo or adjacent places, were stated to vary from six annas to twelve rupees, eleven annas, three pie. The duty of Government is independent of donations to the gayáwáls, or priests. Ever since the city of Gaya became famous for its sanctity, it has been the custom of its brahmins to travel through all countries where the Hindu religion prevails, in search of pilgrims, whose donations are considered the property of the gayáwál, through whose means they are brought. These contributions have ever been a source of considerable wealth, and are the property of those, who, but for them, would, probably, never have visited Gaya. When a pilgrim arrives, his gayáwál, or religious father, conducts him to the *proga*, or superintending*

officer of the *sayer* collections (*viz.*, pilgrim-tax, &c.) and explains to him the ceremonies which the pilgrim is desirous of performing, after which an order, specifying the names of the pilgrim and *gayāwāl*, as also the ceremonies, is made out under the official seal and signature of the collector, authorizing the performance of the ceremonies. At the time of delivering this order, the duty (to Government) is paid, which varies according to the number and nature of the rites performed.

From the very outset, the Government made a large profit out of this pilgrim-tax. From 1790 to 1805, the pilgrims were on an average 18,000 annually, immediately after they rose to 28,000 and are now said to be at least 100,000 a year. The security of the roads, under the English rule, the introduction of the English police system, the regulation of the payments, with other causes, tended to produce this increase. The net receipts of course rose with it. They increased from about £16,000 to £23,000, and eventually to £30,000 a year. At one time, Mr Law reduced the rates, as a tradesman lowers the price of his goods to increase the number of his customers. As a consequence "he had the *satisfaction* of seeing that his efforts were not unsuccessful, while *great and progressive increase* in the amount of the *sayer* collections, under the circumstance of diminished rates, evinces the sound and attractive policy of the measure he adopted." The only charges upon the gross receipts were the small expense of collection, a commission to the Collector of one per cent., to the Raja of ten per cent., and an annual donation (after 1815) of £1,200 to a native hospital in Calcutta. The tax, therefore, yielded from the first almost pure gain, and that to a large amount.

The pilgrim-tax at *Pûri* was first established by the Mahomedan rulers of the country, whose antipathy to Jagannâth, and dislike of his worship, were peculiarly strong. The Mah-rattas, who were Hindus in religion, adopted the same system, and for nearly fifty years, realized from the tax a profit, varying from two to five lakhs of rupees a year, the expenses of the temple, taken from that income, amounted annually to about twenty thousand rupees. In 1803, the province of Orissa was taken possession of by British troops, whose conquest of the country was "a very easy achievement." Aware of the estimation in which the temple of Jagannâth was held, Lord Wellesley, then Governor-General, commanded Colonel Campbell "to employ every possible precaution to preserve the respect due to the pagoda, and to the religious prejudices of the brahmins and pilgrims, to afford the pilgrims the most ample protection, and to treat them with every mark of consideration and kindness." Anxious to deal tenderly with the religious institutions of the country, he added "it will not be

'advisable, at the present moment, to interrupt the system which
 'prevails for the collection of the duties levied on pilgrims . . .
 'At the same time, you will be careful not to contract with the
 'brahmins any engagements which may limit the power of the
 'British Government to make such arrangements with respect
 'to the pagoda as may hereafter be deemed advisable'

The troops shortly after entered Puri, the greatest order prevailed, and the brahmins were perfectly satisfied. A few days later, Mr Melville, the Civil Commissioner of the province, wrote to the Governor-General, explaining the system which had prevailed in the management of the temple during the rule of the Mahrattas, and enquired what were the orders of Government in relation to them. Lord Wellesley replied in general terms, that if the tax had ceased, he did not wish it to be renewed, if it had not ceased, it was to continue under the control of the civil local authority. He declined, however, to "form a final arrangement for the regulation of the temple," until he had been "furnished with a detailed statement" of the system that had formerly prevailed. Before that statement could be furnished, the brahmins of the temple came forward in a body, and begged that the "customary advance" might be given for the approaching festival, that the 'usual donation' might be continued, and that the former tax might be renewed in order to reimburse the Government. They apprehended that if these donations were denied, "in addition to the great distress it will occasion, the pagoda will be deserted." The reply of the Governor-General, (May 4, 1804,) contained in the "Parliamentary Return" of 1845, so clearly states his views upon the whole question, that we quote the paragraph entire —

In His Excellency's instructions to you for the establishment of the authority of the British Government in the province, he directed that all the collections levied on the pilgrims proceeding to Jagannáth should be abolished. Great oppressions had been exercised by the Mahratta Government in levying these collections, and as it was impracticable to inquire into them, or to reform them during the progress of the British army in the conquest of the province, his Excellency in Council, judged it to be preferable to order a general abolition of these duties in the first instance, instead of attempting to regulate them under the principles of their original establishment, leaving it for future consideration whether these duties should be wholly or partially established under a better regulated system of collection. From the information of the first commissioner on this subject, His Excellency in Council is satisfied that it will be, in every point of view, advisable to establish moderate rates of duty or collection on the pilgrims proceeding to perform their devotions at Jagannáth. Independently of the sanction afforded to this measure by the practice of the late Hindoo Government in Cuttack, the heavy expenses attendant on the repair of the pagoda, and on the maintenance of the establishment attached to it, render it

necessary, from considerations connected with the public resources, that funds should be provided for defraying this expense His Excellency also understands, that it will be consonant to the wishes of the brahmins attached to the pagoda, as well as of the Hindus in general, that a revenue should be raised by Government from the pagoda. The establishment of this revenue will be considered, both by the brahmins and the persons desirous of performing the pilgrimage, to afford them a permanent security that the expenses of the pagoda will be regularly defrayed by Government, and that its attention will always be directed to the protection of the pilgrims resorting to it, although that protection would be afforded by the Government under any circumstances. There can be no objection to the British Government's availing itself of these opinions for the purpose of relieving itself from a heavy annual expense, and of providing funds to answer the contingent charges of the religious institutions of the Hindu faith maintained by the British Government. His Excellency in Council therefore desires you will proceed without delay to establish duties, to be levied from the pilgrims proceeding to Jagannath, taking advice of the principal officiating brahmins attached to the pagoda, as to the rates which may be collected from the several descriptions of pilgrims without subjecting them to distress or inconvenience. Previously, however, to the collection or arrangement of any duty on pilgrims proceeding to Jagannath you will report the rates of duty, and the rules under which you may propose to levy them, for the consideration of the Governor General in Council, under whose further instructions you will be empowered to regulate this important question.

Thus was established the celebrated PILGRIM-TAX, and thus was begun a system, which has done more to make the East India Company unpopular among religious men in Europe, than any other proceedings of their Government. It has given them a surplus of about £200,000, but this large sum has been far outweighed by the vexation and trouble to which it gave rise, by the obloquy which fell upon their name, and by the insult they have offered by their patronage of idolatry to the God of Providence, who had placed them in their throne of power. It has been urged by some, that Lord Wellesley pledged himself to endow the temple for ever, without specifying as a condition that the expenditure of Government should be repaid by a tax. This question has, however, been finally set at rest. In the "Return" for 1845, it appears, that excepting two individuals, all the highest officers of the Bengal Government, including the Supreme Council and the Board of Revenue, decided after an ample discussion of both sides of the case, that no unconditional pledge was given, that the annual donation and the pilgrim-tax were parts of the same system, being mutually dependent upon one another, and that when the Government gave up the one, it could, at the same time, give up the other. The letter of Lord Wellesley above quoted, taken in connection with the petition of the temple brahmins, can, we think, admit of no other construction.

A system of Regulations was soon after framed, and became

law in 1806 Entrances into the sacred city of Púri were established, and barriers built up. A superintendent of the temple was appointed, and various managers, called *purchas*, were associated with him in his duties. The priests of the temple were registered. All the various officers and servants of the idol were duly organized, lists of them were made out, and their salaries settled. It may be interesting to know what duty these officers were required to perform. Among them were the *khát sáy mecápá* who makes Jagannáth's bed, the *ákhánd mecáp*, who lights his lamps, and the *talak purchas*, who guard him while he sleeps. There were the *pasupálah*, who wakes him, the *chángra mecáp*, who keeps his clothes, the *mukh prakhyalok*, who washes his face and presents his tooth-pick, the *pandas*, who give him food and prepare his betel-nut, and the *khantiyá*, who tells him the time of day. There were the *daitya* to paint his eyes, the *nagadhya* to wash his clothes, the *chattarua* to carry his umbrella, and the *taras* to carry his fan. There were the priests to worship him, waving his lamps and holding his looking-glass, the poor degraded dancing girls, the cooks that prepare "holy food," and the musicians that play for his delight. All were appointed, maintained, and paid under the direct authority of the East India Company apparently without one qualm of conscience, or one thought of what the Government was *really doing*. The pilgrims, by the same regulations, were divided into classes, and the fees and privileges of each class defined. Even the low castes, who are not permitted to enter the temple, but can only visit the holy places in the neighbourhood, were also duly pointed out by Government authority. Certificates and passes were all provided, in the most business-like manner, and exceptions to the tax distinctly defined. Here is a copy of the pilgrim's pass —

A B, inhabitant of ——— in the district of ———, is entitled to perform the customary ceremonies under charge of ——— during ——— days, that is to say from the ——— day of the month of ——— until the ——— day of the month of ——— and for that period you will afford to the holder hereof free access to the temple of Jagannath. At the expiration of the period granted, you will return the license into the office of the collector of tax

It was soon found that the *pandas*, or priests, who officially conducted the pilgrims about Púri, required a special fee for themselves, apart from the usual tax and with the consent of the Governor-General, a scale of fees was fixed and published for general information. This plan having been abused, the Government resolved that the pilgrims should pay the *pandas'* fee to the collector, and that the total amount

thus gathered should be divided among the purharis and pandas, in such proportion as they were entitled to, from the number of pilgrims which each had induced to undertake the pilgrimage. This was a direct premium upon the pilgrimage, and it soon increased the number both of agents and of victims. Colonel Phipps says of it "One of the principal natives related, that a purhari, in 1821, *detached a hundred agents* to entice pilgrims, and had the ensuing year received the premium for *four thousand pilgrims*. He was at that time busily employed in *instructing a hundred additional agents* in all the mysteries of this singular trade, with the intention of sending them into the Upper-provinces of Bengal" The custom of the pandas was to go and stay a while in a place, and provide themselves with lists of all the rich men and of their incomes, that on a visit to Puri, they might be made to pay properly. It is said that they possess registers of rich men all over India, prepared in this way.

As at Gayá, from the time when the Puri pilgrim-tax fell under the charge of the Government, the number of pilgrims began steadily to increase. It varied much in different years, according as the time of the great festivals fell more or less into unfavourable seasons of the year, but the average can be seen to have steadily enlarged. The opening of the new road in 1813, and the additional security given to travellers under the English Government, greatly contributed to it. In some years it was 70,000 in others 1,30,000. In 1825, an extraordinary year, the number is said to have been 2,25,000 at the car festival alone, and the nett receipts of the tax were £27,000. At present the number of pilgrims varies between 80,000 and 2,50,000. The Government revenue from this tax was never very great, the expenses being comparatively large. The total gain from 1812 to 1828 seems to have been nearly £100,000, or about £6,000 a year. We need not detail the items of expense, on which part of the proceeds of the tax was consumed: the total cost seems to have been about Rs. 50,000 annually, in addition to the red, yellow, green, and purple broad-cloths sent from the Company's ware-houses in Calcutta. We will only add, that the Collector's care was extended to the brute creation, as well as to the Hindu priests, and that on one occasion the following humiliating letter was forwarded by him to the Supreme Government —

I have the honor to acquaint you, that Ram Buksh and Ram Hutgur, pilgrims, presented a serviceable elephant to Jagannath, and two hundred rupees for its expenses, which last about six months. *The god's establishment*

is six elephants! At or before the end of six months, it will be necessary for Government, either to order the elephant to be disposed of, or appoint some fund for its support, should it be deemed advisable to keep it for Jagannath's use!—*Parliamentary Papers*, 1818

A third pilgrim-tax was established by the Government at Allahabad. This place, called by the Hindus Prayág, is deemed peculiarly holy, being situated at the junction of the Ganges and Jumna rivers. Here the Hindus assemble in great numbers to bathe, under the guidance of the brahmins of the place, called prayágwáls, who instruct them in the requisite ceremonies. They also have their heads and bodies shaved, believing, that for every hair which falls into the stream, they are promised a million years' residence in heaven. At one time four hundred barbers were supported by this shaving-system. About the year 1810, the Government began to levy a tax on the crowds of pilgrims that gathered at this place. The tax was one rupee for a man on foot, two rupees for a pilgrim in a carriage, and twenty rupees for one with an elephant. All other fees were prohibited. The barbers were registered, and bound, under a penalty of fifty rupees, or *three months' imprisonment*, not to shave any one, who was without the collector's pass. Gates and barriers were erected at various parts of the town, and even a military force stood prepared, on the collector's application, to prevent pilgrims entering the place without paying the fee. Unlike the willing brahmins of Púri, the prayágwáls of Allahabad were very much dissatisfied with the tax, and in various ways endeavoured to thwart the plans and purposes of the Government. Their opposition, however, was futile: the tax remained till 1840. The nett receipts for sixteen years, from 1812 to 1827, amounted to £160,000, or about £10,000 a year.

It is a singular fact, characteristic of the Government connection with idolatry in the Bengal Presidency, that the above pilgrim-taxes were almost the only religious sources from which the Government obtained a money profit. It will be useful, therefore, to settle the question of profit at once. The exceptions are the Pagoda of Tripetty, and a small pilgrim-tax at Dharwar, of which we shall speak when we refer to the presidencies of Madras and Bombay. The exact sums received year by year, cannot be stated exactly in every case, as even the "Parliamentary Returns" have failed to draw the secret from the archives of the India House; but the receipts of several years have been published, and from them the average of unknown years can be calculated. After careful examination of different accounts, which, on the whole, well

agree, we have drawn out the following table, and believe it to be a fair approximation to the real truth —

GOVERNMENT PROFIT FROM IDOLATRY			
1 — <i>Jagannath</i>		Sa. Rs.	
From 1810 to 1830 inclusive		12,88,180	
" 1831 " 1839	at an aver	5,49,909	
	age of Sa Rs 61,101..		
		<hr/>	
		18,38,089	= 203,871
2 — <i>Gayá</i>			
From 1803 to 1830 inclusive		53,49,579	
" 1790 " 1802	at an aver	24 88,728	
	age of Sa Rs 1,91,056		
" 1831 " 1839	ditto	2,10,000	
		<hr/>	
		97,23,307	= 1,080,867
3 — <i>Allahabad</i>		£	
From 1812 to 1828 inclusive		159,429	
" 1810 " 1811	at an aver	18,000	
	age of £9,000		
" 1829 " 1839	ditto ditto	99,000	
		<hr/>	
			= 276,429
4 — <i>Tripetty Pagoda</i>		£	
From 1812 to 1828 inclusive		205,600	
" 1800 " 1811	at an aver	120,000	
	age of £10,000		
" 1829 to 1842	of £ 8,000	112,000	
		<hr/>	
			= 437,600
5 — <i>Dharwar and Puna</i>			
Pilgrim tax and offerings for 30 years, at £990		29,700	
		<hr/>	
	Total	£ 2 027,767	

In other parts of the Bengal presidency, the Government has troubled itself very little with the direct patronage of Hindu temples. One or two facts, however, may be noticed here, especially as they do not appear in any of the "Parliamentary Returns." About the time when the Puri pilgrim-tax was first established, the temple of Sitaram, at *Cuttack*, was also taken under Government patronage, and received an annual donation. In 1837, the Government hesitated to pay the sum any longer, and enquired into the ground upon which it was claimed. The Collector acknowledged that there was no record of how or why it was first granted, but recommended that, as its discontinuance would appear like a breach of faith, it should still be paid. A brahmin told the Rev W Bampton, in 1823, that there were eighty priests, including himself, in the city of *Cuttack*, who each received five rupees a month from the Government

Another instance, but perfectly singular in its character, was furnished at *Hidjeli*, near the mouth of the Ganges, one of the great depôts of the Company's salt manufacture. A missionary travelling through the district, in 1843, came to a market, where there were eight or nine salt golahs or store-houses, with a Hindu temple. The *pujári* or priest was very civil, and shewed him in one of the golahs an image of Lakshmi, the Hindu goddess of fortune, which he was about to worship, in order to secure the Company's trade in salt against loss. He said, that both his orders and his pay came from the Agent, and that the custom of offering worship in the empty store-rooms had existed for years. Enquiry having been made by the authorities, it was found that among the regular payments of the salt agency, were included monthly payments to a number of brahmins, whose names were duly registered, and that among the advances for the manufacture of salt, were advances to those brahmins for Hindu worship. It was found also, that at the opium agency in *Behar*, the same custom had prevailed, that among the advances to the cultivators at the beginning of the opium season, payments to brahmins were regularly included, and that when the first opium boats of each season were despatched to Calcutta, a special donation was made to brahmins to secure their safe arrival. These items had been paid for many years as mere matters of course. It gives us great pleasure to add, that very recently they have been entirely put a stop to.

So far the cases described refer to the support of idolatrous shrines, by regular payments for their current expenditure. A few cases of a different nature have occurred. It has sometimes been a custom for the *Governor-General*, and other high officers of State, when arriving in the neighbourhood of celebrated shrines, to *visit them*, and offer them presents. Thus Lord Auckland, in 1839, visited Brindában, and other places in that sacred neighbourhood, so well known as the scenes where the chief events in the history of the idol Krishna are laid. At Brindában he is said to have given Rs. 200 to one idol, and Rs. 700 to others at Muttra to have given Rs. 1,500, at Radhakund, Rs. 500, at Govordhon, Rs. 500. Other Governor-Generals, and their highest officers, have followed this example when visiting Amritsir, Jwálamukh, and other similar places. It has been said in defence of such donations, that they are only a fee to the temple officers, who obligingly conduct the authorities over the shrine: and stand on the same footing as the world-renowned fees at Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's. We admit that they may be made

with the best intentions, and in accordance with English custom. But the question to be examined is, what do natives think of them? We must look at the gifts from *their* point of view, and not from our own. In the case of Lord Auckland, this was made very clear. The *Chandrika* newspaper boasted of his visits described His Lordship as accompanied by a large train of officers, and elephants and troops, as standing at a proper distance to inspect the idol through a telescope, and as having given "thousands of rupees for the service of the idol." The editor also praised His Lordship for his holiness, hinted that he had gone to the temples because of the war in China, and declared that such a ruler must conquer every thing. Surely no Governor-General can wish for such an interpretation of what he considers to be an act of English courtesy.

Another illustration of an indirect maintenance of the Hindu and Mahommedan religions is furnished by the *Oriental Colleges* established by the Government. The Madrisa College in Calcutta was established by Warren Hastings. He had in view the preservation of Mahommedan literature in the Persian and Arabic languages, the instruction of young men who were willing to study that literature, and especially the production of a body of men who should be qualified exponents of the Mahommedan laws. As the administration of justice was, in his time, in the hands almost entirely of Musalman officers, and as the Company's Criminal Regulations had not yet superseded the ancient modes of administering justice and the principles of Mahommedan law, one object of the establishment of the College was truly practical. The Benares Sanskrit College was the first that was established for the promotion of Hindu learning, and was intended to conciliate the Hindus, by providing means for prosecuting the study of their ancient shastras. In 1811, the members of the Supreme Council recorded it as their opinion "That there could be little doubt that the prevalence of the crimes of perjury and forgery were in a great measure ascribable, both in Hindus and Musalmans, to the want of due instruction in the moral and religious tenets of their respective faiths;" they therefore resolved to support two new colleges, at Tirbút and Nudá. These colleges were confined exclusively to the promotion of Oriental studies for many years: their value in the practical improvement of the minds and language of the natives at large diminishing with their age. English studies were, for a time, introduced into the Calcutta Sanskrit College, but were again expelled, to the great joy of all

the pandits and stipendiary students. The medical classes of that college and the Madrisa gave place to the Medical College. Lord William Bentinck next abolished the stipends of the students but his successor, fearing the utter destruction of both institutions, partially revived the stipend system by founding numerous scholarships to be held by deserving students. The measures of Lord W Bentinck produced great excitement among the Calcutta Mussalmans, and they presented a petition to Government, signed by 8,312 persons, praying that their college might not be destroyed, but that the Government, to preserve its own fame, and to *ensure its own stability*, would maintain it still. As philological institutions, tending to preserve a knowledge of the ancient languages of India, and the literature existing in these languages, none can object to their preservation. As to their utility in improving the vernaculars, in raising up a better class of teachers for village schools, or books for the use of such schools, many who know their past history will doubt. But as far as they become means of teaching the errors and follies of the Korán, the Vedas and the Puráns, as far as they tend, by the conveyance of their musty learning, to pervert men's reason and moral powers, and to turn them into living mummies, they can only be viewed as positively perpetuating an injury to society. So much for the lower Provinces of the Presidency of Fort William.

In the North Western Province, or Presidency of AGRA, the Government was singularly free from interference with native religious institutions. In a few cases, however, such interference was more or less exercised down to the year 1845.

In the city of Dehli, a few mosques were placed under the collector's charge, and his attention was occupied with much detail in the management of servants and arrangements for lights. He also had to gather the revenue of certain shops, and superintend its expenditure. In Chunar, the Government had a share in appointing the head múllah of a mosque; and at Mirzapore bore the "troublesome responsibility" of guaranteeing the payment of some pensions connected with the Thug temple of Bindáchal. Near Agra, the collector retained, under his charge, the beautiful tomb of Sheikh Suleim Chisti, the friend of the Emperor Akbar. He interfered, however, in no way with the religious ceremonies carried on there, the engineer officers attending solely to the repairs of the shrine, one of the finest specimens of architecture in Upper India. In Kumaon, the rawuls of the temples of Badrináth, Kedarnáth and Gopeswar, received a kind of investiture to their office, on political grounds. The temple of Srinágur, with its numerous dancing women,

and that at Badrináth, with its marble idol dressed in gold cloth, received gifts of money, and at a few shrines a small sum of money was collected, which was devoted to a dispensary for the poor. From a letter of H. M. Elliot, Esq., Secretary to the Sudder Board of Revenue in 1841, it appears that the sum of money paid by the Government to institutions connected with the Hindu and Mahommedan religions, amounted to £11,647 annually. Of this, £10,321 were given *in continuation of grants bestowed by former Governments*. The money was thus distributed:—

Payments in the North West Provinces.

DIVISION	British Grant	Former Grant	Total	Mahomedans	Hindus
Delhi	5,476 15 0	4,215 1 0	9 692 0 0	8 596 9 0	1 095 7 0
Mirut	300 0 0	41 020 2 8	41,320 2 8	30,338 9 4	10 286 9 4
Kumaon		11,816 7 7	11,816 7 7		11,816 7 7
Rohilcund	994 6 5	11,985 9 5	12,979 15 10	7,702 4 6	5,277 11 4
Agra		17 991 11 7	17,991 11 7	1 727 15 4	16,263 12 3
Allahabad	175 0 0	8 582 6 9	8,757 6 9	1,685 5 1	7,072 1 8
Benares	249 3 0	8,209 4 0	8 458 7 0	2,028 2 0	530 5 0
Saugor	63 0 0	4,396 4 0	4,459 4 0	863 8 0	3,598 12 0
Total Rs	7,252 8 5	103 216 15 0	110,475 7 5	53,894 5 3	56,641 2 2

In the Presidency of BOMBAY, the connection was much more complete than in that of Fort Wilham, and was carried much more into details. Various documents, published in Bombay, amply illustrate the degrading part, which the Government of that place had, by degrees, assumed in relation to the Hindu and other religions of their native subjects, and are fully confirmed by the statements made in a "resolution" of the Governor in Council in 1841, which is contained in the "Parliamentary Return" for 1845. The chief points in this connection are thus described in a memorial addressed to the Governor, Sir Robert Grant, by numerous Christian gentlemen of Bombay, at the commencement, we believe, of 1837. —

The countenance and support extended to idolatry, and the violation of the principles of toleration to which we refer, consist principally in the following particulars —

- 1.—In the employment of brahmins, and others, for the purpose of making heathen invocations for rain and fair weather
- 2.—In the inscription of "Shree" on public documents, and the dedication of the Government records to *Gonesh* and other false gods
- 3.—In the entertainment in the courts of justice of questions of a purely idolatrous nature, when no civil right depends on them
- 4.—In the degradation of certain castes, by excluding them from particular offices and benefits not connected with religion
- 5.—In the servants of Government, civil and military, attending in their official capacity, at Hindu and Mahommedan festivals, with a view to partici-

pate in their rites and ceremonies, or in the joining of troops and the use of regimental bands in the processions of Heathen and Mahomedan festivals, or in their attendance in any other capacity than that of a police, for the preservation of the peace

6.—In the firing of salutes by the troops or by the vessels of the Indian Navy, in intimation and honour of Heathen festivals, Mahomedan idols, &c

We, therefore most respectfully solicit that inquiry may be made, by your Excellency in Council, into the topics to which we have adverted, and we would further suggest that the following particulars ought also to be included in the inquiry, as it may often be found that where justice or charity was intended an unnecessary and criminal support of native superstition has been, or is liable to be, afforded

1.—The support given to Hindu temples, mosques and tombs, either by granting endowments pensions, and immunities, or, by the collection and distribution, by the officers of Government, of the revenues already appropriated to them

2.—The granting allowances and gifts to brahmins, and other persons, because of their connection with the Heathen and Mahomedan priesthood

3.—The present mode of administering oaths in the native courts of justice, and whether it be such as is proper for a Christian Government to allow and sanction

4.—The endowment and support of colleges and schools for inculcating Heathen and Mahomedan ceremonies, and practices

The following extract from an able paper on the subject, published in 1840, in the *Oriental Christian Spectator* at Bombay, describes the reasons for which sums of money paid by the Government to the support of temples, and other religious establishments, have been given, and the objects on which they have been spent.—

A great part of this sum is composed of *grants*, which our predecessors viewed as *entirely discretionary*, and which varied with their own caprice, of *taxes* for the support of the devasthâns in the *Dekhan*, which are raised under the denomination of *gram kharch* or village expenses, by our own authority, and *which the natives themselves would thankfully see us remit* and of *endowments* for obsolete purposes and for temples which have no proprietors! Our Government, in fact, has sometimes already taken this view of the case, by *curtailing* the amount granted to temples, as to that of Parvati at *Puna* and *Pashan* in its neighbourhood, and by the same argument that as it has done this it may go farther. In many instances we collect the revenue of temples, while their proprietors should be left to do the needful for themselves. The contributions directly made to the shrines in the collectorates of *Gujarat* are extensive. In the case of *Dakor*, we not only collect the endowed income of the temple of *Ranchod*, but actually employ a native to see to its regular disbursement, in the *feeding, clothing, scrubbing, illuminating, perfuming and amusing the idol*! The contract of the *Phursa Ghât ferry* over the Nirmada at Baroch, contains the following clause, "Judicial and Revenue Commissioners, and their servants, peons, and articles passing and re passing under their charge, are exempted [from the usual rates], as are mendicants, fakirs, gossains, brahmins, and bhats." This order conveys the unhappy minister of superstition gratuitously across the river, while it leaves the preacher of the Gospel, bent on an errand

of mercy throughout the country, to pay the established hire. At *Narmal*, near *Bassein*, in the Northern Concan, our Government, with a zeal which does not fall short of that of *Baji Rao*, the *Ex-Pashwa*, annually expends the sum of *Rs. 800* in the very meritorious work of feasting *brahmins* during the *jatra*. The Company pays for the "sounding of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer, and all kinds of music," at some other festivals celebrated throughout this collectorate.

In the *Southern Concan*, the connection of the Government with idolatry is so intimate and extensive, that we have neither space nor time at present to describe or characterize it. We confine our notices to the *Anjanwell* and *Severndrug Talukas*. In the former Taluka there is a temple named *Shri Bhagava Rama*, and in the latter, another named *Shri Hareshavar*, in connection with which several clerks are employed by Government. They collect the revenues derived from the *wams* held by the temples and from the offerings which are presented. They regulate all disbursements, such as the payment of the servants of the idol, and the expenses incurred on feast-days, and that under the control of the *Mamlatdar*, or Company's district native collector, and a committee of trustees appointed by the European collector. They make regular periodical returns relative to their proceedings to the collector's office and their accounts find the same place in the general دفتر, or record, as those connected with the regular business of Government. The *Mamlatdar*, or his substitute, makes a regular visitation of the temples, as the "master of ceremonies." The clerks appointed by Government have charge of the idols' property, and hire dancing girls, and engage readers of the *Puranas*, when they are in requisition. The temples, of which we now write, are, from time to time, repaired by order of the European collector, and there are instances on record of the orders having been issued for the European assistant collector to proceed to the temples to see that the repairs were executed. It is a well known fact, and one observed both by Natives and Europeans, that the present prosperity of the idols' estates, the most conservation of the shrines, the regularity of the attendance upon them, and the zealous performance of the heathen rites, are principally to be attributed to the services of the Government.

At *Surat* there is annually celebrated a great festival called the *cocoanut festival*. For many years the Government took a conspicuous part in this festival, while some endeavoured to show that all the ceremonies were harmless, and merely in honour of the season of the year. The *Rev W Fyvie* thus describes the manner in which they were conducted in 1837 —

The festival was introduced in the usual manner by a salute of guns from the castle, which was returned by a salute from the Honorable Company's vessel in the river. The flags were hoisted about the same time, and continued flying till sunset. The ceremonies in the court-house were the same as last year. Some Hindus said the prayers in Sanskrit for the occasion. Then the *Nawab* threw the cocoanut into the River *Tapti*. A plentiful supply of cocoanuts, ornamented with yellow and water coloured leaf, in twelve baskets, had been provided for the occasion, which were now handed round among the company. After the identical cocoanut had been thrown, the castle guns and those on board the Honorable Company's ship in the river began firing. The prayers used in presenting cocoanuts are in substance "O *Tappi Goddess*, daughter of the sun, wife of the sea, pardon all our sins. As thy waves follow each other, so let happiness follow us. Send us a flood of money, and preserve us in the

possession of wealth and children ' It appears very evident to me, that while the ceremony is performed in a Government office, while cocoanuts are provided and ornamented for the occasion, and guns fired by authority, the natives will justly consider Government as taking part in the Tapi puja.

The city of *Puna* was the capital of the Mahratta empire, it was only natural, therefore, that the Peishwa, who was a Hindu, should patronize old temples, erect new ones, grant endowments of money and land for their support, and in other ways, contribute by his example and influence to the stability of the Hindu religion. It could only be expected that the city and district should be filled with temples, and the brahmins be found in the enjoyment of large incomes. When the British Government conquered the country, this circumstance attracted their attention, and with a view to conciliate the religious classes, they promised not only protection to their rights and property, but a continuance of their endowments and gifts. These donations were made without change till a recent period. The following report will show how numerous they were, and how great was the interference exercised with the temples in this collectorate in former days. The substance of the report is printed in the "Return" for 1845

I beg leave to state, that Government exercises an entire control in the management of the temple of Parbuti near *Puna*, and other subordinate temples, the allowances for which are included in the sum of Rs 18,617, annually allowed by Government. The whole management of the concerns of the temple are under a Government Carcoon, acting under the principal collector's orders who renders to Government monthly accounts of the expenditure. The only village in this Zillah, the revenues of which are collected by Government, and paid from the treasury for the purposes of the temple or "musjid," is Mouza Nowli.

There are several temples and idols, and other religious ceremonies in this Zillah in which the Government in some way, interfere as follows. In the Anusthan * of Bihma Sunker Mahadeo, at *Mouza Bowargura*, *Purgunna Khair*, the sum granted as Anusthan is Rs 865, which is expended under the control of Moro Dixit Munhorr, who held the office of manager during the Peishwa's time, and it was continued to him by the British Government. There is, besides, an allowance of Rs 101 on account of Pujah Navid, † to the same temple, which is paid monthly by the Mamlutdar of the district to the Pujaris or officiating priests, who expend it according to custom. The idol of Shri Wittoba at the Mouza Alundi, *Purgunna Khair*, was annually covered with clothes of the value of Rs 111 by the Mamlutdar, till prohibited by Government order. The "Chau Gurrah" ‡ at the temple of Kundoba, at *Mouza Jagures*, Byroba at

* Performance of certain ceremonies in propitiation of a god.

† Offering of something valuable to the idol.

‡ An assemblage of four little kettle-drums beaten by two men, two by each

Sassar, and *Moreswar* at *Mouza Maregaum*, are paid monthly their salaries by the Government revenue officers.

In the *Bhimtury* district, the "Chau Ghurras" at the temple of *Gumputi* at *Thaur*, and at the temple of *Feringhi Devi*, at *Karoomb*, are also paid by Government Rs. 1,690. In the *Havallat* district, the temple of *Mahadeo*, in the *Mouza Pashan*, receives an annual allowance of Rs. 4,456 8. The "Anusthan" is under the management of *Vedeshwar Shastri Tokkur*, and has been some time in his family, having been given to *Bail Shastri*, the uncle of the present manager, and continued to *Vedeshwar Shastri* by the British Government. He renders accounts to the Government, and is subject to the control of the Government officers. The sum of Rs. 1,056 is granted on account of *Sivaratri*, and is expended under the management of *Sewram Bhut Chitrow*.

In the same taluka, the Deo of *Chunchor*, *Bhurnidhur Deo*, when he stops at *Puna* on his way to the temple at *Eoregoan*, is presented by the *Duterdar* in the collector's office, with a pair of shawls, and rupees equivalent to five Gold Mohurs annually, amounting in the aggregate to Rs. 166 8. In the time of the *Peishwa* his Highness himself presented shawls and mohurs to the Deo, according to his pleasure, but on the accession of the British Government, the amount of donation was fixed at the sum above recorded.

In the *Bargi* district, the temple of *Bugwunt* (*Vishnu*) receives the sum of Rs. 1,364, which is expended under the management of the Government officers.

In the *City of Puna*, the *Chau Ghurra* of *Shri Ramchandra* in the *Tulsi Bhag* receives monthly Rs. 69 10 annas, and annually Rs. 800 from the Government treasury, and there is an allowance on account of *Ramnowmi* of Rs. 454 per annum, part of which is expended in clothing the idol, and part in putting ready money before the idol, by the Government officers, or if the idol require no clothes, the money is spent in making ornaments, or any thing else which may be necessary!!

In the *Gusba Puna*, the sum allowed for *Ouchao*, at the temple of *Gumputi*, is Rs. 280 8, which is spent under the control of *Sewrambhut Chitrow*, who had the appointment in the *Peishwa's* time, and to whom it was continued by the British Government.

One special endowment, called *dakshina*, was bestowed by the *Peishwa* on learned brahmins. It amounted annually to Rs. 35,000. The British Government, in imitation of his superstitious bounty, continued the donation. In 1836, the plan for distributing it was modified, and a resolution expressed by Government to continue it only to the present incumbents. In relation to this *dakshina*, and another form of Government connection with brahminism, the maintenance of a Sanskrit College, the *Spectator* says,—

In the *Puna* collectorate, our connexion with idolatry is more intimate than in any other district of the country. The *Puna* Sanskrit College, though greatly improved of late, and restricted to the teaching of the ancient literature of the *Hindus*, is still an organ for upholding the superiority of the Brahmins, and no youths of any other class are permitted to enter within its walls, and to make it extensively the instrument of good, to prevent it from being the means of propagating the errors and absurdities.

ties with which the Hindu literature, in its best estate, abounds, it should be united with the Government English school in that city. In such a connexion, it might contribute to the cultivation and improvement of the Maratha language, which is closely connected with the Sanskrit, and thus enable the students of English effectually to communicate the stores of knowledge which they acquire, to their benighted countrymen. The annual *dakshina*, the distribution of about Rs. 25,000 to brahmins, we believe, is now so regulated as to encourage the study of the branches taught in the Sanskrit College, but as long as it is confined to the priestly class, it must be considered objectionable. The Government share in the Dhabi collections at *Jyuri*, has been properly abandoned, but the *Government gifts to that infamous shrine* (of which an account is given in another part of this number) *have been in no degree diminished*. The Government connexion with other temples is such as no Christian can contemplate without the deepest sorrow. Under the head of *gram kharch*, or village expenses, it makes *an annual remission from the revenue for the support of some thousands*. Of many others it retains the management.

We might add other items, illustrative of our subject, from the "Parliamentary Returns," but these will suffice to show, with how little scruple the Government of India, at the commencement of the present century, allied itself with idolatry. At two places, *Belgaum* and *Dharwar*, it received a small revenue. That at *Belgaum* was derived from pilgrims visiting the annual fair at the temple of *Yellama*, where some of the most abominable scenes witnessed in the whole of India, were accustomed to take place. That at *Dharwar* was derived, we believe, from a tax on the cocoa-nuts presented to the temple.

We will conclude our notice of the Bombay Presidency with the following table, taken from the "Returns" for 1849. We have omitted one column, specifying the allowances in *gram*, without, however, altering the general total. From this return, it appears, that the sum total alienated in Bombay from the revenue, for the Hindu and Mussalman religions, amounted to near £70,000 that grants were made to them in almost every district of the presidency, and that, in almost all the districts, the sum thus alienated, was equal to the grant to *Puri*, to which so much objection was made, while, in several cases, they exceeded four or five times its amount. *Jagannáth* now receives Rs. 23,000, but the Hindu temples and brahmins of the *Panna* collectorate, received Rs. 1,08,000, or nearly £11,000. It also appears, that of the whole amount, the Hindu institutions received Rs. 2,83,000 in money, and Rs. 3,14,000 as the revenue of land, or nearly Rs. 6,00,000 while the Mahomedans received Rs. 83,000 from both sources, the Parsees, Rs. 1,013, and the Jews *six rupees*!

*Government Allowances to NATIVE RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS in
the Presidency of Bombay.*

Collectors.	MONEY		LAND		TOTAL	
	Recipients.	Amount.	Recipients.	Amount	Recipients.	Amount.
Ahmedabad	1,785	*Rs. 19,962	452	Rs 22,625	2,200	Rs. 42,587
Ahmednuggur	287	35,268	1,480	24,508	1,773	59,776
Belgaum	5,935	18,901	4,221	1,24,189	11,641	1,57,690
Broach	778	5,991	1,050	27,160	1,828	58,151
Colaba	325	8,983	157	9,388	684	14,460
Customs	87	300			87	800
Dharwar	2,108	16,933	3,671	72,184	5,774	89,118
Kaira	1,184	12,593	579	9,629	1,763	22,223
Khandesh	3,248	20,573	289	7,274	3,538	27,850
	328	3,970	32	1,075	360	5,045
Puna	2,873	1,11,185	896	9,697	3,769	1,20,883
Rutnagiri	1,040	14,988	94	10,443	2,013	33,784
Sholapore	5,171	19,682	873	9,257	6,044	28,940
Surat	829	9,272	1,072	20,801	1,901	30,073
Tanna	716	12,767	1,105	16,257	2,228	32,342
	26,589	3,05,875	15,971	3,74,445		
				Total	45,503	6,28,593

In the Presidency of MADRAS the Government connection with the native religions was much greater than in the other Presidencies, and the sum of money given by the ruling powers to their support exceeded that of all the others put together. The more general features of the connection at Madras resembled greatly those at Bombay, and are well stated in the following Memorial addressed in 1836 to Sir F. Adam, the Governor in Council, from a large number of the clergy, and of civil and military officers. One of the latest acts of Bishop Corrie was to forward this memorial to the Governor, with a strong expression of his personal approval. The principal "grievances" it enumerated were —

First—That it is now required of Christian servants of the Government, both civil and military, to attend Heathen and Mahomedan religious festivals with a view of showing them respect.

Second—That in some instances they are called upon to present offerings and to do homage, to idols.

Third—That the impure and degrading services of the pagoda are now carried on under the supervision and control of the principal Europeans and therefore Christian officers of the Government, and the management and regulation of the revenues and endowments, both at the pagodas and mosques,

* We have omitted the annas and pie in this, and the other money columns, in order to reduce the breadth of the table — E. C. R.

are so vested in them under the provisions of Regulation VII of 1817, that no important idolatrous ceremony can be performed, no attendant of the various idols, not even the prostitutes of the temple, be entertained or discharged, nor the least expense incurred, without the official concurrence and orders of the Christian functionary

Fourth—That British officers, with troops of the Government, are also employed in firing salutes, and in otherwise rendering honor to Mahomedan and idolatrous ceremonies, even on the Sabbath day; and Christians are thus not unfrequently compelled, by the authority of Government, to desecrate their own most sacred institutions and to take part in degrading superstitions.

Protestant soldiers, members of the Church of England, have also been required contrary to the principle declared in his Majesty's regulations, that every soldier shall be at "liberty to worship God according to the forms prescribed by his religion," to be present and participate in the worship of the Church of Rome

By the requisition of the foregoing and similar duties we cannot but sensibly feel that not only are Christian servants of the State constrained to perform services incompatible with their most sacred obligations, and their just rights and privileges as Christians infringed, but that our holy religion is also dishonoured in the eyes of the people, and public and official sanction and support given to idolatry and superstitions destructive to the soul, and to apostasy from the only living and true God.

Other instances of the evil must be added to these, before the matter will be understood in all its bearings. Thus, as in Bengal and Bombay, oaths were regularly administered in the names of Hindu idols and on the Korán, documents were consecrated by inscribing at their head the names of Ganesh and other deities, idolatrous cases, in which no civil rights were concerned, were continually adjudged by the collectors under a special regulation, and all efforts to disturb the existing evils were frowned upon and discouraged. The spirit, which had dictated Mr Place's letter, had animated many officers subsequent to his time, and in all possible ways, in trifling as well as in important concerns, the Government prominently showed itself to be the intimate friend of the native religions. A few illustrations of a state of things, which once existed at Madras on a large scale, may be interesting to the reader, although we have said so much in relation to the other Presidencies

A *Native Almanac* used to be published annually in Madras at the expense of the Government, and was circulated by the chief secretary among the Government establishments. It opened with the following invocation —

Salutation to Sri GANESHA

I invoke the aid of this god, who is honoured by Brahmá, Krishna and Maha eswaram and all other gods, in the hope that I shall succeed in my present task

Those who in the beginning of the year, accompanied by their relatives and friends, offer sacrifices to the nine planets, and make such offerings to astrologers as they possibly can, and pay a strict observance to what is laid down in this Almanac, the said planets will contribute to afford them every good throughout the year, &c

Again, it is well known that the Hindus, throughout the

country, worship the implements of their trade, and that on the Saraswati Puja writers especially worship their pens and ink. Will it be believed, that at Madras the Government *permitted this worship* to be offered in their own public courts and offices, to their own account-books, stationery, records and furniture? The following is a programme of the ceremony —

"All the duffars (bundles) containing accounts and the like to be placed in the cutcherry or office in a row, and in the evening, about four o'clock, the religious brahmins of the town, together with the cutcherry servants, will assemble to worship them in honour of the goddess Minerva, in the interim music will be sounded, and the dance of the church (pagoda) will then be commenced. After this is done, cocoa-nuts, plantains and betel will be distributed among the religious brahmins and cutcherry people, and a few gifts in specie [provided of course by the Government] will also be given to the former people

The following letter exhibits one of the numerous applications from the Court-servants for the *customary allowances* out of the public treasury *for Hindu worship*. It presents the Government both in a ridiculous and humiliating position, their money paid for idolatry, and the idol honoured in their own offices of business!

HONOURABLE SIR,—I humbly and submissively beg leave to acquaint your honour, that on the 29th of this month, Wednesday, being Venanygawk Chouty or *Belly-God feast*, it is custom to allow us rupees ten every year from Circular [the Government], in order to perform certain pujah, after keeping one idol in the court house on the same day, and granting leave to all the court servants for the said pujah, the said sum is to be carried into contingent charges. I saw the civil diary and other accounts too and find the same in them, therefore I highly request your honour will be pleased to spare ten rupees and perform the said pujah on the very day. I must purchase various things for the same — *See Friend of India*, 1839

The *firing of salutes*, on occasion of Hindu and Mahomedan festivals, was an every-day occurrence while troops, both European and native, were marched out to join processions in honour of idols and their festivities. Not unfrequently these processions and salutes occurred on the Sabbath-day! The following are illustrations —

MADRAS GARRISON ORDERS

G. O 26th May, 1839 — (*Sunday*)

A Royal Salute to be held in readiness to be fired from the Saluting Battery at sun-rise, to-morrow, in answer to one which will be fired from the Cherauk Gardens on the occasion of the anniversary of the *Rubtil-Uswati Festival*

G. O 15th October — (*Tuesday*)

A Royal Salute to be fired from the Saluting Battery to-morrow, on occasion of the *Dussera Festival*

G. O 7th December, 1839. — (*Saturday*)

A Royal Salute to be fired from the Saluting Battery at 1 o'clock P. M. to-morrow, (*Sunday*), on the occasion of the *Ramazan Festival*.

FORT ST GEORGE, 14th December, 1839. — (*Saturday*)

A Detail of the R. H., the Governor's Body Guard, consisting of a Na-

tive Officer, 2 Havildars, 2 Naigues, and 30 Troopers, together with the 19th Regiment, to parade under the command of the Officer commanding the 19th Regiment, at 5 o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday next, on the north side of the Palace Gate, at the Shadi Mahl, for the purpose of accompanying the Procession of the Sundul to the tomb of His late Highness Nabob Azim-ud-Dowlah Bahadúr, in the principal mosque at Triplicane "

Prayers for rain (Varúna-pújam) were ordered by the collector to be presented at the various temples in seasons when drought and famine were feared. Many examples of this custom might be adduced. At Cuddapah, in 1811, the Madras Board sanctioned the expenditure of 150 star pagodas for that object it was a common thing to do so. Mr Cathcart, soon after being appointed to Salem as Sub-collector, had to issue orders for such a puja. He says —

1832 — Among the first official letters I received on coming to Salem was one sanctioning fifty rupees to be expended in each of the three Taluks or districts under me, for the invocation of rain. Some brahmins were to engage in prayer to one of their gods for ten or twelve days, standing up to their necks in water, others were to be employed to avert the anger of certain planets, and some to propitiate other gods the whole to be fed at the expense of Government, to be superintended by Government servants, and to be in every respect on the part of Government, seeking for the attainment of its revenue by these means. I could not order it it seems to me most gratuitous to engage in such an open violation of the laws of God.

By the same authority *brahmins were fed*, as they are feasted by all wealthy Hindus on certain occasions, and for particular ceremonies. As a specimen we may quote the language of the Rev C Rhenius, the well-known Missionary of Tinnevely, written in December, 1831 —

The collector has, by order of Government, given 40,000 rupees to perform a certain ceremony in the idol temple of *Tinnevely*. The pedestal of the idol, for instance, has got some injury, from the oil which continually flows down from the idol at the pujahs, so that insects harbour and perish there, which is a great indignity done to the Swámy, or god. They must therefore mend the pedestal, shut up all the holes that have been made, and make it fine and close again. For this repair, the Swámy must be requested to remove from his place during the operation, and after that to return again on both occasions, a great many muntrums must be said by the Brahmins, and 1,00,000 must be daily fed for 40 days. *To gratify this folly a Christian Government spends 40,000 rupees!*

Another ~~evil~~ more serious in its character, that was long in practice, was *the forced attendance of the poorer natives at the great festivals, for the sake of drawing the idol cars*. Facts are the best illustration of the injustice to which they were subject. In a pamphlet published at Madras in 1835, the writer says :—

In the district of Tanjore alone, there are no less than 4,00,000 people compelled, year by year, to leave their homes and proceed often ten, twenty or thirty miles, without any provision or remuneration, for the purpose of dragging the obscene and disgusting idol cars of the province. Unless Government were to enforce their attendance, not a man of them would come,

nor would they, when arrived, pull the cars, were it not for dread of Government. At the car festival a respectable landholder came to complain that he had just been beaten in the street by the curnum of his village. The Tassildar pleaded for the curnum he represented the impossibility of getting the car drawn unless flogging were allowed and stated, with much respect, that he himself had beaten not less than five hundred on the occasion.

The largest item, however, in the Government connection with idolatry in Madras, was the *direct and official management of temples*. From the time of Mr Place such management had increased every year. Having once established the fact, that an English officer might conduct the affairs of a pagoda, might interest himself thoroughly in its prosperity, and make offerings at its altar, it was easy, whenever a native official was found to misappropriate pagoda funds, to put him out and place the institution under Government charge or if temple-lands failed to pay the land-tax, or their managers died without issue, or mismanaged their trust, the appeal was again made to the Collector, and the lands entrusted to him. Numerous causes of this kind were at work, the natives were pleased, the Company's officers were willing, and thus, during a long series of years, the native dharmakartas or managers were displaced, and an immense number of temples, and large tracts of pagoda-land, were handed directly over to Government. The causes of such an anomalous and injurious proceeding are well stated in the following paragraph of the "Return" for 1849, page 438 —

- When we first assumed possession of the various districts of the Madras Presidency, we did not find the religious institutions of the Natives enjoying that degree of support from the Government, which we have since extended to them. Our connexion with the Hindu idolatry has grown with our growth, we found that in many districts pagodas were enriched by large landed endowments, that the lands attached to them were cultivated by ryots, under engagements with the dharmakartas or the priests of the temples; in course of time we observed, that in many instances these lands were mismanaged, the ryots brought complaints of oppression, and the people pointed to the decay of their temples as the consequence of the mismanagement and neglect of the lands. The result was, that in numerous instances, we displaced the dharmakarta, and ourselves took charge of his duties of the management of the temple and the cultivation of the lands. Wherever we adopted this course, it is evident, that to restore the dharmakarta would be to revert to the original usage, and therefore a much easier business than to find dharmakartas for temples of which the management had been in our hands from the first, not that it is by any means certain, that these temples also were not originally under the management of their own dharmakartas, for it seems very probable that the Governments, which preceded our own, adopted, under the same circumstances, the same course of proceeding, displacing the dharmakartas, and assuming the management of the lands and of the temples. Thus, the Collector of Tanjore, a district in which no less than 2,874 pagodas have hitherto been under the superintendence of the Government officers, alludes to the origin of this state of things in the following terms "It has been usual for Native Governments to alienate the whole or a part of the land tax on por-

tions of land, and sometimes on whole villages, and to vest the collection of it in the grantee, the tendency of such irresponsible management has been, to engender abuse and to call for interference; and the mode of its exercise has been to resume the privilege of control, without infringing on the proceeds of the grant. Thus the greater part of all the landed endowments in Tanjore have for a series of years been under the management of the officers of Government on this account.

At first the lands were placed under the stewardship of the Collectors, who paid into the pagoda-funds the nett proceeds of the estates. It was soon found, however, that in many cases it was more convenient for the Government to *resume* the estates altogether, and pay annually to the pagodas a sum of ready money equal to their yearly value. Direct payments of money, therefore, became substituted for the revenue of estates. In some cases sums of money were paid by Government, as at Púna and in Kumaon, in continuation of grants and voluntary donations bestowed by former rulers of the country. In others again the estates were preserved to the temples under the Collector's management, and the clear income paid for their use. In each instance, however, the closest tie was formed between the Government and the native institutions. They who, with diligence and honesty, had paid over the income to the temple, had also to superintend its expenditure, and thus every item in the cost of idolatry had to be sanctioned and supervised by the English officer. Orders for the repairs of buildings, the purchase or construction of idol-cars, the making of new idols, had all to receive his signature. Every officer of the temple, the worshipping brahmin, the musician, the painter, the rice-boiler, the watchman, had to be appointed under his official seal. The poor dancing women even received their salaries, the pay of vice, through his hands. All this is fully acknowledged by these officers themselves —

The reports received from the collectors of the different zillahs of the Madras Presidency, show that the superintendence of no less than 7,600* Hindu establishments, from the famous pagoda of Seringham to the common village temples, has hitherto been vested in the officers of Government. And this was something more than a nominal superintendence, the people did not merely regard the Collector as the friendly guardian of their religion, but they looked up to him as the regulator of its ceremonies and festivals—as the supervisor of the priests and servants of the pagodas—as the faithful treasurer of the pagoda funds—and the comptroller of the daily expenses of idolatry. "We have hitherto," says the Collector of North Arcot, "stood to these pagodas in the obligation of sovereigns, and our interference has extended over every detail of management, we regulate their funds superintend the repairs of their temples, keep in order their cars and images, appoint the servants of the pagodas, purchase and keep

* The exact number is more than 8,000. See the Table following.

in store the various commodities required for their use, investigate and adjust all disputes, and at times even those of a religious nature. There is nothing appertaining to or connected with the temples that is not made a subject of report, except the religious worship carried out daily in them." The Collector of Tinnevely, a district never visited by the violence of Mahomedan zeal, where Hindu idolatry has always flourished undisturbed, writes in terms very similar "The present control and interference of the district Government authorities extends over almost every thing connected with the pagoda, from the collection of its revenues (from whatever source derived,) and the management of its lands, to the regulating of its daily usual expenses, its periodical festivals, and its repairs. Accounts in detail, including every item of receipt and expenditure, are kept and controlled, and the appointment and dismissal of its servants made by the officers of Government."—P 437

It would be interesting to examine some illustrations of these practical services for idolatry but we shall mention only one or two. Perhaps one of the most scandalous instances of Government patronage of Hindu gods was seen in the festival of the idol Yeggata in the town of Madras itself. At one time this festival had been suspended for more than thirty years. It was revived, however, by the influence and exertions of an *European Collector*. On that occasion the idol was found to be too large to pass through one of the town gates but the Government was persuaded by their officer to *have the gate taken down and the arch enlarged*, "in order to convey to the natives a full proof of the disposition of Government to facilitate the due observance of their religious ceremonies." Our rulers agreed also to *defray all the expenses*. The following is a description of the Company's share in the celebration of the festival by an eye-witness —

MADRAS, December, 1839 —The idol Yeggata, tutelar deity of Madras, is to be brought out to night, the compound of her temple presented a most extraordinary appearance when I passed through it about 5 P M

I passed through the crowd of natives and had a full view of the process. The *Honourable Company's presents*, consisting of a scarf of crimson silk, a thali or ornament for the neck, apparently of gold, and attached to a yellow string, and another scarf of scarlet woollen cloth, exactly resembling that of which soldiers' jackets are made, were borne several times round the idol stage, with wreaths of flowers, broken cocoa-nuts, &c. A peon, the white metal plate of whose belt bore the inscription "COLLECTOR OF MADRAS," led on this procession, clearing the way with his cane, and a number of men followed with long trumpets, which they pointed towards the idol and sounded. There were several of these peons on the spot, each having "COLLECTOR OF MADRAS" inscribed on the plate of his belt; and when the presents were brought on a brass dish, I observed one of them hold it at arm's length over his head, as if to display them to the idol, and to the spectators—another of these peons held up, in the same way, a dish of cocoa-nuts, broken, as is usual in offerings.

We mentioned above, when speaking of Bengal, that there was only one temple in the Madras Presidency, at which the

* Government received a money profit, viz., the temple of *Tripetty*. This temple has been greatly honoured in Southern India, especially by traders. Hence it became the resort of crowds of pilgrims from all parts of India. and offerings of goods, grain, gold, silver, jewels, cloths, horses, and other articles were dedicated on its altars. The expenses of the temple were comparatively small, being about Rs. 32,500 annually, while the income, from offerings alone, amounted to about Rs. 1,10,000. The surplus, therefore, was paid into the Government treasury, and a long line of carts, preceded by a band of music, and guarded by sepoy, was employed to convey it into safe hands.

In all other cases the Government had to *give* money, either as a donation, or in commutation of resumed lands, or as the revenue of temple estates, of which its officers were stewards. After a careful perusal of all the information contained in the "Parliamentary Return" for 1849, and a comparison of one part of the Returns with another, we find that the number of temples under the charge of the Government, and the payments made to them, stand as follows —

*Government payments for Idolatry in the
PRESIDENCY of MADRAS*

District.	No of Pagodas under Govern- ment	Money paid	Income of lands managed by Gov- ernment
		Rs.	
Vizagapatam	50	2,154	None.
Nellore	12	30,537	1,698
Malabar	29	3,571	3,530
Madura	34	49,155	59,197
Rajamundry	18	3,695	780
Masulipatam	2	280	1,148
Trichinopoly	116	56,298	76,541
Tanjore	2,374	1,26,806	1,91,047
Chingleput	24	38,143	5,813
Canara	3,668	1,33,152	None
South Arcot	107	67,121	2,748
North Arcot	75	26,941	None
Salem	193	55,237	562
Bellary	26	2,685	3,336
Coimbatore	132	60,000	49,407
Cuddapah	284	32,067	7,447
Tinnevely	350	1,81,369	26,059
Guntur	2		2,374
Ganjam	176	3,800	None.
Madras	16		...
Kurnul	104	3,780	...
	8,292	8,76,760	4,31,107

From this table it appears that the actual money paid by the Government was nearly nine lakhs of rupees, or exactly £87,678: and that the number of temples, mosques and shrines receiving this sum was 8,292. We doubt not that the members of Government were themselves astonished when these expressive facts first came to light. Even their best friends, even the defenders of the system, could scarcely explain, on sound reasons of moral or political obligation, why a Christian Government, whose members profess to follow the law of the Bible, should have, in two presidencies of their Indian Empire, NINE THOUSAND temples and pagodas under their management, and should endeavour, by the exercise of Christian virtues, to make their idolatrous service *efficient*. A few comments on this table may make its statements more clearly understood. By far the greater number of institutions receiving the Government support were Hindu there were a few Mahomedan mosques among them, especially in particular districts, as Kurnúl, but there were none of much name. At Seringapatam, we believe, the tomb of Hyder Ali, and the establishment of mullahs, both there and at Tippú's mosque at Colar, were supported by these funds. The Tanjore and Canara provinces contained the largest number of temples under the Government officers. The former district, having never been occupied by the Mahomedans, has preserved the Hindu religion in the greatest strength and splendour. The pagoda of Tanjore is perhaps the most beautiful Hindu structure in all India. That at Seringham, in the neighbourhood, is without doubt the largest, most extensive, and most wealthy. Its idol of solid gold, fifteen feet in height, alone proves the power and resources of Brahminism in this ancient territory. As at Jagannáth and Púnah, some of the Government endowments in the Madras presidency were princely. The pagoda of Seringham received Rs. 43,151 annually, that of Tripetty, Rs. 32,500 for its expenses; and that at Trichendúr Rs. 19,000. A larger number received a moderate donation. The great pagoda at Conjeveram received Rs. 12,000 that at Trinomali Rs. 6,000, and the Rock pagoda, at Trichinopoly, Rs. 8,200. But in the greater number of instances, the annual donations were petty in the extreme, making up in number what they wanted in value. They were thus only an injury. they did the institutions little good and kept up the connection of the Government in the most offensive form. Thus in many of the districts numerous temples received *less than fifty rupees* annually. In Canara, out of 3,668 temples, mosques and maths, only eighty-three were "great pagodas," receiving more than fifty rupees

each. Of these again only *seventeen* received more than Rs. 1,000. Of the whole number, 3,043 petty temples received less than Rs. 50. In one taluk, out of 221 temples of this class, *fifty-three* received less than *five* rupees. Of these again, some received Rs. 2; some, Rs. 4; Rs. 2-6-5, Rs. 1-12-10; Rs. 1-3-2; 12 as.; 8 as.; and one received 6 as 5 pie! In other districts also several temples received only *one* rupee. In Cuddapah, out of 221 temples, only two received more than Rs. 1,000; and the majority less than Rs. 100. The climax of Government connection with Hinduism was reached, a few years back, in the district of Kurnul. After the Pathan Nawab had been removed from power, in consequence of his conspiracy, the Madras Government, in return for all his guns and ammunition, continued his annual gifts for religious purposes, and accordingly they* presented annually to NINE TEMPLES, THE MUNIFICENT DONATION OF ONE FARTHING EACH.

We said this was the climax but we find that the real climax in this connection, the lowest point of moral degradation, was reached, not by the East India Company, but by the Colonial Government of Ceylon. As this island does not fall within our province, it is not our purpose to describe the patronage which the native religions once received from its Government we shall mention only a simple fact. The following is a copy of a bill sent in to the Ceylon Government, the items, according to the superscription, having been provided for HER MAJESTY'S SERVICE —

	£	s	d
For the cost of sundry Articles for the use of the			
Malagawa and 4 Dewalas since the procession,	3	10	6
For Devil Dancing, called <i>Wahyakán</i>	3	13	2½
For 13 Out station Dewalas	4	5	1
For carrying the Canopy over the Karanduwa,	0	16	0
For oil and rags,	3	15	0
	£15	19	9½

Let those who have seen the devil dancer of South India and Ceylon, after his draught of blood, with his long hair streaming in the wind, whirl round and round with mad excitement, consider, whether, when such a dance, a dance which a heathen king forbade in his palace, is ordered for "Her Majesty's service" for a period of *seven days*, the patronage of abominable idolatry can possibly descend lower.

From these details, it appears that down to a late period, the Government of India placed itself in intimate connection with

* * NUNIAL. Nine temples (small). *Ref.* 017"—1849, p 295

the temples, mosques and tombs of the Hindu and Mahomedan religions; that it looked upon them as friends whose interests were to be promoted, whose prosperity was to be an object of its care; that thus it afforded them not merely protection but patronage; and that this patronage increased in extent with the increase of their Eastern empire. It appears that it was exhibited in a variety of instances, both of greater and less importance; that in accordance with native custom, the names of idols were inscribed with honor at the head of public documents; that oaths in the names of idols and upon the Korán were administered in the courts of justice; that their officers decided cases where purely idolatrous questions were concerned, that in Government colleges the authoritative standards of the native religions were taught at the public expense, and that native scholars, brahmins and moulvies, because of their position in native society, and their acquaintance with those books of error, received from their rulers special gifts. It appears that the Government by degrees began to take a conspicuous part in the actual ceremonies of idolatrous temples and the maintenance of Mahomedan worship; that the British flag was hoisted and salutes were fired in honor of their festivals, and that troops were marched out, under the authority of English officers, to join in processions and tokens of respect to them that were no gods. In the Madras and Bombay presidencies the revenue officers gradually brought under their official management about NINE THOUSAND shrines, belonging to false religions, they supplied the funds for their expenses, superintended their internal arrangements, appointed all their servants, and were responsible for the proper performance of all their usual ceremonies, they were expected in seasons of drought to order invocations for rain, on the removal of idols, to feed large numbers of brahmins, in some places to use their influence in inducing the poorer natives to draw idol-cars, and on the great festivals to present gifts in the name of the Government. These officers held charge of large tracts of pagoda-land, made terms with the peasantry for their rents, and thus secured the largest revenue they could for the shrines to which the land belonged they could grant donations for the feast of the "Belly-God" to be paid for out of "contingent charges," and even permitted their account-books to be worshipped in the public offices. It appears also, that the highest officers of State have, on occasions, presented gifts to celebrated shrines when travelling in their neighbourhood; that by legislative enactments, the Boards of Revenue are directed to see that Hindu and Mahomedan endowments are really applied to the

superstitious uses for which they were intended, and that in these and a variety of other ways the Government has given a public sanction to the doctrines, ceremonies and practices of the false religions of their empire. Especially has it been notorious, that they established taxes on pilgrims at Jagannáth and other places of Hindu resort, and that from these taxes they reaped, in the course of several years, the immense sum of TWO MILLIONS sterling

The EVILS, which naturally sprang from these lamentable proceedings of the Government, were of no common magnitude. Not that the Government is responsible for all the injury that arises from false religion *as such*, but they maintained evils already existing, they increased, they perpetuated them. Idolatry received *new strength*, and its services were rendered efficient and attractive. The income of temples and pagodas was carefully spent, the buildings were kept in good repair, the tanks were cleaned and rendered serviceable, vacancies were filled amongst the officers, the festivals were celebrated with zeal, the daily ceremonies were duly performed. Formerly, the whole system was in a state of decay, but, under English superintendence, it every where revived. Formerly, the endowment-lands were ill-managed and proved unprofitable on this account, such large estates were brought under the Collectors' charge, but, under Government, private peculation was prevented, the cultivators were well treated, the income was improved and rendered sure. So convinced were the natives themselves of this fruit of the Government supervision, that in many cases fear was expressed, lest for the want of it, idolatry would speedily fall to utter ruin, and when orders were received to give the temples back to native managers, in numerous instances they were received with great reluctance. What clearer confession could they have made that the Government was the bulwark of their system? What could have more fully proved the erroneous position which the Government was occupying? Is it their duty to sustain idolatry? If false religions cannot sustain themselves, the sooner they die away, the better. Again, the *priests* in the temples, under care of the authorities, appeared with the character of Government agents, and wielded the influence which such agents alone possess. The pandas of Puri and the gayá-wals of Behar pleaded the virtues of their respective shrines with new power. The whole system of Hinduism, in short, was invested with a dignity and rank, which its internal meanness, folly and immorality could never have secured for it. The number of pilgrims to the three most renowned shrines steadily increased, and at length became very

large in every case. The pilgrim-hunters multiplied likewise; those at Puri having been recompensed in proportion to the number of votaries they could bring. Even without Government support, they seek for pilgrims; much more would they do so, when that Government *guaranteed* their fees. As a consequence, all the evils attendant on these pilgrimages, especially that to the car festival at Puri, were rendered more intense, whether connected with the moral conduct of the pilgrims, their physical privations, or their numerous and painful deaths. The *fame of our country* and the *name of Christianity* were greatly dishonoured among the heathen. The public salutes, the presents to idols, the subsidizing of priests, the attendance of English officers in their official capacity at the festivals, all tended to give the natives a low estimate of our religion, and even led them to say that English people had no religion at all. *Many an argument* was furnished by their proceedings to the opponents of the Gospel, when the Missionary sought to preach its truths. Hundreds of times have the Orissa Missionaries been asked, "If Jagannáth is not god, then why does the Company give him money?" The same kind of enquiry has been made in other parts of India, and upon a similar ground.

The greatest evil, which resulted from this attitude of the Government, was the public insult, which they thereby offered to the living and true God. All other reasons against their conduct are absorbed in this without this other reasons might possibly have been invalid, and the support of the native systems have been proved advantageous. Political expediency changes with political circumstances. The tax, which produces harm in one place, may be beneficial in another while it increases a pilgrimage in one district, in another it may prevent it. Even the dictates of conscience may vary with the degree of enlightenment which it receives, and the cases in which it is called to act. But as to a Government support of idolatry, there is no room for doubt. The root of all religion and morality is without change. The dictates of the revealed law of God leave no room for question. Idolatry is a crime against God. It cannot be spoken of in soft terms. We cannot call it an unfortunate error, nor style it a lamentable weakness, nor look on it as an excusable fault. The Bible styles it a crime, an "abominable thing," which God hates. On this account, therefore, we object to the position, which the Government of India held, and still partially holds, in relation to Hinduism. We plead this ground, alone, of opposition, to their patronage of its idols and its ceremonies. The Bible lays it down as a law. "*Thou shalt have no other Gods before me.*" "The

‘ things, which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils and not to God. I would not that ye should have fellowship with devils: Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of devils. What communion hath light with darkness? what agreement hath the temple of God with idols?’ The Government of India have sought to unite both, and have therefore fallen into the guilt of him who openly disobeys the word of God. To set aside the Governor of a country, and obey another in his place, is in an individual reckoned treason. He who worships idols, “other Gods,” whatever be their names, refuses to acknowledge the authority of God, ignores His existence, and sets up others in His room. He is guilty of treason against God. Cannot this charge of spiritual treason be made with justice against the Government of India? Have they not given divine honours to them that are no Gods have they not patronized and endowed that religion, which sets up Mahomet in the place of the One mediator between God and man?

Even the heathen are declared by the Bible to be “without excuse” for their superstitious follies, because the works of God before their eyes teach them of better things. Still more are they without excuse who have been taught from higher sources than the works of nature, even by the instructions of Revelation. “To whomsoever much is given, of him shall much be required.” Whatever may be the degree of guilt in the Hindu or Musalman, rude and untaught, man cannot determine, we know that the judgment of God is according to truth. But why should an enlightened Government be a partaker of their sins? The abettors of treason suffer the penalty of treason the abettors of false religion must bide the consequences of their folly. He who has said, “I will not give My glory to another, nor My praise to graven images,” cannot but look with indignation on His professed followers when they join with others in deifying the licentious Krishna, Jagannáth, and Mahadev, feasting the Belly-God, and bowing the head in adoration to account-books and official records. May the sure end of such a guilty course be averted may the improvement in their views and practice, which has been adopted by the Government, prove a lasting one, and may every single link, which binds them to these false religions, makes them abettors of their fault, and sharers in their sins, be broken decidedly and for ever!

It was natural and right that a patronage of idolatry so wrong in itself, and productive of such grave consequences, should, as soon as it was known, attract the attention and arouse the indignation of religious men. From time to time,

therefore, objections to it were offered, and the evils of the Government system were discussed and exposed. The pilgrim-tax at Puri was regarded as specially obnoxious, and more than once servants of Government, in their official minutes, and editors of newspapers or Missionaries in the periodical press, wrote against it on the spot. The result of the agitation, both in India and in England, was the transmission of the memorable despatch of 1833, which is generally attributed to Lord Glenelg. In this despatch, his Lordship discussed the question of the pilgrim-tax in all its bearings; and referred briefly to other details of the connection of Government with idolatry. He stated, however, in emphatic terms, that that connection must be wholly dissolved. On the general principles involved in the subject, he wrote thus —

“ All religious rites and offices, which are in this sense harmless, that they are not flagrantly opposed to the rules of common humanity or decency, ought to be tolerated, however false the creed by which they are sanctioned,

Beyond this civil protection, however, we do not see that the maxims of toleration enjoin us to proceed. It is not necessary that we shall take part in the celebration of an idolatrous ceremony, or that we should assist in the preparation for it, or that we should afford to it such systematic support as shall accredit it in the eyes of the people, and prevent it from expiring through the effect of neglect or accident. Arrangements, which implicate the Government, be it in a greater or less degree, in the immediate ministrations of the local superstitions of the natives, might well be objected to in point of principle, even without any reference to their actual or probable consequences. But that they also tend to consequences of an injurious kind is evident, inasmuch as they exhibit the British power in such intimate connection with the unhappy and debasing superstitions in question, as almost necessarily to inspire the people with a belief either that we admit the divine origin of those superstitions, or at least that we ascribe to them some peculiar and venerable authority.

The ground which the Government was to take in future, and the particular points which all its officers were to observe, his Lordship detailed in the following paragraph —

62 Finally it may be convenient to recapitulate, in a brief series, the principal conclusions resulting from the preceding discussion. These are the following — 1 That the interference of British functionaries in the interior management of native temples, in the customs, habits and religious proceedings of their priests and attendants, in the management of their ceremonies, rites and festivals, and generally, in the conduct of their interior economy, shall cease. 2 That the pilgrim-tax shall be every where abolished. 3 That fines and offerings shall no longer be considered as sources of revenue by the British Government, and they shall, consequently, no longer be collected or received by the servants of the East India Company. 4 That no servant of the East India Company shall hereafter be engaged in the collection or custody, or management of monies, in the nature of fines or offerings, under whatsoever name they may be known, or in whatever manner obtained, or whether furnished in cash or in kind. 5. That no servant of the East India Company shall hereafter

derive any emolument resulting from the above-mentioned or any similar sources & That in all matters relating to their temples, their ~~ceremonies~~ their festivals, their religious practices, their ceremonial observances, ~~and~~ native Subjects BE LEFT ENTIRELY TO THEMSELVES."

In spite of these express orders, for five years the Government of India did nothing. They made no enquiry, they made no change in the ancient system. The unwillingness of the Court at home was seconded by their older officers abroad: and the passes were issued to pilgrims, their fees were received into the treasury, the civilians superintended the temples, the salutes were fired, and flags continued to be hoisted, as if nothing whatever had been said concerning them. But the press was free pamphlets began to be published, and information to be collected in India, upon which the public papers fearlessly commented. The two memorials we mentioned above, were presented at Bombay and Madras, each signed by a large number of the most respectable inhabitants, including Government servants. In England also a Resolution was passed in the Court of Proprietors, that the despatch of 1833 should be carried into effect. But the Directors were unwilling, the Governor-General was unwilling, and the revenue officers, especially those in the Madras Presidency, who *reaped large profits* from their temple management, were glad to see the question shelved. At length, in October 1837, the Court of Directors, in one of their despatches, had the temerity to speak out their real mind. Alluding to a minute of Lord Auckland's, written on the 1st of April previous, in which he had compared the ceremonies of the cocoa-nut festival at Surat to the English feasts of May-day and Harvest-home, of Halloween and Christmas, they expressed their entire concurrence in his views, deprecated the disposition evinced at Bombay and Madras "to force extreme measures" on the Government, and declared it to be their opinion that the time had not arrived for any "ostensible change" in the old system. At the same time, knowing that Lord Auckland's views coincided with their own, they endeavoured to stifle the whole question by directing, that "*no customary salutes, or marks of respect to native festivals, should be discontinued at any of the Presidencies, and that no change whatever should be made in any matters relating to the native religions, except under the authority of the Supreme Government.*" On the arrival of these despatches at Madras, Sir Peregrine Maitland, the Commander-in-Chief at that Presidency, sent in his resignation, assigning as his reason for so doing, that as the Court had drawn back from their own orders of 1833, and wished to continue the system which they

had then condemned, he could not be a party to the oppression of conscientious men, by commanding them to join in idolatrous ceremonies. About the same time Mr. Robert Nelson, a Madras civilian, then in England, openly resigned the service for a similar reason. These facts produced a profound sensation in England in religious circles. The Court felt they had gone too far, and endeavoured to shew that Sir P. Maitland had wholly misunderstood them. But it was too late. The religious public, disgusted with the Directors' hypocrisy, and convinced that they had for five years been systematically cheated in a matter where Christianity and conscience were concerned, poured their petitions into Parliament, and the system was doomed. On the 26th of July, 1838, Sir John C. Hobhouse, in reply to questions on the subject in the Lower House, declared that "he should make a point of using that discretion, which, ' by the act of Parliament, belonged to him in his position as ' President of the Board of Control, to direct such a despatch ' to be sent to India, as would render it impossible for any functionary there to make a mistake. He would take care, and he ' trusted the Court of Directors would agree with him, to have ' such a despatch sent out to India as would perfectly satisfy the ' most tender conscience." A fortnight afterwards the despatch was sent. By November 17th, Lord Auckland had written his minute at Lúdana, on the mode in which it was to be carried out. On that day the tax at Allahabad was abolished by an order in Council and the other pilgrim-taxes soon met with the same fate. Such is the power of the House of Commons.

The Directors' despatch, after the indulgence of a little spleen at the decided conduct of Sir Peregrine Maitland, directs the Governor-General as follows —

We have to express our anxious desire, that you should accomplish, with as little delay as may be practicable, the arrangements which we believe to be already in progress for abolishing the pilgrim-tax, and for discontinuing the connection of the Government with the management of all funds which may be assigned for the support of religious institutions in India. We more particularly desire that the management of all temples and other places of religious resort, together with the revenues derived therefrom, be resigned into the hands of the natives, and that the interference of the public authorities in the religious ceremonies of the people be regulated by the instructions conveyed in para. 62 of our despatch of February 20, 1833.

Whether it arose simply from a change of views, or from the introduction of new men into their body, or from any other secret reason, we know not, but from the date of this despatch, an altogether new line of conduct was pursued by the Court of Directors. Not another word of opposition meets the eye in their letters. They issued clear and decided instruc-

tions; criticised the proceedings of the Indian Government, commended them for activity, and severely reprovèd the Madras authorities for their supineness in carrying their plans into effect. Their course has been steady and consistent, they have exhibited an earnestness and perseverance in getting rid of the evil, worthy of all praise. Had they been seconded in India with a zeal and determination equal to their own, their connection with idolatry would long since have been thoroughly dissolved. But local prejudices, fears and indolence have thwarted their intentions. The more prominent evils, it is true, have been laid aside, but the work, as yet, has only been half done.

It is not our intention to describe step by step all that was done in the three Presidencies to fulfil the Court's orders. our space permits us only to indicate the result. The minor features of the connection were soon removed. A few, in fact, had been removed by Sir Robert Grant at Bombay before the decisive despatch arrived. By a legislative act, *oaths* were no longer rendered compulsory upon native witnesses in the courts of justice they were allowed to fall back upon their ancient custom of making solemn declarations, without reference to the Korán or Hindu Gods. The only defects in the act were, that it did not apply to oaths taken on the enlistment of sepahis, on the appointment of native magistrates, &c., and that Her Majesty's Courts in India were expressly excepted from its influence. In places, where the collector's influence had been used to *compel* the poorer Hindus to *draw the idol cars*, such influence was withdrawn, and the people were left to do as they chose. The order for abolishing the compulsion where it existed was greatly accelerated by the fact, that at Conjeveram, in 1836, fifteen peasants, drawn from home against their will to draw the great car there, had been accidentally killed. The *titles of Hindu Gods* ceased to be written at the head of official documents. By a special order, sanctioned by the Court of Directors, the *salutes* at festivals and the attendance of troops on idolatrous processions, were also discontinued.

Among the important items of this connection, the *pilgrim-taxes* occupied the foremost place. The tax on the Yellama festival at Belgaum was given up in 1836, though the arrangement made did not satisfy the natives concerned. By an Act of Council, in April, 1840, the pilgrim-taxes at Gayá, Allahabad and Jagannáth were also entirely abolished. The Raja of Gayá, Mitrajit Singh, received compensation for his loss of the Gayá profits, by a remission of land-tax on his estates equal

to that loss, viz., Rs. 17,000. The tax-barriers were all thrown down at these great places of native devotion and at Puri, on the 3rd of May, amid the most tremendous storm which had ever been known at that place, a storm in which the boiling surf was rolled close to the European bungalows, in which hundreds of huts were thrown down, and the sacred wheel on the summit of the pagoda tower was bent, the GATE WAS THROWN OPEN, and the Hindu pilgrims of all ranks, for the first time, in a long series of years, entered the barrier free. In May of the following year, the tax at Dharwar, the offerings at Puna, and those at Surat (amounting to *four rupees* annually¹) were given up and in December, the last item of idolatrous profits was cut out of the revenue accounts, by the relinquishment of the proceeds from certain shrines in Kumaon, amounting annually to Rs. 2,800.

The most difficult step to be taken was to surrender into the hands of natives the nine thousand temples which the revenue officers held under their charge, and to withdraw altogether from that interference with their festivals, ceremonies and customs, which these officers had so long exercised. Some of our readers may not be aware how, among Hindus, temples are maintained, priests appointed, and services performed. There is no public spirit among them, united subscriptions to objects of public utility have not been, till late years, at all common. How is it then that the country has been covered with temples, that many have been erected at immense expense, that they have obtained large landed endowments, and support a considerable establishment of priests? A few facts may put the matter in a clear light and indicate the course required on the part of the Government in giving up their shrines to native management.

In the province of Bengal, (and the same is doubtless true in the other Presidencies of India), we believe, that all temples, great or small, will be found to owe their origin to an individual or a family. Temples are not built generally with a view to public benefit, but solely from a wish on the part of the founder to perform an act of merit, to honour gods and brahmins, to fulfil a vow, or to win himself a name. Only wealthy individuals can bear the expense of such institutions, which can be made as costly as their means allow. Small temples are found all over the country, especially in villages, near the houses of the great landholders. Just above Calcutta, for instance, on the banks of the Hugly, in several places a row of temples to Siva have been erected by Calcutta families. The larger and finer temples owe their origin of course to the very

richest families, to Rajas, millionaires, or to the ancient rulers of the country in their palmy days. Thus the beautiful temples at Sibmabas, containing the largest Sivas in the country, were erected by Raja Krishna Chandra Ráy.

When a temple is built, whether great or small, the founder looks out for a brahmin or brahmin family, to whom he may commit it, and who will there perform the proper ceremonies. In most cases he will endow the temple with some land, and commit the land also to the brahmin for his support. All the offerings presented in the temple belong to the brahmin, who thus finds it his interest to serve his idol faithfully. In course of time the family of the founder may die out or decay, but the descendants of the brahmin will hold charge of the land and shrine. Both the founder and the worshippers, who visit the shrine, know full well that what they give goes to the brahmin, and in giving to the brahmin, they give to the god in him. Thus he can almost be called the actual proprietor of the shrine. Small temples have generally but a small endowment of land, perhaps none at all, the offerings made there will be of little value, and the whole can support but one brahmin and his family. Larger temples, being built by richer men, have usually more valuable endowments. For instance, the temple of Káli at Pamhati, near Calcutta, has a considerable estate connected with it. The land was given to the idol by Rámi Bhabáni, and a family of brahmins was appointed to receive the income, on *condition* of offering to the goddess the usual service. Joygopal Bábu was the first priest, and became very rich. The temple of Modon Mohun in Bágh Bazar, Calcutta, was built under peculiar circumstances, and illustrates another mode of management. The idol named belonged to the Bághi Raja of Vishnapur, near Bancoorah, and he being in want of money, mortgaged it to Babu Gokul Mittri of Bágh Bazar. When the mortgage was discharged and the idol was to all appearance returned, the Raja found on examination that only a copy had been returned, while the original was retained in Calcutta. He endeavoured in vain to get it back: he was told that the god found himself perfectly comfortable in Calcutta, and declined to go back to the jungles. The people of Vishnapur having thus lost their god, began to worship his wooden shoes (*khorm*), and do so to the present day. The robber of the idol built a temple for the god, whom he had so strangely stolen, on the land with which he endowed it, stands the Chandni Bazar, yielding annually a large income. The endowment was not made over to any family of brahmins as their hereditary trust, but brahmins are appointed to the

temple, as occasion requires, by the descendants of Gokul Mittri, who retain their proprietorship in the temple still.

The temple at *Tarakeswar* furnishes an example of a large endowment managed by an individual. This holy shrine of Mahadev, situated in the Hugly zillah, is highly honoured by the Hindus, and immense numbers of pilgrims visit it, especially at the *Charak* and *Sibrátri* pujas. The temple and its valuable endowments are all in the hands of a single proprietor, who is called the Mahant Ráj. He must not marry, and as he has therefore no sons to take his place upon his death, he keeps a number of scholars near him, to whom he teaches all his mantras. He himself chooses a successor from among them, and although so much depends upon the appointment, the Government has never had reason to interfere. The Mahant performs all the duties of the temple, appoints all officers, and receive all the offerings. He is sole master, all the pilgrims must see him before they get admission to the temple, and only by his permission will the barbers cut off the hair which the pilgrims devote to the idol. The great temple at *Kalighat*, illustrates the system of united management. This celebrated temple was erected on the south side of Calcutta, by a wealthy family, the well-known Choudrys of Behala. It was endowed with a large quantity of land, lying all around it, and was committed to the charge of a single priest. The natives say, that this priest died, leaving four sons and a step-son, who took his charge of the temple and divided the land amongst them from these sons have sprung the five *páras* of Haldars or brahmin proprietors, numbering fifty-two families, to whom the temple now belongs. These Haldars are considered actual owners of the land, and of the offerings presented to Kálí, they can sell their share if they like, but always on condition of the purchaser performing their part in the temple worship. Some parts of their service, and some expenses connected with it, are performed by them in common. Thus a *bhattacharjya* or priest is appointed by the whole body to perform the daily service, to offer the rice and curries which are given to the poor, to present cakes, sweetmeats, and milk to the idol, to wave the lamp and conch, and to ring the sacred bell. The drum-beaters, the chowkedars, the lighting of the temple, are also paid for by the whole body. The receipts of the temple, however, are not placed in a common fund. To prevent differences, in sharing them, the days of the year are divided on a particular system among the proprietors according to hereditary right, all the Haldars thus take "turns" in the temple, whence they are called *pálá-dárs*; and

each proprietor takes for himself all the ordinary offerings presented on the day when it is his "turn" to preside. Be the gifts many or few, be they money, clothes or ornaments; rice, sweetmeats, sugar or plantains, every thing is taken by the *páládár* of the day. If however a rich man, who has his own priest among the Haldars, wishes to make an offering to Kálí, that priest makes an agreement beforehand with the *páládár* of the day, as to the shares which each shall receive. Conflicting as are the interests of the Haldars, and liable as they must be to get into frequent quarrels, they settle disputes entirely among themselves, and never trouble the Government with their complaints.

Aware of this native system of temple management, the Government of India, when it issued orders to its numerous officers to withdraw altogether from the internal management of the shrines of the native religions, naturally directed their attention to it, as the only way in which that object could be secured. Thus the Governor-General, writing to the Madras Government on the subject, laid down the general principles to be observed in their withdrawal from interference with those shrines in the following words —

The administration of the affairs and funds of the native religious institutions should be vested in individuals professing the faith to which the institutions belong, and who may be best qualified to conduct such administration with fidelity and regularity, being responsible, together with their subordinate officers, to the Courts of Justice, for any breach of the duties assumed by them, which can be made the grounds of a civil action.

The proceedings carried out on this principle, for the separation of the Government from idolatry, are described in all their details in the *Parliamentary Returns*, whose titles head this article. Those for 1845 and 1849 are most valuable documents, and furnish an immense mass of information as to the measures adopted for that end in the various districts of our Indian empire. The instructions of the Court of Directors to the Supreme Government in India, the directions of the latter to the Governments of the three Presidencies, the letters of the collectors, the account of their measures, their difficulties, their success, the reference of peculiar questions to the Government of India, or to the Court of Directors; the Court's approval of what had been done, and urgent instructions to complete all that had been required, these and many other things are spread over the *Returns* with a profuseness which is quite confusing. The "Return" for 1845 is shorter but much better arranged than its successor, that for 1849 is very ill put together, the different letters having only a general

arrangement, and the divisions of subjects not being clearly indicated. It contains nearly all the papers on the proceedings of the Madras Government, including a masterly Summary of those proceedings, presented to the Government of India by D. Elliott, Esq. of the India Law Commission, together with valuable minutes by the Secretaries of Government and Members of Council.

But the "Returns" have many omissions. The proceedings in the Bombay Presidency are only briefly described in the letters of the Government to the Government of India, and the original letters from the collectors of different districts are given in only a few instances. Several letters from Madras collectors are also omitted. The letters and observations of the Court of Directors are only partially extracted, and it is self-evident that some of their communications have been left out altogether. The "Return" for 1851 is especially defective. Though professing to be a continuation of the papers for 1849, it contains no information at all on several important matters which had not been decided when those papers were printed. Be that as it may, we think no one can have a perfect idea of the amount of labour required to secure the desired end, and of the questions which had to be met in the process, without reading the whole of these "Returns." We think also that all who do so will be impressed with the conviction that the Court of Directors deserve high praise for the steady perseverance with which they have endeavoured to carry out the avowed wishes of the English Parliament and the English people for the thorough change which they admitted into their own views, and for the energy with which they urged on their own officers when the latter were inclined to adopt only incomplete measures. We think also, that from those "Returns" it will be acknowledged that in the Bengal and Madras Presidencies, the Government service contains a considerable number of very able men, acquainted with the condition of those over whom they rule, anxious to conciliate them in matters where they feel most deeply, and to carry out the measures of their superiors with prudence, justice and decision.

It is not our intention to enter into all the details of the measures which the Directors ordered, and which the local Governments carried through. We can only enumerate their results. Adopting as their basis of action, the principle which we mentioned above, the officers of various districts sought out the best men they could obtain, to become henceforth the trustees of the temples which the Government had retained under its charge. In Bengal and Bombay these measures were

begun in 1841, the Madras Government occupied in them the year 1842. Though later than the other Presidencies, for which the Court of Directors administered a severe rebuke, the work was done at last. By the conclusion of 1843, there were no longer any shrines left in the hands of Government officers.

In Bengal, the pagoda of Jagannáth at Puri was given over entirely to the charge of the Raja of Khurda, whose ancestors originally built it, and the Government ceased to take any part in the internal management of the shrine. In the N W Provinces, the mosques at Dehli, which had been managed in minute matters by the collector, were transferred to a committee of respectable Mahommedans, chosen from those who were accustomed to frequent them. At Chunar, the Government withdrew from the committee which appointed the manager of the Kasim Sulemani mosque. The pensions at Mirzapore, amounting to Rs 415, which the pandas of the temple at Bindachol had paid under Government superintendence, were taken out of their hands, and the Government itself agreed to pay them, till the death of the present incumbents. The beautiful Durgah at Futtehpore, Sikri, was also ordered by the local Government to be surrendered to the managers of the endowment, but on the earnest intercession of the collector, who predicted its certain destruction, the Court of Directors, on an appeal to them, consented to keep its buildings in repair. An arrangement was also made concerning the appointment of the rawuls or head priests of the pilgrim temples in Kumaon, but what it was, we are unable to say, as the letter describing the details is omitted from the "Returns." Similar arrangements were completed in the Presidency of Bombay. In most of the districts there seem to have been no difficulties in the way of surrendering the temples to native management, and the officers appear to have been prompt and zealous in fulfilling the orders of the Supreme Government. At Sholapore, where grants of money had been made in three places, and the temples superintended by the collector, the people themselves chose managers, whom Government approved. At Belgaum, the temple of Wanshankari, together with its large store of jewels, many thousands of rupees in value, was made over to the pujaris or temple brahmins. The temples around Nassik, to which the Government appointed pujaris, were given up in like manner to an individual or a native committee. In the Poona collectorate, where the Government of India, following the example of the Peishwa, had allied itself completely with idolatry, the numerous temples were committed to native agents: amongst them the celebrated temple of Parbati was given over to six na-

tive gentlemen well known in the neighbourhood. The Deo Chinchor was also informed, that on his annual visit to the temple of Murgaoon, he would no longer receive in the collector's office at Puna the pair of shawls and small sum in cash which he had been accustomed to receive there. In furtherance of their object, when a vacancy on one occasion occurred among the temple trustees at Puna, and the collector was asked to appoint another, the Supreme Government forbade him to interfere, and directed that in all such cases the vacancy should be filled up by the community of worshippers attending the temple in question, or where no such community existed, the remaining trustees should elect another member. This rule was communicated to all the collectors of the Presidency, and merely continued the Hindus' own system, among whom village municipal government is a very ancient institution. The Governor-General then expressed his great satisfaction at the complete execution of the orders of the Court of Directors in the Presidency of Bombay.

In the Madras Presidency, while adopting the same principle, in giving up the 8,300 temples which the Government has superintended, some variety naturally sprang up in the details of the surrender. Mr D Elcott has well described this variety in the following passage of his report —

"The Mahomedan institutions had been seldom interfered with. Where a certain degree of controul was (formerly) exercised, it seems that it has been dropped, and the institutions left simply to the charge of those who before managed their internal affairs. In Bellary, in every village a sabbah was formed, composed of the leading members of the community, to which was left the election of a single superintendent for the village. In Salem also the principle of election was followed, but the superintendence was committed to panchayats, consisting for the most part of three members.

The arrangements which have been made with respect to Hindu institutions are various. The small village Pagodas had not generally been under the charge of Government officers, but, where such charge had been assumed, it has been resigned to the pujari, who "is looked upon in the light of one of the village functionaries, entitled to meras, with the smith, carpenter, and the like. In the case of larger temples, with more considerable endowments, two or more of the principal inhabitants, including generally the official head of the village or the Carnum, have been conjointly with the pujari in a committee or panchayat. Temples of more importance with a reputation and interest extending beyond the vicinity, have been placed under the charge of committees, composed of persons of weight and influence, selected from among the residents within a wider range. Endowments belonging to matams or gurus have been left to the care of the parties interested, and institutions of which the managers have been usually appointed by such matams, have been deemed to need no other superintendence."

A short notice of some of these arrangements will help to illustrate the proceedings of the Madras Government. In Canara, out of the 3,668 temples under the collector's charge,

2,871 were made over to their respective pujaris. All the remainder were made over to committees. In Tanjore, 2,247 small temples were also handed over to their respective priests. Wherever a temple of importance could be conveniently entrusted to the hereditary custody of the neighbouring zemindar, or other persons of local weight, that course was invariably adopted, only a few districts however allowed of it. The pagoda of Trinomali, which received a large income from private contributions, and nearly six thousand rupees from the Government, was made over to five native gentlemen of Madras, who were personally interested in its prosperity. The pagoda of Trichendur, in Tinnevely, with an income of twenty thousand rupees from Government, and private donations worth several thousand rupees more, was transferred to three wealthy trustees in the district. The great pagoda of Nellore, also in Tinnevely, with a similar income, was made over to the most extensive landholder of the province. The large pagoda at Conjeveram, with a Government grant of Rs. 12,000, after a great deal of discussion among two rival sects, who worship there, was entrusted to an individual, whose ancestors had managed the pagoda in former years. The temple at Trivallur was surrendered to the jeer or high priest. The great pagoda of Seringham, with the consent of the most respectable persons connected with it, was transferred to two wealthy landholders, in conjunction with the pagoda stalattara. The Rock pagoda at Trichinopoly was at the same time given up to one of those landholders. The greatest difficulty was experienced with the pagoda at Tripetty, for whose superintendence there were numerous claimants, the annual surplus amounting to Rs. 77,000. Eventually, it was surrendered to the mahant of a college of boyragis, and to his successors in office.

Thus was completed the first great series of proceedings, after the abolition of the pilgrim-taxes, for disconnecting the Government from an interference with the native religions. The result was to withdraw the officers of Government from all interference in the internal management of the temples, mosques and tombs of those religions. Henceforth, the revenue officers had nothing more to do with the repairs of the buildings, the preparations for festivals, the enrolment of temple servants, the painting of the cars, and the custody of the offerings. All their duties were given over to the native committees or individuals, and to them was committed the custody of the temple property. They were thus assimilated to thousands of dharmakartas, pujaris and managers, with whose temples the Government had never interfered. To these committees were also paid the sums of money granted to such temples, and

which had been drawn by the collectors from the public revenue. They also received the proceeds of the pagoda lands, which the Government still retained under its management and from these two sources of income, in addition to the usual offerings, they furnished all the supplies necessary for the temple service.

At the time when the revenue officers thus gave over charge of the money endowments, there existed in almost every collectorate of the Madras Presidency, a surplus balance which had gradually accumulated from these sources an important question, therefore, arose how these funds, called *Pagoda funds*, were to be disposed of. There were no such funds in Bengal, or the North West Provinces. The "Parliamentary Returns" contain not even a hint of any such existing at Bombay only in connection with Madras, therefore, was the question started: and the matter was referred by the Government there to the Government of India. The source of these funds is thus stated in Mr. Ehott's report —

In general the ordinary expenses of the pagodas have been regulated according to fixed tables, in which are put down all constantly recurring charges allowed as necessary for the due maintenance of the establishments, the payment of servants, and the performance of all the customary ceremonies. To meet these fixed charges, periodical payments have been made out of the income arising from money allowances, and the revenue accruing from lands under the management of the officers of Government, and the surplus had been held in deposit. Out of it all extraordinary charges for repairs, &c. have been defrayed, and sometimes disbursements have been made for purposes unconnected with the institutions to which the funds appertained. The amount, which now stands in the public accounts to the credit of these institutions, therefore, has accrued entirely from an excess in the endowments above what is needed for keeping the temples, &c. in repair, and for the due performance of the requisite service and duties.

The amount of the pagoda-funds, remaining in deposit in the provincial treasuries, on March 31, 1846, after the payment of all necessary expenses, was Rs. 11,86,557. By the end of June, 1847, a further surplus had accumulated of Rs. 1,70,873, making a total at the disposal of Government on the latter date of Rs. 13,57,430 or £135,743. The former surplus is detailed in the following table, in the "Return" for 1849 —

Nett Surplus of Madras Pagoda Funds — March 31, 1846

Vinagapatam ..	713 15 4	Tanjore	4,85,656 0 0
Mamulapata ..	258 8 1	Tinnevely	3,31,306 7 8
Guntur ..	7,000 0 0	Chingleput	68,311 13 5
Nellore ..	4,310 1 9	Trichinopoly	65,000 0 0
Madras ..	3,420 8 0	Madura ..	80,195 6 10
Cuddapah ..	4,919 3 10	South Arcot	26,687 3 11
Salem ..	109 3 7	Coppatore ..	38,935 6 7
Onaka ..	6,961 2 5	Bellary	12,872 7 2
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	27,692 11 0	Minor sums.	11,58,884 13 7
			27,692 11 0
		Total, Rs.	11,86,557 8 7

Discussions had often occurred, among the officers of the Madras Government, as to how these and similar sums should be appropriated and after mature deliberation, it had been distinctly allowed, that for the Government to apply them to purposes of public utility, was not only unobjectionable, but a positive duty. The Court of Directors, when asked for their final opinion, laid down the following rule for the guidance of their officers.

"We are anxious that the principle hitherto observed in Tanjore, of keeping the pagoda-funds entirely separate from the Government revenue, should be rigidly maintained. We are of opinion, that all grants and endowments should be, in the first instance, appropriated, if possible, to their original purposes. When the funds are more than adequate to that end, instead of allowing them to accumulate without limit, they should be applied to purposes of general utility, taking care that the particular district, in which the endowments are situated, should derive full benefit from the new appropriation of the surplus."

This rule was considered by the Supreme Government, as applicable not only to the accumulation above mentioned, but also to the annual surplus from the same source, and to donations or endowments that might be resumed when a pagoda falls into decay. The construction of roads and bridges, the repairs and cleansing of tanks, the construction of ghâts, the support of refuges for the poor, and the establishment of schools, were considered to be objects on which the funds might properly be spent. But the large surplus above detailed, was not to be disposed of without some opposition. There was a class of men, who were watching the proceedings of the Madras Governor in respect to it with eagle eyes. These were the members of the recently appointed committees, some of whom were extremely anxious to receive the money, for the use of their own pagodas (One of these petitioners is named Parameswar Gurcul of Strisuptaresheswaraswamegar!). These claims were promptly set aside and the money appropriated. All the smaller sums (in the left-hand column) were handed over at once to the collectors of the districts where they had accumulated, to be expended on bridges, choultries, tanks and wells, that might be used by all classes. The Governor also ordered Rs. 20,000 to be spent in Madura, and 80,000 in Tanjore, for similar objects, and directed Rs. 1,00,000 to be disbursed on the construction of a road to connect the cotton districts of Tinnevely with the port of Tuticorin. He asked for reports as to the necessities of the remaining districts, and of the large surplus (derived from the first five districts in the second column) set apart eight lakhs, £80,000, to the general education funds of the presidency. To this last item the Supreme Government demurred as excessive, and an unusually warm dis-

cussion took place on the subject, but both Governments adhered to their original opinion, and the matter was referred to the Court of Directors. What became of the eight lakhs, and what has since been done with the surplus of 1847 and following years, we cannot say, the "Return" for 1851, which ought to have conveyed the information, being silent on the subject.

The next step in the proceedings of the Government was to surrender the *pagoda-lands*. In the early part of this article we shewed that the Madras Government had, during a series of years, and for various reasons, assumed charge of a large portion of the landed estates with which both the great and small temples had been endowed. These lands were managed by the collector of each zillah, who paid the nett proceeds into the funds of the pagoda or institution to which they respectively belonged. We shewed also, that in that Presidency the nett income from the estates under Government management amounted to Rs 4,31,107. When the order arrived to disconnect the Government from the native religions, an important question arose, as to whether these lands, as well as the temples, were to be committed to native management. The question was not without its difficulties, but the Madras officers, with one single exception, proposed to get rid of the difficulty, by keeping things as they were. They argued, that in all these estates, the Government had made engagements with the cultivators, who held the land directly from them and that the honour and justice of the former were concerned in securing to the cultivator that treatment which he could not expect at the hands of a native landlord. They suggested also that the Government might take permanent possession of all the estates, and pay to each temple an annual rent for them. Such a plan, which involved an *additional payment of ready money* from the Government treasury, though for an equivalent, was considered by them to further the object which the Government of India had in view, of *disconnecting* itself altogether from the shrines of idolatry! But the Court of Directors had anticipated the difficulty, which was first referred to them in connection with the temple of Jagannāth they also knew how the ryots were situated, and they wrote thus —

4. In our despatch of the 2nd of June, 1840, we adverted to your resolution to retain the lands belonging to the temple of Jagannāth under the management of the revenue officers, which you had considered to be expedient, in order that protection and justice might be secured to the ryots.

5. In all cases, however, where the revenue has been, or may be fixed for a term of years, as has been done in Cuttack, we think that the collection of the

revenue so fixed, belonging to temples or other endowed religious institutions, may be safely transferred to agents, to be appointed by the parties in whom the management of the affairs and funds of such institutions may be vested; subject only to such penalties against exactions, and other abuses of their trust, as the native servants similarly employed on the part of the Government would be liable to. The foregoing observations are also applicable to entire villages, which may have been assigned to temples or other religious institutions in all parts of our territories; provided, however, that the revenue demandable from such villages, or portions of villages, has been clearly defined, and a pottah or lease issued to each ryot, specifying the extent of land, the amount of the revenue, and the periods at which it becomes due.

6 It is not our intention that the revenues of mosques and pagoda-lands should be exempted from any charges for irrigation and for the general management of the districts wherein they are situated, to which they may justly be liable, and we desire that provision may be made for defraying such charges before the revenues are applied to other purposes. *You will perceive that in the directions now conveyed to you, it is our object to give complete effect to the principles recognized in the despatches to which we have referred, and we rely on your promoting that object to the utmost extent which may be practicable.*

In consequence of these orders, the Supreme Government determined that, as far as possible, the pagoda-lands should be transferred to the native committees, as well as the money donations. But various measures were adopted at the transfer, such as the grant of special leases, by which the interests of the cultivators were fully secured. In fulfilment of these wishes of the Court of Directors, the Satais Hazari estate, the only land-endowment belonging to the pagoda of Jagannath, and which had been held under Government management nearly forty years, was given over to the Rajah of Khurda, the superintendent and manager of the temple. Small estates, belonging to mosques and durgahs at Delhi and Allahabad, were placed by the collectors in the hands of Mussalman committees. There were few cases in Bombay, as compared with the other presidencies, in which the revenue officers had charge of endowment-land, but such as there were, were transferred without difficulty, and without fear of injury to the cultivators, to the hands of the native trustees, or to the pujaris of the temples and institutions to which they belonged. The Governor of Madras first ordered all the smaller lands to be transferred, and as this arrangement occasioned no difficulty, and merely placed them upon the same footing as all the lands under private management, he proceeded to enquire into the "Great devastanam estates," the large endowments belonging to the most celebrated pagodas. Of the result of this enquiry, the "Return" for 1851 makes no mention. We believe, however, that all the estates have been transferred, and that a small fund, called the Tripani fund, constitutes the only sum received by Government for the uses of idolatry. In thus withdrawing from the effective management of pagoda-endowments, the Government officers have met with much opposition from the natives,

who felt that that management had been for many years the firmest support of their system. This opposition has produced delay, but we are thankful to say, that the transfer has been completed at last.

In spite, however, of all the anxiety and labour thrown upon the subordinate Governments in India for the purpose of dissolving their connection with the native religions, in spite of all the agitation in England, in spite of the positive and distinct orders of the Court of Directors, it must be confessed that the ~~VERY~~ ^{VERY} ROOT of this unhappy connection has been left untouched. While the arrangements were in progress, two questions arose with respect to the trustees. how were vacancies in their number to be filled up, and to whom were they to be held responsible? In the Bombay Presidency, as we have shewn, the Governor-General directed, that where it was possible, vacancies should be filled up by municipal election if that was inconvenient, by surviving trustees. Both modes of proceeding are common in Europe. In Madras no rule was adopted, and the matter ended in the collector appointing to vacancies, and thus keeping up the old system of superintendence. The reason given for this is, that the newly-appointed trustees have no legal existence. Instruments were in some cases executed on their appointments, but they were set aside as invalid, and a general trust-deed, to be adopted in all the collectorates, was promised in their stead. Had the Madras Government fallen back entirely upon the native system, the difficulty would not have occurred. Had they made the trust hereditary (as is the usual rule), or established the principle of municipal election, the village panchayats would have saved them all the trouble and scandal from which they now suffer - and those temples would have been managed like all others. Natives never look after a temple on public grounds, why should the Government do so? Why should they endeavour to secure greater prosperity for the pagoda of Seringham than for that of Chillumbrum? Why should they care for Jagannáth's temple at Púri, and not for that at Mohesh? Why should they watch over the shrine of Parbatí at Púnah, and leave the temples of Sibmúbas to decay?

The responsibility of the temple trustees in two Presidencies has not yet been settled by Government regulations. For securing the faithful discharge of their duty and the right appropriation of their endowments, it is of course necessary that they be subject to the courts of law. but the following regulation of Bengal (XIX. of 1810), and of Madras (VII. of 1817), stands directly in the way of such an accountability, and di-

rects those *collectors* to examine into the endowments, whom the Court of Directors have *forbidden to interfere* —

BENGAL REGULATION, (XIX. OF 1810)

Whereas considerable endowments have been granted in *land*, by the preceding Governments of this country, and by individuals, for the support of Mosques, Hindu Temples and Colleges, and for other pious and beneficial purposes *And whereas* as there are grounds to suppose that the produce of such lands is in many instances appropriated contrary to the intentions of the donors, &c., and whereas it is an important duty of every Government to provide that *all such endowments be applied according to the real intent and will of the grantor, &c &c* The general superintendence of all lands granted for the support of Mosques, Hindu temples, Colleges and for other pious and beneficial purposes, &c. is hereby vested in the Board of Revenue, and Board of Commissioners, &c. It shall be the duty of the Board of Revenue and Board of the Commissioners, to take care that all endowments made for the maintenance of establishments of the above description be *duly* appropriated to the purpose for which they were destined by the Government or individual by whom such endowments were granted

In Bombay no such regulation existed. and it was easy therefore for aggrieved parties, in case of malversation, to cite the trustees in the ordinary civil courts, since those Courts possess so much latitude as courts of equity and good conscience. We have heard that the Bombay collectors have sometimes listened to complaints against the trustees, but they need not have done so, and such conduct is contrary to Government orders. In Madras, however, the effect of this contradiction has been to leave complainants altogether without redress. The collector is forbidden, under the new system, to entertain complaints the civil courts refuse to take up cases which the regulation commits to the collector and thus for NINE YEARS, the interests of those endowments, for which the East India Company cared so long, have been without any legal protection whatsoever! The warmest opponent of the Government connection with idolatry never advocated such injustice. The system established by these regulations has been very fully discussed at Madras in all its bearings, and the officers are unanimous that the old regulation must be repealed. Opinions differ, however, as to the enactment which should take its place a very excellent Draft of such an Act was carefully prepared by the Madras Government, and sent up to the Government of India many years ago. In Bengal, and the N W Provinces also, the question was discussed, and the opinions of the revenue officers upon it were collected. It appeared from almost every report, that the regulation had fallen into disuse, (a clear proof of its unsuitability to the present circumstances of the country,) and that where it was most popular, it was least enforced.

It is impossible, at the close of this long paper, to discuss the

Regulation fully : we refer the reader to the "Parliamentary Return" of 1849, where he will find ample materials for a thorough investigation of it in all its bearings. We shall content ourselves with one or two extracts from the opinions of the Government officers, with respect to its influence upon religious endowments. Mr Pattie, the senior member of the Revenue Board, wrote concerning it in 1844 —

I would ask on what ground of reason or justice can the native subjects of this Government expect, for their institutions, a more perfect protection than is granted to the Christian subjects of all classes. In our own country, endowments are in the custody of trustees, amenable by suit in the Courts of Chancery. In like manner all such institutions, within the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, have similarly the protection of that Court, surely a Government fully discharge every obligation of protection to its native subjects, when no distinction is made, and when to their endowments and institutions is granted the same meed of justice and protection accorded to Christians of all classes. Indeed, unless it can be proved that the English Government is bound to extend to the establishments of false religions special protection not granted to the establishment belonging to the true religion of the State, and not considered necessary for the Christian subjects, I conceive, it must be admitted, that every due consideration is paid to the former by both being on an equal footing

The junior member of the Board of Revenue, in giving his opinion, insisted that it would be a clear dereliction of duty were the Government to refrain from taking direct trust of *all* religious endowments the Deputy Governor thus replies to the principle he had advocated —

In the first place, as has been pointed out by the Senior Member, the interference of the Government in these endowments is now partial, and not general, as it ought to be, if Mr Lewis's argument were sound, for it is exercised only over Hindu and Mahomedan religious endowments, and is never extended to the pious trusts of the Christian, or any other religion. And, in the second place, it is not, His Honor conceives, true in the sense in which Mr Lewis quotes the terms, that it is the duty of any Government to see to the right appropriation of religious endowments, except so far as it is the duty of all Governments to provide for the regular and orderly execution of wills and testaments of every description, viz., by making laws for their due execution by the trustees and executors selected by the testators, and providing courts to prevent those laws being broken.

It is notorious, that the direct interference of Government with Hindu and Mahomedan religious trusts under the regulation in question, is exceedingly distasteful to the professors of those creeds, and that far from being expected by them from the Government as a duty, it is deprecated as a profanation. The practice, therefore, which was introduced by this regulation, was a mistake in two ways; it was a departure from sound principle, and it was displeasing to those for whose benefit it was erroneously intended. It has now been found to be displeasing also to those who are appointed by the regulations to carry its provisions into effect; and for all these reasons it never, in his Honor's opinion, ought to have been enacted, and may now most properly be repealed.

Mr C W Smith, in his minute, pointed out that peculiar feature of the regulation, which has led to its introduction into the present discussion. He shows, that so long as it remains in the law of the country, it is impossible for the separation of

Government from the direct patronage of false religions to be rendered complete. He might have added, that the regulation is the very basis of the patronage, as its object is to secure, by force of law, administered by a Christian Government, such an efficient administration for the endowments of the Hindu and Mahommedan religions, as the internal principles and practice of those religions could never have secured —

I have hitherto reviewed this measure merely as it regards the feelings of our native subjects, but there is another light in which it is also to be considered, and that is, its connexion with the principle which has induced the home authorities to urge upon the Government of India its obligation as a Christian Government, to separate itself from all interference with, or management of all funds assigned for the support of religious institutions, a consideration which originated the measures already completed, or those now in active progress to disconnect the Government from the temple of Jagannáth and the pilgrim-tax at Gayá. To carry out this important principle is alike due to the character of this Government, and to the conscientious scruples of its Christian officers but the disconnexion cannot be complete so long as the revenue authorities and the Government of India, acting under Regulation XIX. of 1810, may every day be called on to inquire into the appropriation of funds to the worship of mosques and temples, or, as was the case last year, to take into consideration the propriety of repairing, beautifying, or re-constructing such decayed places of idolatrous worship entrusted to their care

The matter was discussed in the Legislative Council, and as it was deemed right to make the law of the country agree with its practice, the following decision was announced to the Government of Bengal —

The Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council is of opinion, that Regulation XIX. of 1810 should be repealed, and the Government of Bengal empowered to provide for the appointment of committees to discharge the functions which that Regulation requires the Board of Revenue and the local agents to perform, in respect to endowments for the support of the religious institutions of the natives. The draft of a law on this subject is under consideration.

The Court of Directors fully acknowledge the necessity of repealing or modifying the two regulations named. Indeed, it was they who first pointed out, in their celebrated despatch of 1841, the bearing which they had upon their connection with the native religions. It was also in obedience to the orders of that despatch, that the opinions above expressed, with those of all the revenue officers in the presidency of Bengal, were called for —

It is by Regulation VII of 1817, that the Board of Revenue at Fort St. George is vested with "the general superintendence of all endowments in land or money granted for the support of mosques, Hindu temples, or colleges," &c. and as the provisions of that Regulation are the same as those contained in the Bengal Regulation XIX. of 1810, we are of opinion that a similar inquiry ought to be instituted, and reports made by the Boards of Revenue in the presidencies of Bengal and Agra, with the view of relieving the officers of Government from the management of the lands and control of the funds and affairs of all religious endowments whatsoever

We are also desirous, that the regulations above mentioned may be modified, and that the rules, which require any of our European officers to interfere in the

management of any mosque, pagoda, or temple, may be rescinded, and we request that you will take into consideration the best means of accomplishing this object."

In spite of the concurring testimony of so many of the officers of Government, in spite of the orders and the consent of the Court of Directors, in spite of the unjust withdrawal of legal protection from the endowments of Madras; in spite of the aid furnished by the Madras Government in sending up the draft of a law, every clause of which, except the last, might instantly have been passed, in spite of the inconsistency of their position, in spite of the oppression of Christian consciences, in spite of the disgrace and guilt of being upheld as the patronizers of the Hindu and Mahommedan religions, the Supreme Government of India have not yet removed the obnoxious regulation, nor prepared another in its place. For this culpable negligence they have offered no explanation, though the matter has now been lying before the Council for more than ten years. Whatever differences of opinion may exist as to the new law that is required, in one thing all parties are agreed, viz., that the old regulations, the ROOT of the connection with idolatry, must be REPEALED.

We wish it were in our power to think, that this was the only measure required for the separation of the Government from the religions which it has patronized. We have already indicated some items of an inferior kind, that still exhibit their favouritism. But we shall not dwell upon them now. They are not unobserved by Christian men interested in the matter, and we hope that the Government will also observe and remove them. Besides the regulations mentioned, the great link, which still connects Government with native shrines, and which we know most deeply impresses the minds of the natives, is seen in the MONEY-PAYMENT made by collectors in various places to the pujaris of temples, to the managers of pagodas, to the moulvies of mosques; and to individual brahmins. In each of the presidencies, it has been reported to the Supreme Government, that the connection of the Government with native institutions has been dissolved, and all parties have congratulated each other on the result. We scarcely think, however, that any man, who sees Rs. 2,000 paid every month by the collector of Puri to the superintendent of the pagoda of Jagannáth, would allow that such is the case. We scarcely think, that any man who saw Rs. 43,000 paid annually to the temple of Seringham, Rs. 13,000 to that at Conjeveram, Rs. 1,26,800 to temples in Tanjore; Rs. 19,000 to the pagoda of Trichendur; who saw Rs. 18,000 given from

the collector's cutcherry to the temples of Parboti at Puna and Kutrur; with other sums of hard cash to the temples at Nasick and Sholapore, at Nirmol and Belgaum; who saw actual money paid at Saharunpore and Guhrwal, at Bareilly and Muttra, at Agra and Allyghur, could possibly allow, that the Government has nothing to do with the support of the Hindu and Mahommedan religions. And yet such money is being paid, month by month, from the collectors' cutcherries, to the amount of many lakhs of rupees every year. We allow that the present connection of Government with the native superstitions is almost entirely a money one, but such a connection is to them most valuable, for money is power. The whole sum now paid annually by Government may be stated as follows.—

In Bengal	Jagannáth	Ra. 23,321	Ra.
	Boyragas at Puri for	6,417	
	“holy food”	—	29,738
In the North West Provinces			1,10,475
In the Bombay Presidency, allowances in			
money, grain and land			6,98,593
In the Madras Presidency			8,76,780
Total		Co's Ra.	17,15,586

Next to the repeal of the old idolatrous regulations, these grants of money are the one most prominent feature of the subject requiring the attention of Government. If the Governor-General does occasionally give a donation to the brahmins of Brindaban or Jwala-mukhi, if the gunga-jal still appears in the Queen's courts as the basis of Hindu oaths, if in Government colleges, the Koran, the Upanishads or Purans are introduced into the curriculum of study, much as we may regret such things, may count them wrong and wish to see them laid aside, we think them almost nothing, when viewed side by side with these large sums of money paid over to idol shrines. This latter connection is patent to all, MONEY passes from the Government to the temples, that *money*, which in the eyes of natives, is almost the *summum bonum* of existence. That these payments are a great evil, may readily be seen by asking the natives what they think of them. There may be a reason for the payment, or not, the matter may be explained or not; all we say now is, that the natives will universally reply; “The Company gives our gods money.” That they say so in the case of Jagannáth, is notorious throughout Bengal.

Some of our readers may ask, why the money is given at all. The payments are not a simple donation from the Government, given of their own free will as a gift of love. we believe that two reasons are assigned for them

First: these allowances in money are, to a very great extent, grants made to temples and mosques in lieu of the revenue of certain lands. These lands were their own, being a portion of their endowments, but were taken possession of by Government, either for arrears of the land-tax, a failure in their management, or some similar reason affecting the Government revenue. Some of these lands were resumed under the Mahomedan Government; others, in some parts to a considerable extent, were resumed by the East India Company. A very interesting illustration of these facts is contained in page 219 of the "Parliamentary Return" for 1849. Mr Blair, the collector of Canara, there states, that out of Rs. 1,51,870 paid by him to the 3,600 temples formerly under his charge, no less than Rs. 1,05,923 are payments for the revenue of lands resumed by the Madras Government. The Government, in other words, took the estates on a perpetual lease, and paid that sum for rent.

Secondly: another item in the money allowances consists of actual donations, which were originally presented by former Governments, and which, on the conquest of India by the East India Company, were continued by them with a view to conciliate the recipients and their co-religionists. Thus the money paid in the N W Provinces consists almost entirely of money gifts begun by the Mogul Government. Thus also the *dakshina* at Puna, and the many sums paid to the temples of that collectorate, originated with the Mahratta Peishwa. Thus, too, originated the nine farthings bestowed on the temples of Nundial in Kurnul.

The present donation of Rs. 23,321 to the pagoda of Jagannáth is represented as having a somewhat similar origin, though its case is quite peculiar. It is said, that among the old endowments of the temple, in addition to the Satais Hazári Mahál, there were some sayer duties, a poll-tax, and assignments on the revenue of a district in Orissa. These sums constituted a kind of donation presented by the Rajas of ancient days, but the taxes were of the most precarious kind, have long since been abolished, and certainly ought not to be compensated now especially, when the Government has by its roads and free communication opened up to the temple a source of revenue, which it never had in the days when those taxes existed. Then the chief income of the temple was derived from Orissa itself: now the largest proportion comes from the pilgrims of Bengal and Upper India. Of all the money allowances to temples, that granted to Jagannáth has the weakest ground to stand upon. Were the Legislative Council therefore to pass into a law, the Draft Act which they recently

published respecting the discontinuance of the donation, they would do no injustice, and remove a public scandal. The Rajs of Khurda would be legally permitted to collect the usual fees from the pilgrims, and receive from them an annual income greatly exceeding what his ancestors enjoyed in former years.

The two classes of money allowances, which we have described, stand upon a very different footing. In appearance they are equally bad, they equally lead the people to believe that the Government of the country supports the native religions in the most efficient way they equally keep up the connection of the Government with those religions and we hope, on this account, to see them both entirely set aside. But as they have a different origin, they require to be differently dealt with. The *former* class of payments is undoubtedly the *bonâ fide property* of the institutions. They are the rents for those estates which the Government is holding under a perpetual lease. To them, therefore, they have a sacred right, and we have no wish to see that right violated. But ought not the obnoxious payments to be got rid of? If in the outset their land was commuted for money, why should not that land be restored? The estates resumed by the Government of late years, as in Canara, must surely be known, and what objection can apply to them which does not apply to the pagoda-lands that have already been transferred to their owners? If these lands, which are known or can be found out on enquiry, were surrendered, we imagine that only a small number of donations of this class would remain. These would represent the lands resumed by the Moguls and by the English Government during the last century, the locality and boundaries of which are now unknown. Even these also might be commuted for land. They were paid for land why may not the process be reversed, and land be given for them. If the matter were properly explained, no scandal could attend the transaction. Such cases are not like the land which some members of the Supreme Government proposed to give to Jagannâth - in the latter case, a precarious income from taxes liable at any time to be abolished would have been turned into an endowment of the most certain kind in the case we are describing, the temples and mosques would merely receive an endowment similar to what they once possessed. *This very plan was proposed in 1846 in connection with a mosque at Quilandy, and carried into effect by the Supreme Government*

The *second* class of payments, those made in continuation of the gifts of former Governments, contain, we conceive, a

radical defect in their very constitution, and ought to be discontinued altogether. They were given by Hindū and Mahomedan Governments for the support of religious institutions, which they believed to be true. They are continued by a Christian Government to religions, which it knows to be false. They were the voluntary gifts of those Governments, gifts of their benevolence, which the necessities of their kingdom, the demands of war, or an unwillingness to pay them longer, might at once have set aside. They were pensions, not perpetual endowments. Where then is the obligation of the present Government to continue them? They are voluntary gifts now, as they were then. If it was felt to be wrong to supervise the expenditure in an idol temple, is it less wrong to furnish the very means of that expenditure? If the Government must not manage temples, shall it pay for that management and supply the funds? If it may not be an idolator openly, may it be an idolator by proxy? Looking at the inherent error in endowing the shrines of false religions, at the voluntary nature of these gifts, and the absence of all but a political reason for paying them, we suggest whether the Government ought not to consider the propriety of altogether discontinuing them. They need not be abruptly given up. Donations to individuals might be allowed to expire with the present incumbents. In the case of larger sums a notice might be given of three or five years, as might be thought most proper. All sums under fifty or a hundred rupees (a large proportion of the whole,) might be given up at once. But in whatever way the members of Government may deem most cautious, most wise, and most complete, let the great end be secured of separating the Government from the native institutions, not in appearance only but in fact. Until the payment of money ceases, can it be said that such separation has really taken place.

To facilitate such a final settlement, there is required, first of all, a detailed statement of every pice spent upon the native religions in every district of our Indian empire. Such a statement should specify when the payment was first made, and the ground on which it was made. It should specify what payments are donations of money begun by former Governments, and what payments are made in commutation for resumed land, whether the resumed lands are known, or whether the boundaries cannot be specified. The enquiry completed, it will be easy to deal with every case, according to its intrinsic merits.

With these two measures, the repeal of the idolatrous

regulations, and the withdrawal of money-payments, would fairly cease that patronage, which has been conferred upon the native religions for more than half a century. So long as either is left unfinished, so long can it not be said that the Government relinquishes the special favour which they have shewn to them. In making direct efforts to see that Mahomedan endowments are really applied to the "pious" purposes of their founders; to see that lands devoted to the maintenance of the Charak Puja are efficiently applied, in presenting voluntary donations to the brahmins of Puna and the shrines of Kurnool; they are keeping up systems injurious to their subjects; they are disobeying the law of God. It is only for *political* reasons that the patronage has been bestowed, it is only because the friends of those systems are so numerous, that countenance has been shown to them. Thus did the people of old, "who loved the praise of men more than the praise of God." Not for this did the God of Providence bestow upon the Government of India their splendid empire not for this was English influence rendered paramount in the Eastern world. But that the Government might secure to every man his liberty, property and rights, and let religions stand or fall by their own intrinsic merits. Hinduism and Mahomedanism have never yet elevated a single people. They have proved a curse wherever they have prevailed. If we wish to see the people of India raised, we must look elsewhere for the power to raise them. We need not go far. The King of kings has declared "RIGHTEOUSNESS exalteth a nation, but SIN is a reproach to ANY people."

ART VI.—*Travels in Ceylon and Continental India, including Nepal and other parts of the Himalayas, to the borders of Tibet, with some notices of the overland route. Appendices, I. Addressed to Baron Von Humboldt, on the Geographical distribution of Coniferæ on the Himalayan Mountains II On the Vegetation of the Himalayan Mountains III The Birds of the Himalayan Mountains.* By Dr W. Hoffmeister, Travelling Physician to his Royal Highness Prince Waldemar of Prussia. Translated from the German Edinburgh. 1848.

OUR readers will remember the young physician, who fell by the side of the Prussian Prince at Ferozeshah, in 1845, although they may have forgotten his name. It was Dr W Hoffmeister, the author of the volume mentioned above. He had accompanied Prince Waldemar of Prussia from Europe, and had followed him through many countries and many adventures, when his career was cut short by a stray shot from a Seikh gun.

On the 21st of December, the British army advanced towards Ferozepur, and encountered the Sikh forces at Ferozeshah, their main body being drawn up in a thick jungle. A bloody battle ensued. The British troops, marching in close array, attacked the enemy, but the murderous fire of artillery and grape-shot brought them to a stand. At this critical juncture, the Governor General, Lord Hardinge himself rode along the front ranks, encouraging them to the onset. Prince Waldemar accompanied him, surrounded by his fellow travellers. While riding close beside the Prince, whom, in this moment of extreme danger, he refused to quit, Dr Hoffmeister was struck by a grape-shot which entered his temple. He fell forward to the ground. The Prince instantly sprang from his horse, and raised him, but the vital spark had already fled, at the same moment, the advance of the forces rendered it necessary to move on. The slain were unavoidably left on the field of battle. Not until two days had elapsed was it possible to inter them.

He was laid in the same tomb with several of his friends who fell on that bloody day, and a simple monument in the burial ground at Ferozepur, erected by the Prince to the memory of his faithful physician and beloved companion, records his tragic fate, and marks his journey's utmost bourn.

The book is a much more interesting one than the somewhat forbidding title-page would lead one to expect, with its "Appendices I Addressed to Baron von Humboldt on the 'geographical distribution of Coniferæ on the Himalayan Mountains. II. On the Vegetation,' &c., &c., and ending with that—"translated from the German," which suggests to the general reader, the idea of something very learned, very comprehensive, and very dull, in short, very exhaustive, both of the matter discussed, and of the reader's patience. But we can assure our readers, that they will find it a very readable book, with all the

Conferæ and other indigestible matters put snugly away in the three appendices. We do agree to some extent with those who maintain that a scientific traveller is a bore, as much almost as a scientific lady. Acting on this, which is one of our fixed principles, we shall carefully exclude from our extracts, all such barbarisms as *sparus æthrinus*, *mullus barbatus*, *pistacia terebinthus*, *vultur peronotus*, and so forth.

Our travellers sailed from Trieste on the 16th September, 1844, and touched at Ancona and Corfu, where they are surprised to find, that no one knows any thing of the remains of Calliope, "the ancient city of Corcyra," the true name being Cassiope, now Santa Maria di Cassopo. At Patras the following amusing scene occurred.—

Two remarkably handsome lads, of ten or eleven years of age, especially attracted my attention. I drew the portrait of one of them. He stood perfectly still, with decorum and respect, not knowing what I was going to do with him. Some men, who had pressed forward to peep over my shoulder, began to notice the thing and when at last they discovered the likeness, they cried aloud again and again "*Καλόν ! καλόν !*" And now each man would have his picture taken—each one pressed forward to the spot where the boy had stood, smote on his breast, and gesticulated with extraordinary vivacity, placing himself in the best attitude and adjusting his dress in the most becoming manner. It was a wonderfully pretty scene. One of the most refined looking, and best dressed among them, had the honour of being sketched, and when, at last, he actually stood there upon the paper, the fellow himself and his neighbours could not contain themselves for joy, he hopped and jumped, first on one leg then on the other, snapped his fingers, and talked on without ceasing. At length he took Count Gr—— and me aside, and drew us almost by force into his hut at no great distance, brought out his arms, displayed to us his medals won in the Turkish war, and laid before us his best belts and jackets. Then he went into the little garden, tore down with both his hands some bunches of grapes, which he constrained us to accept, and gathered besides for each of us a large nosegay of odoriferous herbs.

In due time, we find our author seated on the Acro-Corinthus, and surveying the sea and land from that elevated spot.—

On the extreme summit, we seated ourselves on two pillars of the Temple of Aphrodite,—mere broken pieces, requiring the skill of an archaeologist, such as Professor Ross to trace their story,—and surveyed the Isthmus of Corinth,—the calm blue waters on either side—death like,—without one vessel,—the two large and magnificent harbours of ancient Corinth. How narrow did the neck of land appear, when viewed from above—how trifling the distance separating us from Helicon and Mount Parnassus on the opposite shore! These also are now but naked rocks,—these heights that once were crowned with groves of pines and oaks,—so lovely—so much sung. Pity it is indeed, that the death of all vegetation should produce in the mind so melancholy an impression, wherever one turns one's eye, trees are wanting—men are wanting,—one sees only inquisitive Englishmen, telescope in hand, searching out the traces of former grandeur. Notwithstanding the burning heat of the sun, the precious spring water, collected in the ancient Greek subterranean water courses—which even the many

centuries of barbarism have not succeeded in destroying—never fails to rise on the surface of this rocky summit.

At length they land at Athens. Although we are in all haste to reach Ceylon, we must linger a while amid the scenes which bring back to us all the dreamings and aspirations of school-boy life. Who that ever read a page of Xenophon or Plato, or Demosthenes or Sophocles, has not wished to stand on the Acropolis? As the heart of the Christian beats with high emotion at the thought of Jerusalem, with its brook Kedron, its pool of Siloam, its Zion and its Olivet, so the heart of him, whose boyhood has been spent (in spirit) amid the enchanting scenes of classic story, must ever feel some re-kindling glow of young enthusiasm, when he thinks of Athens, with her Piræus, her Makronteichos, her Acropolis, her Hymettus.

On the 21st September, our author and some English travellers ascend the Acropolis —

The impression made on first viewing the Parthenon is sublime beyond all conception, it is the most beautiful monument of antiquity that I have seen. The colossal bas-reliefs, which filled up the pediment, are now in the British Museum, to which they were sent by Lord Elgin. I have seen them there, standing upon the floor where they have a mournful aspect, as every thing must have that has been torn down from its proper position under the free canopy of heaven. The digging up and the carrying away of old Turkish mosques, and other buildings, have afforded a rich treasure of marble fragments, one shed is here filled with broken statues and friezes another with vases and coins.

The temples of Erechtheus, of Apollo and of Bacchus, are now but groups of ruined pillars scattered here and there,—none of them indeed so large as the glorious Parthenon, but each in its own way, beautiful and astonishing. Had the rays of the sun been less intensely scorching, how gladly would I have sat for hours longer, on the high marble steps, where I beheld around me the magnificent remains of the past, while the dirt and rubbish of the present age lay far beneath.

* * * * *

At some distance from the town, in a street which, as yet, is only marked out, and has no houses, stands the theatre. The university and the hospital, on the other hand, are situated in a tolerably pretty part of the neighbourhood, which is already covered with pleasant houses, and has the honour of possessing the only green trees any where to be seen. The quarter of the town nearest to the Acropolis is, on the contrary, most horrible, abounding in dingy rubbishy ruins, yet one sees there scarcely a wall that has not variegated fragments of marble columns, or the heads or trunks of statues built up in it. The figures that usually meet the eye, running or crawling among the debris, are those of sordid, dusky coloured boys, or ugly, tattered old bays. In many parts the rubbish is lying twenty four feet deep, and, on attempting to excavate, one meets with the capitals of pillars that yet stand erect.

But, a great deal of our author's time, while he was at Athens, seems to have been taken up with visits to King Otto's Court, and pro-~~ceeds~~ with their Majesties in various di-

rections. Now, a pic-nic is a very good thing, and a merry Court, with an affable young king, and a "sprightly, active lady" of a queen, who "decidedly prefers a swift-galloping horse to a tea-party," may also be a very good thing, (we have not tried it,) but, on the whole, we should prefer to spend our days more contemplatively, if it should ever fall to our lot to visit the once glorious hills of Attica. However, we must take our author as we find him. He that travels with princes, we suppose, must do as princes do. Here we have, then, his account of the king and queen, and of their first excursion —

On Tuesday (the 22nd of September) I had the honour of being presented to the King and Queen, and since then I have been at court nearly every day, and have taken a lively share in the enjoyment of all the pleasure parties. The king is a young man of prepossessing appearance, and his countenance is always marked by a friendly expression. He is habitually attired in the Greek costume, and never lays aside his broad silver sabre. He graciously did me the honour to enter at once into a long conversation with me, and on subsequent occasions likewise he seemed to have a predilection for talking with me on zoological subjects, especially when I had the honour of being seated opposite to him at the dinner table. The Queen is an elegant sprightly active lady, of an even, bright and happy temper,—fond of making, in person the arrangements for all the parties of pleasure, and decidedly preferring a swift galloping horse to a tea party,—and social games in the open air to musical entertainments. Although the ladies of her court were clad in the graceful costume of Greece, she always appeared in a simple attire of French or German fashion.

On the appointed day the proposed excursion took place—to the ruined mountain fortress of Phylæ situated on Mount Hymettus. It was a most frightful ride. I could never have scrambled up these paths on foot but, with Greek steeds, these four hours of clambering up and down again were a mere trifle, which the queen and her ladies accomplished at a gallop, while to me, the deep chasms, and the loose tumbling masses of stone, afforded matter of no small uneasiness. Professor Ross always led the van ready to solve any doubts that might arise, and to throw light on the various antiquities. Unfortunately, time is too short, otherwise I should have had pleasure in dealing out to you much learned information, which I picked up by the way.

The view from the colossal rocky masses of which the ancient fort was composed, was indeed transporting. It included Athens,—the royal palace, shining in all its whiteness in the blue distance,—the fir clad mountains, illumined with a rosy brightness—and rendering the effect more vivid,—grey, sombre looking cliffs predominating on every side. At nine o'clock we returned to the village, where we had left the carriages. It is a large and prosperous place. Here we found the royal tent ready pitched, and a liberal repast was served, in which nothing was lacking that could satisfy the most dainty palate.

Then follows a dance of the people of the neighbouring village, first of the men, and then of the women, the whole being wound up with a race "run by the young maidens of the village, which caused prodigious laughter."

At length the day of departure comes, and our travellers must bid adieu to Athens, with its dirty coffee-houses, majestic ruins, and sprightly queen —

The most exquisite sunset glow was illuminating the Acropolis as we wended our way homewards, every mountain shone resplendent in the roseate light. What a magnificent prospect! As darkness cast its shroud over the landscape, we perceived the fires of the gipsy groups on the level plain below

Monday passed away in preparations for our departure, after dinner I rejoined the Prince at the palace and about five o'clock, we drove to the Piræus. The Parthenon was shining brightly in the serene light of evening, the white pillared ruins were looking down upon us, as though they would bid us farewell — awakening in our minds thoughts of home. At the fort we met our English acquaintances, some of whom took leave of, while others accompanied, our party. To many others besides, we bid a hearty adieu, the little bark rowed off and at the same moment, the men of-war lying in the harbour thundered their farewell salute!

After the usual events of a Levant steam voyage, our travellers reach Alexandria. We pass over our author's description of the motley crowd of Turks, Persians, Greeks, Africans, &c., who travelled by the steamer, the old Turk, whose tooth he extracted, the popularity and gifts of water-melons that followed this exploit, the shout of joy raised by the crowd, when they come in sight of the African coast, the shouting and fighting of the donkey-boys on the beach, the "very elegant calèche, lined with white silk," in which they proceeded to the town, — and land them at once in the great square —

We at length reached an open square surrounded by a number of thoroughly European looking houses. They were built, as a speculation, by Mehemet Ali, who asks a high rent for them. We halted before one of these, — the Hotel Oriental, a large stone-house, with lofty saloons, all the blinds of which were closed. Behind each apartment is an alcove, with two beds, a handsome sofa, a piano forte, and a number of Parisian engravings adorn the rooms. The cuisine is excellent, — in a word, it unites all the advantages of a good French or German hotel, the only drawback being the nightly plague of the mosquitoes, which unfortunately in this country never fail to disturb our slumbers. We spent some time, on our first arrival, in lounging on the window seats, amusing ourselves with watching the sorrowful looking and noiseless trains of dromedaries, laden with stones, constantly passing by, with slow and monotonous pace, — the Mahometan population, clad in the gay and motley costumes of the East, and the multitude of English and French travellers, even ladies, mounted on horse-back and on asses — all seen at a glance, on casting one's eye round this spacious "*place*" Venders of pastry and sweetmeats, of lemons and sherbet, — gracefully carrying their goods on the top of their heads, — and water carriers, with their bags of goats hide, — made by skinning a goat in a very clever manner, and afterwards sewing up the neck and the legs, — some on foot, and others mounted on camels, all jostling each other among the crowd

After the usual round of sight-seeing, Pompey's pillar, the

Pasha's palace, &c., they started for Atfeh and Cairo. Perhaps all our readers are aware, (even those of them who have not travelled from Southampton to Calcutta by the "three-pound-a-day" route,) that Atfeh is the point of junction between the Mahmudieh Canal and the river itself. To those who have not travelled that way, the following may give some notion of the water transit from Alexandria to Cairo —

On the 5th of October, in the morning, we went on board the vessel by which we were to proceed, on the Mahmudieh Canal, taking with us a good supply of provisions. Our interpreter, — a black man with fine eyes — followed us in a small neat track boat, made of painted wood. The country around, destitute equally of life and of verdure makes a melan- choly impression on the traveller. Mud huts, a "*Sakieh*" many Egyptian vultures, and a few miserably poor and half savage men, were the only objects that attracted our attention. The whole course of the canal lies through a stratum of sand and clay and in most parts the rude mound which confines it is not even clothed with grass.

It was late in the evening ere we reached the place where the canal enters the Nile, beside a wretched village (' Atfeh,) whose inhabitants dwell in common with their poultry in a kind of swallows nests. The junction of the canal with the waters of the sacred stream is effected, at this point, by means of a lock with sluice gates. A stately steamer beautifully lighted up, was lying at anchor in front of a house two stories high in which coffee was served and as we went on board, we were greeted with loud music. We found every thing in the boat arranged in the best possible style, — the after deck was surrounded with purple velvet sofas and the cabin set apart for our use was cool and airy. Certainly, whether from the effects of imagination or really from the beneficial influence of the mild and tepid air of the Nile, with its silky, balmy softness, — we did, as we lay there stretched beside each other upon the floor, enjoy a slumber so refreshing, that no other could be compared to it. Meantime, every three or four hours, all the numerous domestics belonging to the vessel renewed, *in pleno*, their vigorous exertions in the way of performing, with the accompaniment of drums, kettle drums and serpents, airs of Bellini or of Donizetti, it never occurred to any one among them to think of our poor ears being torn to pieces by their discord. On the contrary, all this was done for our entertainment, till at length we gave them clearly to understand that we were no amateurs. In the morning, (on the 6th of October) we partook of a most scanty breakfast, as our provisions were rapidly disappearing. We were therefore most agreeably surprised, when, at dinner, the cook of the steamer set before us a great number of dishes, all choice Arabian dainties, for the most part consisting of very greasy preparations of rice or of flour — several of them really excellent, — but many, according to our taste, too fat and doughy.

But truly, neither the good fare, nor the noisy Egyptian music and drum ming, could indemnify us for the ennui of watching the view along the banks of the Nile. The broad expanse of water, turbid and of a dark yellow colour, winds through a low and barren plain, which displays none of the fresh verdure that one might expect to see so soon after the inundations. On the exterior margin of the river only, is there a little half dried up grass, to consume every particle of which, with all possible expedition, affords matter of rivalry to the young camels, and to the numerous herds of buffaloes, which stand up to their muzzles in the muddy water. Here

and there appears a palm grove, of from fifty to a hundred ~~dato~~ palms, as far as I could judge, the height of some of these trees might be eighty or ninety feet

"Sakieh" is Arabic for water-wheel, a large wheel with buckets attached, to scoop up the water from a lower channel and pour it out in a higher one. As to the "cool and airy" cabin of the steamer, we merely remark, that what is cool and airy for half-a-dozen, may be hot and close to half a hundred. Any one, who has sailed either up the Nile to Boulak, or up the Hughli, will sympathize with our travellers in their grumbles at the monotony of the process. To persons who are fresh from the beauties of the Thames, or Dee-side, or Clydesdale, or the vine-clad banks of the Rhine, the monotony of a two days' sail through a flat expanse of muddy land, against a strong broad current of muddy water, is intolerably irksome. As for us, in this monotonous Bengal, we think such grumbling quite unreasonable. Two days on the canal and river! exclaims our friend from Allahabad, what would they say to two months? However, if there is any truth in what our Howrah and Burdwan friends tell us, we are to have a railway here in the course of time. If they are not playing upon our credulity (as we half suspect they are), and the said railway is not one of those fabulous prospects with which our country correspondents, from time to time, seek to relieve the dull tranquillity of our city life, if, we say, we ever do get a railway, with real timetables and real trains and locomotives, then even we old plodding Bengalis will learn to grumble. But as things are at present, we say again, the canal and Nile voyage to Carro is a mere trifle. And if it is somewhat irksome to the traveller fresh from Europe, we ask,—is it not worth a great deal more of patient endurance to attain the first burst of the beauty of Carro? Our author speaks of this with becoming enthusiasm:—

It is now once more day. The Venetian blinds are opened. What an enchanting prospect! To our left, a long row of oriental houses, with richly carved "*mushrebhis*," (latticed projections instead of windows,) interspersed with mimosas and palm trees, rising picturesquely above the garden walls, the long line of houses and palaces is terminated by a tall and splendid minaret. Several similar buildings, gaily painted red and white, appear in the fore-ground. The centre of the back ground is a grove of palms gracefully pencilled against the blue horizon, adjoining it, to our right, tower the two, gigantic Pyramids of Gizeh. They supply in some measure the place of hills, which are wanting to perfect the beauty of the landscape. To our right, on the horizon, lies the desert, easily recognizable by its atmosphere, for ever it floats a thick vapour of yellowish grayish hue. The fore ground here, however, is all the prettier for this, it consists of a thick forest of acacias, clothed in the freshest vernal green, and broken at intervals by flourishing fields of maize. In the centre of the picture a small piece of water, bordered by *Labbek acacias*. Near this basin passes

one of the greatest thoroughfares leading to the city, it extends across the wide square called "*the Ussukit*," upon which the windows of our hotel look out. A multitude of asses laden with fruit, followed by swarthy young drivers, is approaching the town, then draws near a long train of slowly-pacing dromedaries, each fastened by a rope to the one before it. Women in blue shifts and trousers, a large urn on the head, a smaller one on the up-lifted palm of one hand, and often a naked infant astride on the shoulder of the other side, white Copts, with their black turbans, black Nubians, with their long white togas, lean, wizened, filthy looking Arabs, and fat, well fed, cleanly Turks and Armenians, all are moving on, en masse, towards the city. Close in front of our windows, the eye is refreshed by the rich foliage of acacias and sycamores. It is impossible to describe the delight we feel in once more beholding really green trees, which we have mourned the want of ever since we quitted Vienna. Here is shade, here is water, here are clean beds, and a most comfortable breakfast. Having done honour to the latter, our curiosity could be restrained no longer. We jumped upon the backs of the asses that stood in readiness under our windows, and off we set, without loss of time, bound for the interior of the city of the Caliphs.

The learned physician appropriately wound up his acquaintance with Egypt, by creating an interesting case of incised and contused wounds, and bones as nearly broken as whole bones could be. Like a good enthusiastic traveller, as he was, he made a point of descending into every dangerous and ugly hole he could find. Not content with creeping into the passages of the Pyramids one day, he goes down an old well or shaft the day after, and nearly ends his career by letting go the rope and falling to the bottom —

The graves of animal mummies, (ibises, oxen, sheep snakes &c) situated in the neighbourhood, near the village of Abousair, we only found after a difficult search, and a very long rope was necessary, to let us down the half filled up shaft*. While being drawn up again, having seen little or nothing, my hands slipped, I lost my hold of the rope, by which I was endeavouring to pull myself up and fell, when I had nearly gained the top, down again to the bottom,—a great depth. With hands excoriated and shockingly wounded, I at length contrived to get out, and, mounted on an ass, not without pain and difficulty, I reached the Nile, by which fortunately, we were to return home. For I should have been utterly unable to hold the bridle. At midnight we found ourselves standing before the gates of Cairo, and it was only owing to a lucky accident that we were suffered to enter, though ignorant of the watch-word.

We must enter our protest against this passion for underground explorations. Miners, no doubt, must descend into the bowels of the earth. It is their trade. Many things must be done professionally, which one would never do for the pleasure of the thing. One would not like to cut off a friend's arm, but the surgeon, who performs the operation, loses none of

* Mr Lucas, who, in 1714, wandered, by the aid of Ariadne's thread, through nearly all of these catacombs, imagined, from embalmed ox-heads found there, that the god Apis had been buried in them.—*Es.*

plantains. This beautiful greenish yellow fruit has a charming effect, amid the freshness of the gigantic spreading foliage, its flavour is far more delicious here than at Cairo, where we had it at dinner daily. Each plantain is about four inches long, its skin is soft and leathery, beneath that is a pulpy fleshy substance, very sweet, and without either seeds or kernel.

But as Galle is now more or less known to almost every one, we shall take leave of it, and accompany our author and his friends to Colombo. The following gives a very good idea of Ceylon travelling in the neighbourhood of Galle. When our author gets beyond sight of the steamer's funnel, we must decline to indorse his descriptions, although we have no doubt they are equally correct with those which appeal to our own recollections of youthful travel —

We now took leave of the civil and military officers of the place, Mr Cripps and Captain Thurlow, and, at four o'clock in the morning, on the 15th of November, we set out on our journey in what is here called a "*diligence*," or "*mail-coach*," which in fact consists merely of a box made of boards, with a linen roof spread over it, and with seats too narrow for one man but which, on the present occasion, must needs suffice to contain two! Notwithstanding our being deprived of the power of moving freely, great contentment reigned among our party, as we proceeded on our palm-orchard-shaded way keeping close to the coast, and watching the reflection of the still young and harmless rays of the rising sun on the ocean's clear and placid face. We crossed handsome bridges over more than one broad stream. There was ever something that was interesting to look at, now the *Pandanus* (Screw pine) growing to an uncommon height beside the sea,—now stately palms rearing their crowned heads towards the sky,—or again fishermen's boats, drawing in their heavy nets. We were ferried across two small streams, whose banks were indeed enchanting. Along the whole road we saw the people adorned in their gayest style, in motley and picturesque costumes, the head men with their Dutch coats and their insignia, and the wealthier part of the Malabar population distinguished by a number of rings in their ears and on their fingers. They all saluted the long-expected Prince* with the deepest respect, folding their hands before their faces and slightly bending forwards,—nevertheless it was not difficult to discover in them symptoms of disappointment, when they beheld,—instead of the Oriental Potentate, loaded with gold and jewels, mounted on an elephant, and wearing a crown,—only Prince Waldemar in his simple travelling dress it was evident that their imagination had conjured up some extraordinary coup-d'oeil. They have, in the East, no conception of the simplicity of a German Prince.

Thus they travelled on amid cocoa-nut trees, old Dutch residents, magistrates' houses, sunshine, tropical showers, singing birds, &c. &c., to Caltura. The royal salute must have had an odd effect when contrasted with the torn and soaked and clay-

* Instructions had been sent by the Secretary of State for the Colonies,—Lord Stanley,—to the Ceylon Government, to receive Prince Waldemar in a manner becoming his rank, and suitable to the intimate and friendly relations existing between Great Britain and Prussia,—and to afford him every aid and facility on his travels. In pursuance of these directions, arrangements were every where made for the Prince's reception by the native chiefs in the provinces, and for his being treated with the honours due to the Governor himself.—Tz

spattered shooting jackets of the travellers. The annoyance felt by our author, at the over-assiduous attentions of the troops of servants, is what every griffin has experienced, and is not to be wondered at. But a few hot seasons in India change all that, and the man who, when fresh from Europe, felt as if he should make a speech of grateful apology to the man who condescended to punka him, very soon learns that the multitude of servants is in many respects a nuisance, (especially on the fifteenth of each month,) yet they do after all give one a good deal of physical comfort, and save one a good deal of bodily labour.—

We were received, at this place, [that is, Caltura,] by a deputy sent by the Governor of Ceylon, who conducted us to His Excellency's equipage. Thence we advanced at a rapid pace towards Colombo, changing horses every half hour. We were preceded by two finely equipped out runners (horse-keepers), who wore red and white turbans, short breeches, and sleeves trimmed with red ribbons. The country now became more and more beautiful at every step: nature and art seemed to conspire to render the landscape a charming one—picturesque country seats,—a rich vegetation,—several rivers flowing softly between banks of exquisite loveliness—distant vistas of mountain scenery,—and the mellow radiance of evening light over the whole,—the scene was like one vast and blooming garden. For a considerable distance we passed on between the most celebrated cinnamon gardens of Ceylon * the cinnamon trees, however, though brilliant from their shining foliage, are mean looking, as contrasted with the luxuriance of the varied vegetation around and are kept, by pruning, to a height of only about twelve or fifteen feet. The sun was beginning to dip behind the glorious horizon as we approached the capital: a courier was despatched before us, to announce that the Prince was at hand. The whole population were on the *qui vive*—dandies in European attire, mounted on wretched nags, saluted us as we drove through the handsome open square in front of the town—and we could distinguish, among the varied crowd, many well dressed English gentlemen, and even gay ladies not a few. It was a most cheerful scene, and our satisfaction would have been complete, had our own appearance been in character with this grand and triumphant entry, but wetness and filth had, at the last stations, conspired to the no small injury of our never very splendid habiliments¹.

On reaching the gate of the Fort we were greeted with military music, and with the firing of cannon, which noisy salutations were reiterated on

* These gardens, though the boast of the island—the south-west part of Ceylon being the only country of which the cinnamon tree is known to be a native—are comparatively of recent formation. A strange idea had obtained among the Dutch rulers of Ceylon, that the spice was only valuable when growing wild in the jungle, and it was never cultivated till after the year 1766. The Dutch were strict to the extreme in their monopoly of cinnamon. The injuring of the trees, peeling any portion of the bark, exporting or selling cinnamon,—were all crimes punishable with death.—To keep up the price, bonfires of cinnamon occasionally perfumed the streets of Amsterdam, as recorded by M. Beaumare, who witnessed it in 1760. Besides constantly supplying the European market, Ceylon exports large quantities of cinnamon to South America, where it is in daily use among the workmen, as a preservative against the noxious effects of the fumes of quicksilver used in the mines. Of the bales of cinnamon imported into Great Britain, far the greater proportion is not for home consumption, but for the foreign market,—being exported to Spain, Portugal, and other Roman Catholic countries, where it is largely used, with frankincense, &c., in the services of the Church.—Ta.

our snally halting in front of the magnificent "Queen's House." The Governor and Commander in Chief, Sir Colin Campbell, a venerable old man, with hoary head, gave us a most kind reception and Captain Maclean* conducted us to our respective apartments, in a wing of the Palace opening into the garden. Unfortunately, my swelled face prevented me from appearing at table, so I passed a quiet evening on the sofa. Here again, we were followed, at every step, by a host of copper coloured domesticities,—men and boys,—some wearing jackets, others wearing no clothes at all many and vain were my attempts to get rid of their attendance, before I was aware of it, the sneaking fellows were at my heels again

The "swelled face" alluded to was caused by his first exposure to the tropical sun, that is, (we presume,) on shore. How he escaped at Aden, we know not. We suppose it was rather his first of those boils which break out on most newcomers. The swelled face, however, prevented our author from seeing much of Colombo. At Kandy, "the capital of the ancient Cingalese rulers, those proud and mighty kings," he made his first acquaintance with the leeches, which seem to be a very pestilent brood —

Towards evening I was tempted by the infinite multitude of fire flies which were fluttering over the lawn, to step out upon its velvety grass, and succeeded in collecting several dozen of these splendid insects. When dinner time arrived, I observed, to my horror in the brilliantly lighted apartment, that my white trowsers were streaked with blood! I was not long left in suspense as to the cause of the disaster this was our first acquaintance with those leeches with which we afterwards became but too familiar. I actually found several hundreds of them clinging to my legs they had penetrated through my trowsers, however I freed myself, by means of the established recipe of lemon juice, of these unwelcome guests†

The following sketch of Nuwera Ellia will be interesting to our Indian readers, since the place is becoming every year more important as one of our regularly recognized sanatoria. The mistake, as to the discoverer of the retreat, is corrected by the translator, who, we may observe in passing, seems to be a man well fitted for the task he has performed. They are an unfortunate race, translators. Most useful labourers, as they are, they are somehow looked upon as mere drudges, whom critics

* Sir Colin's son-in-law and aide-de-camp.—Ta

† The Ceylon leech is of a brown colour, marked with three longitudinal light-yellow lines, its largest size is about three-fourths of an inch in length, and one-tenth of an inch in diameter, but it can stretch itself to two inches in length, and then becomes sufficiently small to be able to pass between the stitches of a stocking. It is nearly semi-transparent in substance, in form, tapering towards the fore-part,—above, roundish,—below, flat, it apparently possesses an acute sense of smell, for no sooner does a person stop in a place infested by leeches, than they crowd eagerly to their victim from all quarters, unrestrained by the caprice sometimes so annoying in their medicinal brethren. Loss of blood, itching, and sometimes slight inflammation, form the extent of their injuries in the case of a person in good health, but animals suffer more severely from their attacks.—Ta

are not called upon to praise, nor publishers to pay liberally. It ought not to be so.

The sweet, inviting spot, Nuwera Ellia, lies in an open plain among moor lands, encircled on every side by craggy mountains, which, in our climate, would be clad in eternal snows, bold and lofty peaks tower to the very skies, among them the highest summit in the island, is Pedro-talla galla, which rises to the height of eight thousand four hundred feet above the sea.

The level ground, on which, scattered here and there among the thick bushes, stand the few detached buildings of which Nuwera Ellia (or New House) consists is but two thousand feet beneath this high level, no wonder therefore that the whole vegetation of the neighbourhood should assume altogether a new appearance, and more of a European character. Few trees are to be seen among these I may mention *Rhododendron arboreum* (tree rhododendron) with its flowers of burning crimson, *Viburnum opulus* (the "snow ball tree" or guelder rose,) *Euonymus* (the Spindle tree) and several species of *Acacia*. The peach tree the apple, and the pear tree thrive extremely well here and above all, the potatoe, and every possible variety of European vegetable turnips, cabbages &c, &c—One object the eye seeks in vain in all this highland district, I mean the fir tree—for throughout the whole of Ceylon no trees of the order of *Conifera* are to be seen. The moors are overgrown with a kind of hard grass, two or three feet high,* among which luxuriate many beautiful alpine varieties of *Campanula*, and a most fragrant species of *Physalis* (winter cherry), I think probably, the *Physalis Pubescens*—all in as great abundance as the stinging nettle in our meadows† The winter cherries are here called *Cape gooseberries* and no fruit makes a better tart.

This beautiful retreat is said to have been discovered by a rich English gentleman (I think his name was Horton,) while engaged in a wild boar hunt, and I am assured that he laid out the ground as a park some fifty years since. Be that as it may, the posts of a spacious gate way, rising above the moor, still meet the eye, and the place all round them, wherever it is not too boggy is covered with thick bushes of *Pelargonium*, *Tagetes* and various other plants all of which we are wont to see in pots, and which are here probably the relics of former cultivation †

* This is the *Lemon-grass*, *Andropogon Schoenanthus*,—one of the most characteristic productions of Ceylon, and of some parts of the adjacent continent. It is the general covering of such parts of the hills, near Candy, as are not overgrown with jungle, and in its young and tender state affords good pasture to buffaloes, it emits when bruised a strong lemon-scent, which, although pleasant at first, becomes, if one is long exposed to it, particularly oppressive. Its taste is a refreshing acid.—Tr

† A slight confusion, not surprising in a stranger and a foreigner, seems here to have arisen on the subject of names. Nuwera Ellia, though visited and described by Dr DAVY in 1819, when its solitude was but rarely broken by the natives who resorted thither in quest of iron or of gems, was little known to Europeans till, in 1829, Sir Edward BARNES, then Governor of Ceylon, having accidentally wandered thither in the chase, fixed upon it as a military convalescent station, and built the residence above alluded to. Its wonderfully temperate climate, 65° being reckoned its mean temperature by day, and 55° by night for the entire year, freedom from piercing winds, and proximity to the mountain peaks, and the extraordinary purity of its water, render it equally salubrious and congenial; there are also chalybeate springs in the neighbourhood. The "fifty years since" spoken of by our author is thus probably an error for *fifteen years since*. But the allusion to the "gentleman of the name of Horton" doubtless refers, not to Nuwera Ellia, but to an interesting wild and solitary table-land, at no great distance from it, known as the Horton Plain, thus named in honor of Sir Robert Wilmot Horton, Governor of Ceylon, from

The following gives a very lively description of elephant-shooting. It is no doubt a very exciting occupation. But why should elephants be shot? So long as they keep to the jungle, what harm do they do?

Every morning, before night had fully yielded to the dawn of day, we started from our lurking place, in pursuit of elephants, which are met with in large herds, and usually, even before sunrise, we were wet to the skin. When the natives perceived, by their quick scent or otherwise, that the elephants were at hand, which they announced by a particular sign, we all instantly dismounted and the huntsmen rushed, head foremost, through the thicket, while I remained with the attendants at the halting place. The crash of an elephant, running at full speed, may be heard at the distance of half a mile, a whole herd makes a noise such as one might imagine from an avalanche falling over a vast forest. The terrific and portentous cry, not unlike a fearfully loud note sounded from a broken trumpet, is uttered by the mighty beast at the identical moment in which it turns round, either to crush its enemy or itself to receive the fatal ball, I therefore always knew, even at a distance, when the crisis of danger had arrived.

On one occasion I had remained nearer than usual to the hunt because the danger of being isolated in a broken and rocky ground all alive with elephants, is really greater than that of following close to the chase. Suddenly a crash was heard to the right and to the left—behind us sounded a trumpet-tone, and before us appeared the head of a huge and powerful animal, stirring among the thick bushes—we were standing on a smooth rock, only slightly elevated above the surrounding ground. How fortunate that just then, Major Rogers, the most expert marksman of the hunt, was close to us. He sprang in among the elephants, and advancing towards the one nearest him on the right, to within the length of its trunk, he fired a shot into its ear then turning with lightning speed to the one on the left, he discharged the contents of his other barrel into its temple. Both fell with a hollow groan, as if blown down by a sudden whirlwind, the others, on hearing their giant comrades sink crashing into the bushes, hastily fled, for their fall produced a resounding noise like the report of two distant cannons.

After that day, I had seen enough of elephant hunting, and always sought some pretext for remaining at home. On the following day, Major Rogers killed a female elephant and by that one shot he brought down two victims, for she crushed in her fall a young one that was running beside her. Besides these, a young elephant had been already numbered among the

1831 to 1837. A picturesque description of the primeval desolation of these plains, —the most elevated in the island,—of their sombre forest,—and mountain ramparts,—and of the adjacent sources of the Bihul-Oya or Walawe River, and the Mahawelle-Ganga, is given by Major Forbes. One of his characteristic touches is as follows:—"In these vast jungle solitudes, on the ascent from Nuwara Eliha, on every twig, round every tree, the stilly damp of ages has twined a mossy vesture their mouldering rocks, moss-clad forests, and silent plains offer so few signs of animated nature, that the notes of a small bird are a relief from universal stillness, and the occasional rise of a snipe is absolutely startling. In following up the green banks of a rill on one of these mountains, I called to my companion and proposed a change of direction, he answered, 'Very well.' Instantly, as if these words had burst the magic-spell which bound the demon spirits of the waste, the joyous sounds, 'very well! very well! very well!' came hurrying forth from every copse and winding glade in these, the farthest bounds of the forest labyrinth."—*Ibid.*

slain, and many were wounded. The Prince himself was at one time in instant danger of being overtaken by an elephant rendered furious by three wounds in the head. Fortunately the creature was laid low by another shot.

On the 9th December the party started for Adam's Peak. At the foot of the mountain a hut had been rudely fitted up for their use, in a village named Palabadulla.—

After a few hours rest, we started with early dawn on the 10th of December,—leaving all our luggage behind us,—for the ascent of Adam's Peak. Here the tropical vegetation ceases, long ere now we had bid farewell to the palmy groves,—yet for some distance further, the thick and gloomy forest with its masses of dark verdure, cast on us a welcome shade as we proceeded on our toilsome climb. We had nothing now before us but to clamber up the steep ascent over the wet, smooth rocks, or the slippery roots without a halt or a resting place.

As the path up to Adam's Peak is annually trod by many thousands of pilgrims—Mahometans as well as Brahmins and Buddhists,—one might expect to find there an easy way, but on the contrary, nothing has been done but what was absolutely indispensable, here, against a cliff so steep as to be quite impassable, a ladder of feeble twigs has been placed,—there, in some peculiarly polished and slippery part, a few steps have been hewn out of the living rock

* * * * *

Climbing several steep rocks,—on whose surface are chiselled figures of Buddha and very ancient inscriptions—we scrambled on with the aid of hen roost ladders and roughly hewn steps. Now the path led us, to our great annoyance, after having ascended the abrupt elevation down a no less abrupt declivity, now we were forced to wade for a quarter of an hour, through running water, or again, to scale cliffs so smooth, and as it were polished, that to fall was inevitable and to escape with unbroken bones, almost more than we could hope for. How delicious and refreshing here were the fruits of the burning zones that now lay far beneath us—the cocoa nuts and the oranges, which our natives had carried up with us! Those Cingalese were running and springing in advance of the party, like goats, though they were bearing heavy burdens on their heads, they climb the smooth rock so nimbly and easily with their bare feet, that I began to esteem our pilgrimage as far more meritorious than that of the unshod Buddhists.

Much fatigued, we arrived towards the end of our fourth hour at one of the elevated platforms, a level, open space, the sharp peak,—a single conical mass of rock,—rises majestically beyond it. It was the first time that we had beheld its full outline, but, how were we ever to gain its summit? The feet of a fly or of a lizard seemed to be indispensable requisites for accomplishing that exploit. A small rest-house stands in the centre of the little valley

* * * * *

You will easily believe that, having been accustomed in the lowland valleys, to a heat of from 22° to 24° (about 81° to 86° Fahrenheit) we felt the air now, at a level of nearly six thousand feet, cool and thin. But indeed the thermometer had fallen even here only to 14° (59° Fahrenheit), which at home is not reckoned cold enough for lighting our fires.

* * * * *

From time to time we had splendid panoramic views of the mountain gorges and the lower ranges of hills, and in a deep vista below, but at no

great distance, a narrow strip of the sea,—of whose immediate proximity we could scarcely persuade ourselves—was glancing brightly in the sunshine. The mountain is not higher than those which travellers commonly climb in Switzerland; but nowhere in that land can the eye measure the height, by comparison with a plain so nearly on the level of the sea. On that side of the peak on which the path leads up all vegetation ceases at some six hundred feet below the highest point, not indeed by reason of the great height, but because the summit is one single huge mass of rock,—gneiss with hornblende,—without the least covering of soil on its steep sides. Here the traveller, if at all inclined to giddiness, can scarcely escape suffering from it. A most singular expedient has been resorted to for diminishing the dangers and difficulties of pilgrims in the way. To hew steps in these mighty rocks, would have been too great an undertaking, instead of attempting it, numberless chains of every variety of link, are riveted in to the living stone. They hang in dozens to the right and to the left, some antique and rusty some of newest stamp for it is esteemed a meritorious work to lay one of these chains along the path, that so if any pilgrim should chance to fall, he may be caught in this iron network. After dragging myself up for some fifty paces or so, as if by a windlass, I reached a sort of flat landing place upon which one may set foot to ground firmly, and enjoy a breathing time but immediately I beheld, to my horror, an overhanging precipice, which I could scale only after a most aerial fashion, by the help of strong iron chains. The end of the ascent is extremely disagreeable, an iron stair is here suspended in the air, and has been so completely forced out of its original position, that the steps are now nearly perpendicular. When this last difficulty has been overcome, the cry of "Land, Land!" may at last be raised, and the pilgrimage completed.

The Prince was the first to gain the summit followed by Count O——. I had too many plants packed all about my person, besides being encumbered with the weight of sundry apparatus, to allow of my sharing the honour. A stair leads up to the entrance of the walled enclosure, which surrounds the apex of the peak. The flat space within the wall, in the centre of which this highest cone rises, measures about seventy feet by thirty. The height of the conical apex is about eight or nine feet. The whole of the eastern side is resplendent with the gorgeous scarlet blossoms of the *Rhododendron arboreum* and an exuberant abundance of other flowers of unrivalled beauty luxuriates among the thick grass. Everything that here meets the eye is strange and wonderful. The most singular object is a small temple of iron-wood, adorned with much carved work under a low roof of tiles. I should think it is about eight feet in height and covers a space of ten feet square. Within is to be seen the holy relic, which attracts such multitudes of pilgrims, the celebrated "*Sri Pada*," or sacred footstep, believed by the Cingalese Christians and Mahometans to be that of Adam, by the Buddhists, of Gautama Buddha, and by the Brahmins, of Siva. The rocky mass, on which this footstep is engraven, forms the floor of the little wooden edifice dignified with the name of temple. There is certainly here to be seen something resembling a foot-print, an impression between five and six feet in length, and upwards of two feet in width, in which the partitions of the toes are very clumsily restored or formed with gypsum, but what cripples should we all have been, if our great progenitor Adam had stood on feet like this! The mark of the sacred footstep is enclosed within a golden frame, studded with gems of considerable size, a few only of which are genuine.

They slept in a hut on the top of the mountain, and next day effected their descent, not without many falls and bruises,

They then returned to *Colombo*, and sailed in H M. War-steamer *Spateful* to *Trincomali*. We must, however, pass over *Madras*, *Calcutta*, and other more familiar places, and pass at once to *Cathmandu*, the capital of *Nepal*. To reach the British Resident's house, the travellers passed through the town from side to side, and our author thus records his first impressions of it —

We entered the city itself through several very narrow streets, whose entire width was just sufficient to admit of an elephant passing along. The rich wood carving lavished on the rosettes of the windows, on the pillars, architraves and corners of the roofs reminded me of many an ancient German commercial city yet, on the other hand, the Oriental character stamped on the whole scene is very conspicuous. The gilded roofs of the temples hung round with bells and adorned with flags of many colours, and the gigantic images of stone betray the influence of Chinese taste. The rain, which was falling in torrents did not prevent our gazing with surprise at many an ancient and splendid edifice nor admiring the skill in the fine arts displayed in the horses, elephants and battle scenes, carved on the houses the rich designs of window rosettes through which the rays of light penetrate the colossal dimensions of the hideous monsters of stone (toad headed lions dragons and rhinoceroses) and the many armed red painted images of the god.

More surprising than all the rest was the compound presented by the market place, notwithstanding its moderate size. On either side of it stands a great temple, whose eight stories, with their gilded roofs, are peopled by innumerable minas and sparrows. A flight of broad stone steps, guarded by two monsters leads up to the entrance of the temple above gigantic rhinoceroses, monkeys and horses adorn the edifice. The multitude of these strange figures the stunning noise that resounded from within, the antique gloomy air of the surrounding houses, with their projecting roofs and the solemn grandeur of the whole scene awakened in my mind a feeling as though I had been suddenly carried back to some city of a thousand years since. I was involuntarily reminded of the description which Herodotus gives of ancient Babylon. For how long a time may all these things yet continue to appear exactly as they now do! The durable wood the indestructible stone* and a people who like their kindred and instructors, the Chinese, cling to all that is primitive, unite in effectually resisting the destroying influence of Time.

We rode on, meantime through a high but narrow gate way, into a court, where we saw several tame rhinoceroses, kept here on account of the custom of the country, which requires that, on the death of the Rajah, one of these creatures should be slain, and imposes on the highest person ages in the State the duty of devouring it†.

Passing through dark and narrow streets and traversing squares—in which Buddhist pagodas, with their many-armed images of *Mahadeva*,

* Described by Dr Hamilton Buchanan as being found disposed in vertical strata in large masses, as containing much lime, being very fine-grained, having a silky lustre, cutting well, and admirably resisting the action of the weather.—*Ts*.

† *Ménu*, the law-giver of the Hindus, enumerates the articles of which the offerings to the manes of deceased ancestors should consist, and which, when the ceremony had been duly performed, were to be eaten by the Brahmin and his guests, among these is the flesh of the rhinoceros.—*Ts*.

Indra and *Parvati* alternate with the Brahminical temples* that rise tier above tier,—we at length found ourselves at the other extremity of the town.

The gate is, like all the other gates of the city, a simple, tall, white arch, with a large eye painted on either side, indeed every entrance is according to Chinese fashion, adorned with these horrid eyes surrounded with red borders. On the flat roof above the gate stands a slender iron dragon, with a tongue a yard long, exactly of the form usually represented by the Chinese.

The travellers made an expedition to the Kaulia Pass, which brought them within sight of Dhawala Giri —

In six hours we gained the head of the pass and our night's quarters, —a bungalow, erected by Mr Hodgson, at a height of two thousand feet, near the summit of the mountain peak. Unfortunately the shades of evening prevented us from enjoying a full prospect of the chains of mountains Of the Himalayas we saw only the DHAYABUN group still irradiated by the crimson glow of sunset all the others were wrapt in clouds. Early in the morning of the 21st of February, the most glorious and enchanting landscape burst upon our view that imagination could picture in any highland scenery a boundless ocean of gigantic snowy mountains, towering one behind the other on the clear horizon four distinct ranges were visible, the peak of Dhayabun in the north west seemed almost to vanish amid so many other giants, but lo! in the north, while we were gazing at the huge Gossainthan, its eastern surface caught the bright glow of morning light. Now again our attention was attracted to the W N W, where a sharp and lofty summit seemed to pierce the very skies, its three needle like peaks one after the other, illuminated with the most exquisite crimson tints. We could hardly venture to believe it the Dhawala Giri itself, yet, according to its position, it could be no other.

Our maps, the compass, and the testimony of several old men, soon removed all doubt. Who could have imagined that a distance of thirty German miles† could thus shrink into nothing? It was an overpowering impression filling the soul with awe. The realization of a perpendicular altitude of a German mile‡ there it stands like a giant spectre and in vain does the astounded beholder seek for similes whereby to shadow forth the sublimity of the spectacle. I can only say that the outline of the Alps of Switzerland so deeply engraven in my memory, now shrunk into comparative insignificance, and as it were vanished into nought.

It must truly be a glorious spectacle. And yet after all what is twenty-six thousand feet? When rigidly examined as a matter of measurement, it seems no great thing, but yet we all feel a lofty mountain to be a magnificent object to contem-

* The creeds, deities, and superstitious rites of the Nepanese are no less diversified and intermingled than their tribes. While the Brahminism of the majority of the population is looked upon by the natives of Bengal as corrupt in the extreme, the Buddhism of the remainder is not unmingled with divinities, rites and customs borrowed from the Pantheon and the sacred books of the Hindus.—Tz.

† Upwards of a hundred and thirty-eight English miles.—Tz.

‡ Mr Hamilton, in his account of Hindostan, gives the height of Dhawala Giri (or the White Mountain) as exceeding 26,862 feet above the level of the sea. Dhayabun, he gives as 24,763, and states that it is visible from Patna, a distance of 182 geographical (about 186 statute) miles. Dr Wallich makes the height of Gossainthan, 24,740.—Tz.

plate And however rigidly we may measure the object by our scientific standard, there it stands as magnificent, as overpowering, as sublimely poetical as before.

"I ask not proud Philosophy
To tell me what thou art,"

says the poet to the rainbow But the truth seems to be, that an acquaintance with the science of an object never interferes with the sense of its poetry And this, of course, holds more especially true in a case like the present, where the anti-poetical quality is mere magnitude And, besides, it is by comparison with other mountains that a very lofty one claims our admiration. Five miles along a level road is a trifling distance, because you may go on five hundred miles further But five miles perpendicular above the earth's surface is felt to be a sublime elevation, because few men are accustomed to any thing approaching it.

It may seem to be taking the step from the sublime to the ridiculous to descend from the majestic Dhawala Giri to a Nepal court ceremony But there are some points of half-civilized society exhibited in the sketch, which it would be a pity to pass over —

On the third day after our arrival, (the 12th of February,) the ceremony of our reception by the Rajah took place His elephants were sent to convey the prince and his suite We were conducted to the usual reception palace,—a sort of court house, but were not admitted to the proper "*Durbar*,"—the Royal Residence, the interior of the latter however is said to be very shabby, and even its exterior is by no means imposing

The large wooden building, in which the reception took place, had certainly no resemblance to a palace It contains dark stair-cases, and rooms filled with dust and with old armour The audience-chamber is on the third floor Two rows of chairs were placed at the sides, and a couple of sofas against the wall at the end of the apartment. The dirty yellow hangings were but partially concealed by old and very bad French engravings, and portraits as large as life, among which I remarked a Napoleon with cherry cheeks, and the whole succession of the Rajahs of the last century, as well as many of their kinsfolk, all painted, after the flat and rude manner of the Chinese, by native artists Coverlets of white cotton served instead of carpets No display of wealth or magnificence appeared, save in the costly and brilliant costumes of the Rajah and of his courtiers and household

Upon the divan to the left side of this presence chamber, sat the young Rajah (he is only sixteen years of age) and beside him his father the deposed sovereign both have quite the air of rogues,—the young Rajah even to a greater degree than his father If his face had not that disagreeable expression, which he has heightened by the habit of distorting his mouth and nose abominably, he might, with his large black eyes, his long, finely shaped, aquiline nose, and his small, delicate mouth, have been reckoned very handsome. Young as he is, his actions prove that the opinion formed of him from his outward man, is not an erroneous one He appears to have every quality best fitted to make an accomplished tyrant. The

father,—a man of milder disposition,—has still many adherents, but, fortunately for the country, the real ruler is Martabar Singh.

Both Rajahs were not only magnificent in their apparel, but literally overloaded with gold gems and brilliants.

The divan on the right-hand side was occupied by the Rajah's three younger brothers boys of eight, ten and twelve years of age. The two elder ones are already married.

The Prince sat on the side row, next to the Rajah, and, as I took my seat at some distance and on the same side I could, to my great regret, follow but little of the conversation. Meanwhile, it afforded me no slight amusement to see how Martabar Singh made a point of showing off his power, as he now rose, now again seated himself, for all those present, even the members of the Royal Family, are obliged to stand up the instant he rises, there was therefore an incessant rustling up and down, and he took care moreover to give occasion for perpetual bowings and salutations.

At the conclusion of the audience, presents were distributed various and costly furs, Chinese silken stuffs, and beautiful weapons. My turn too came to stand up and to receive a fur dress made of otter skins, a poniard, and a "*khukri*,"* in a gilt scabbard. The Rajah touched my hand, which honour, graciously conferred on me, I was instructed to acknowledge by a low salam, while Martabar Singh threw the gifts over my arm.

As we are at ceremonies, we may give here the form of salutation in use at the Nepal court, as exhibited in the traveller's introduction to Martabar Singh, then the "Minister and 'Generalissimo of the Kingdom,' afterwards murdered, by Jung Bahadur (if we mistake not), which last our author represents as "a kinsman of the Rajah, a man of very intelligent countenance, by far the most educated and agreeable of them all" —

Martabar Singh advanced to meet the Prince, first made a most graceful "*salam*" then stepping forward about two paces, bowed himself over the left, then over the right shoulder of the object of his salutations, in a way similar to what is practised in embraces on the stage, a second salam, and a retreating step, concluded the ceremony, which each of our party was in his turn obliged to undergo. His sons too, and the officers all performed it with the same formal solemnity, the whole operation occupying, as you may imagine a considerable time.

This done, we seated ourselves on the chairs which stood ready in the tent, and a short but most interesting conversation took place, during which Major Lawrence, Captain Ottley, and Dr Christie, had enough to do to satisfy every claim upon them as interpreters, both in putting questions and in answering them.

From Cathmandu the Prince and his companions retraced their steps to Sugouli, and proceeded by Gorucpore, Benares, Allahabad, and Cawnpore, to Lucknow. It is pleasant to hear ourselves abused now and then, especially when it is done in the form of a comparison which is flattering to our beloved neighbours —

No other city that I have seen presents as lively a picture of the mode

* That is, a short, broad, sword, crooked forward, like a Bengali wood-cleaver.

of living of the people of India, their manners and their customs, as Benares. How poor and monotonous in comparison of it is that great metropolis, Calcutta, so often extolled by the English,—wedded to all their home luxuries—because, forsooth, roast beef and pickles, and everything that appertains to good living and to “*comfort*,” may there be had in abundance, to their very hearts content!

Like good, earnest travellers, they regarded the English towns, the cities in the British territory, more as places of rest than any thing else, so we soon find them at Lucknow. In this, we think, they were right. Perhaps the fact is rather, that Dr Hoffmeister, eschewing the exhaustive system adopted by so many of his countrymen, has merely left out of his letters descriptions of places, which are familiar to every reader of travels, and so *appears* to have passed over the British cities with a summary inspection. Perhaps the thanks should rather be given to his editor. How different from the plan of those *book-making* travellers, who make no scruple to repeat what has been said by others, and sometimes even wrap up their second-hand wares in unacknowledged quotations from their predecessors—

We entered Luknow (the natives pronounce it *Lachno*, after traversing, in our palanquins the weary plain that extends from Allahabad, and passing through the town of CAUNPUR spending Maundy Thursday and Good Friday itself, *en route*, as heathen among the heathen

If it is heathenism to travel on Maundy Thursday and Good Friday, we fear many are heathens, who were not before aware of it. We have not noticed our author make any allusion to the heathenishness of travelling on Sunday. Let us hope that he went to church on Sunday when there was any church to go to.

The travellers reached Lucknow on the 25th March, about half a year after leaving Athens—

On the 25th of March, we had alighted from our palanquins at five o'clock in the morning—for we travel on, night and day without intermission—to take our morning walk, and run a race with our palki-bearers. Not imagining ourselves in the immediate vicinity of the city of Lucknow, we had not changed our usual travelling guise—loose trowsers of thin red silk, with only a shirt and a “*solah*” hat—when, to our utter amazement, at day break, we found ourselves in the narrow streets—then peopled only with dogs,—of a suburb of that great city. The clay walled hovels, with their outer coating of cow-dung to exclude the moisture soon came to an end, after we had passed through the last of several large gates of Saracenic architecture, with painted arches. Brick houses, entirely open on the ground floor, with shops and workshops at this early hour still occupied as bed chambers, formed, within the city gate, wide and regular streets. Here and there appeared a building of greater size and of semi-European aspect. Another gate, larger than the preceding ones presented itself at the extremity of the great street through which we had proceeded, beside it was drawn up a detachment of soldiers with red jackets and iron morions, but wearing, instead of trowsers, the simple

white cotton handkerchief hanging about their legs. One of the veteran officers felt himself called upon—in his great zeal to imitate European civilization,—to run up behind us most respectfully, desiring to know our names. So unreasonable a demand we had never yet met with in India, and Mr Fortescue seemed inclined to reply by brandishing his stick. I contented myself with informing him in a most confidential manner, that my name was "*Sechs und sechzig sechs eckige Hechtkopfe*," (*Six and sixty six cornered pike's heads*) upon which, after repeated and unsuccessful attempts to pronounce the name in the course of which he nearly dislocated his tongue and his jaw bone, he retired, grumbling and indignant, for neither Sanscrit nor Persian could furnish the necessary sounds.

A peep at English society at Lucknow —

We had reached our goal, and Mr Shakspeare, the British Resident, gave us a most friendly welcome in this his chateau. The Prince and his companions had arrived the day before we were all delighted to meet again after a separation of four or five days such as often happens in the palanquin travelling of these lands and mutually to recount the adventures of our journey. Our kind host is himself a bachelor but three or four other English gentlemen are resident at Lucknow with their families, and in this little circle we could clearly mark the pleasure caused by the arrival of foreign guests as introducing a little variety into their dull and monotonous life. The stiff and aristocratic tone that prevails among the fashionable society of Calcutta does not reign here, consequently the drives, pleasure parties and evening entertainments, which were of daily occurrence were most cheerful and agreeable. Music was all the fashion, the most trifling performance seemed to give universal satisfaction no voice was so poor or insignificant as not to be exerted with pleasure, to display its owner's skill in the tuneful art by pouring forth some simple melody, no piano forte so discordant as not to enable one to shine by striking up a few hackneyed waltzes.

A tomb filled with fancy glass-ware is a pretty good sample of oriental æsthetics —

We also visited the burial place of the present Royal Family, a wonderfully fine work of art, for Moslems spare no expense on their sepulchres. The dwellings of the living may indeed be filthy and scarcely habitable, provided only the departed are lodged in splendour. The entrance to the royal tomb is a lofty white gateway surmounted by a cupola, and from its appearance the stranger would never expect to find a place of sepulture within. In the first court surrounded by buildings, fountains are ever playing in beautiful marble basins encircled by myrtles, roses and cypresses, palm trees grace each corner of this garden, on every side of which glittering turrets and walls of dazzling whiteness rise amid the fragrant and shady bowers. The balmy air of evening was loaded with the perfume of roses and jessamine and the deep azure of the vault above formed a striking contrast to the whiteness of the domes and the corners of the roofs, still illuminated by the last rays of the setting sun. A brilliant light shone through the arched windows of the lofty Moorish hall, under the marble gateway of which we now passed.

If the entrance court and external appearance of the burial-place produce an indescribable and magic impression, the charm is somewhat broken in the interior, where the eye wanders, distracted by the confused mass of incongruous yet brilliant objects, the tone of feeling caused by the first general view being, meantime, unpleasantly disturbed. The inner space,

from its overloaded magnificence and unbounded profusion of gold and silver, pearls, gems, and all the valuables the East or the West can afford, had rather the appearance of a retail shop or of a fancy glass-warehouse than of the resting place of the dead. Glass cupolas, and candelabra of every variety, may be seen standing in dozens, pell-mell, upon the ground, lustres, ten feet in height of bright and many coloured glass, brought hither from England at an immense expense and among these are deposited many trophies, swords and other weapons of the finest Ispahan steel. The glare of the innumerable lamps so dazzles the eye, that it is difficult to find the principal thing among the multitude of other objects of interest.

Here, stand a couple of tigers, as large as life formed of pieces of green glass, joined together with gold presented by the Emperor of China. There, the attention is arrested by a silver horse, five feet high, with the head of a man, and the wings and tail of a peacock—the steed sent down to the prophet from heaven. Another horse carved in wood, is an original likeness of the late Nabob's favourite charger. Vases bronze figures marble statues of moderate size, plans of the city and of the palaces, painted upon a gold ground, and a thousand other toys and trifles, were gathered together in this extraordinary place.

At length, however amidst all this chaos, we discovered the tombs themselves, enclosed within massive golden railings, and canopied with a baldachin of gold, filigree-work pearls and gems large and small, lavished upon them. Besides the father of the reigning sovereign, who lies buried in the principal tomb, several of his wives repose on either side of him.

But the royal gardens quite eclipse even this —

The centre of the garden is usually occupied by a marble tank, in which many fountains are playing, and cypresses alternate with roses in embellishing its margin. The water works are very tastelessly modernized soldiers in red jackets sheep crippled dogs and lions, all spout forth water in the most wonderful manner!

The bowers and flower beds are in the hot season, owing to the great drought in a poor condition in spite of their being every morning inundated by means of multitudes of small canals which along with the straight paved walks, produce a very stiff effect in the general aspect of the grounds. In addition to this a mania prevails at Lucknow for placing marble or plaster statues, as large as life, at every turn and corner without the slightest regard to the choice of figures, which seems to be left to the discretion of the sculptor. He copies the most antiquated French models the originals of which have been out of date for many a long year and manufactures, for a very reasonable price, shepherds and shepherdesses British soldiers Neptunes, or it may be Farnese pugilists or dogs lions and sundry other beasts. Among them all, I espied busts of Jean Jacques Rousseau, D'Alembert, and Napoleon standing on the ground amid the fauns and the monsters of Indian mythology, all gathered together in the most perfect harmony to defend a flower bed! What marvellously enhances the brilliant effect of these works of art, is a discovery which certainly is worthy of notice in Europe, viz the custom of painting the hair eyes and feet, (whether bare or shod,) with a thick coating of lamp-black. The *Venus de Medicis* appears to wonderful advantage in this improved edition.

The Nawab was to give a *déjeuner* in honour of the Prince. His Majesty's son was to come for them, "but instead of him, came the news that he was indisposed. It was rumoured that he had taken rather too much opium!"

At length they reach the palace. The picture of the Royal family is not flattering.—

The long table was already set, and soon his Majesty appeared, grave and dignified in his demeanour, and surrounded by his suite, all glittering with gold. His entrance was proclaimed in a clear and sonorous tone by various officers. The King is a tall, stately person, of enormous emboisement, his apparel resembled that of his son, except that it was yet more splendid and more richly ornamented with diamonds. He was accompanied by another of his sons, who though still more corpulent, much resembled him. The physiognomy of the reigning family is expressive rather of good nature than of shrewdness or talent, if indeed character can be expressed at all in such a mass of fat! How different were the portraits of their ancestors even of the father and grandfather of the present Nabob! In their features power and energy are strongly marked, while the living faces around us bore the stamp only of luxurious enjoyment, and of a life of indolent pleasure

Exactly opposite to me sat three most lovely little boys,—the younger Princes,—in whom I could see clear marks of a good appetite, and of the eagerness with which they longed to attack the ragouts that stood before them. Their heavy golden turbans seemed to be no less an oppression to them than the moderation they were constrained to observe. The King, on the other hand, was in a most merry mood. He himself helped Prince Waldemar, and did the honours of the beautiful delicacies of Indian confectionery. Flower pots were set upon the table, the flowers, twigs, leaves and soil in which, were all eatable, and when they had all been devoured, the flower pots themselves were demolished in like manner, again, on breaking off the pointed top of a small paste, which he caused to be handed to the Prince, out flew a pair of pretty little birds—which playful surprise threw the corpulent Nabob into an immoderate fit of laughter.

We allude to the beast fights merely for the purpose of reproaching the unwomanly conduct of our country-women in countenancing such spectacles. The page in which their shame is recorded has been quietly headed by the editor “humane entertainment.”—

The combats of wild beasts were now to commence. We were conducted to a gallery, from which we looked down upon a narrow court, surrounded by walls and gratings. This was the arena on which the exhibition was to take place. Unluckily the space allotted for spectators was, on account of the great number of English ladies present, so circumscribed that we could find only a bad standing room and one moreover in which the glare and heat of the sun were most oppressive. However, the spectacle exhibited before our eyes in the depth of the battle field, was of such a nature that all discomfort was soon forgotten.

We there beheld six powerful buffaloes, not of the tame breed but strong and mighty beasts the offspring of the *Arnees* of the mountains, measuring at least four feet and a half in height to the back, with huge and wide-arching horns, from three to four feet in length. There they stood, on their short, clumsy legs,—snorting violently, and blowing through their distended nostrils, as if filled with forebodings of the approaching danger. What noble animals! what strength in those broad necks! Fity only that such intense stupidity should be marked in their eyes!

A clatter of sticks, and the roar of various wild beasts now resounded to which the buffaloes replied by a hollow bellowing. Suddenly, on the opening of a side-door, there rushed forth a strong and formidable tiger, measuring, I should say, from ten to eleven feet in length, from head to tail, and about four feet in height. Without deliberating long, he sprang, with one mighty bound into the midst of the buffaloes, and darting unexpectedly between the redoubtable horns of one of the boldest champions, he seized him by the nape of the neck, with teeth and claws. The weight of the tiger nearly drew the buffalo to the ground—a most fearful contest ensued. Amid roars and groans, the furious victim dragged its fierce assailant round and round the arena, while the other buffaloes, striving to liberate their comrade, inflicted on the foe formidable wounds with their sharp and massive horns.

Deep silence reigned among the audience, &c., &c.

But enough of Lucknow. Let us refresh ourselves with a glance at Nainethal—

“*NAINETHAL*” signifies the lake of *Naina*, the latter name being that of a renowned heroine. The lake lies between lofty cliffs of black limestone on the one, and loose deposits of argillaceous schist on the other side—its depth is very considerable, the plumb line proved it, in several places, to be from sixty to seventy-five feet. Near its centre is a shallow spot, which, from the adjacent mountain summits, shines with emerald hue. The narrow end of the lake is towards the south-west; the north-eastern extremity is broad, and is the only place where, for a short distance, its margin is flat, scarcely raised above the level of the water. According to the measurements of Colonel Everest, its height above the sea is six thousand three hundred feet and its circumference three miles and one third. The calcareous spar, which appears on the highest point of the surrounding rocks of clay-slate, the greenstone-trapp, detached blocks of which lie upon its western side, and the broken, indented form of its shores, would lead to the conclusion that this lake is of volcanic origin. Three others are situated in the neighbourhood, within a circuit of from ten to fifteen miles.

Our stay in this charming valley was prolonged from day to day, as the provisions necessary for our further wanderings in the mountains could only be procured,—and that not without many delays—by a mountainous and circuitous route from Almora. I thus enjoyed abundant leisure for collecting botanical and zoological specimens.

The remainder of the volume is so full of interesting details, that we must allow our author to speak for himself as much as possible.

We have all heard of the hanging bridges of the Himalayas.—

“*A Sangho*,” or rope-bridge, leads across, not far from the village of BAKORI, situated on the right bank. These bridges, in universal use among the mountains, consist of two strong grass ropes, tightly stretched across the river from side to side, to which are suspended, so as to hang perpendicularly, short grass ropes, not thicker than a finger, bearing transverse pieces of wood, fastened at right angles to their lower extremity, over these horizontal sticks, are laid lengthways, split bambus, which, properly speaking, form the bridge. As its width is scarcely one foot, and these bambus do not afford a very substantial footing, the passenger, who ven-

tares to traverse this primitive suspension-bridge, must be free from all tendency to vertigo

At Gaumicand they visited the temples and hot springs :—

A multitude of pilgrims had gathered round the sacred springs of this spot, where, amid many ceremonies they perform their ablutions. A basin of twelve feet square, with three gradations of depth, receives the water of one hot spring, TOCTACUND, which flows down from it in copious streams, by brazen conduits. Here we witnessed several singular bathing scenes. The temperature of the spring is $41^{\circ}5$ (125° Fahrenheit) the devout pilgrims therefore, could not come into contact with its sacred waters without experiencing a certain degree of pain, the female bathers especially found the heat decidedly too great for their softer skins. They popped in alternately, first one, then another foot without venturing a leap, many, even of the men, betrayed their pain while in the water by a most doleful man. Others again displayed great heroism, standing in the centre amidst the bubbling of the fountain. One fakir stepped in, without moving a muscle in his face, remained in the water fully three minutes, then rubbed his whole body with ashes and, shortly afterwards, without having put on his clothes was seen squatting in the cool evening air. What an enviable impossibility! I entered into conversation with this man regarding his mode of life. His expressions were as follows "I left Juggernaut, my family property and home, and followed the god, by whose inspiration I was moved to wander hither. For twenty years I have been a fakir. The god has ever given me all that I could need. The god has likewise kept me from being sensitive to cold, preserved me from suffering the pangs of hunger, and, when sick, raised me up again. In winter, the god must needs send me something in the shape of a mantle, something where with to clothe myself, yet, if it be not so, he will not suffer me to sink under the chilling blasts!"

When the pilgrims have at length contrived to perform their three prescribed immersions, their garments are next washed in the holy water, amid continued prayer. Among them may be seen men and boys running up and down at the edge of the basin, without the least idea of devotion, simply to wash their feet or to cleanse various goods and chattels in its sacred fountain, gun barrels and lamps were being cleaned in it, never theless, I was not permitted to descend to its margin, to estimate the temperature of its holy source.

The towering peaks of the Himalaya again. They visit the Temple of Kedarnath, and after ascending the Pass of Tso-rikhal, contemplate the lofty peaks once more —

Never before had the giant mountains to the north appeared so completely to pierce the very skies, as when seen from this point, where a deep and wide glen lay at our feet. Like crystal palaces of ice, they towered into the air, to our right, the PEAK OF BUDRINATH with its immense slopes of smooth and shining snow, to our left, our old friend, the PEAK OF KEDARNATH. Sharp and clear were the outlines of these bright summits,—pencilled against the azure sky,—and difficult would it have been to decide which was the more beautiful of the twin pair. Two beds of snow,—bordered with lovely, pale rose coloured auriculas, and primroses of bright sulphur yellow and of delicious fragrance,—must needs be crossed, after which, scaling a steep rock of mica schist, the surface of which had been reduced by disintegration to a somewhat soapy consistency, we gained the summit, the crowning point of all these lofty passes. Here we again beheld the

glorious snow capped peaks of the higher Himalaya range, but it was only for a moment, the next instant, glittering icy needles alone towered above the dense mass of vapour, at such a height, that we might have deemed them an airy mirage, had we not, but a few seconds before, been gazing upon the entire chain, down to its very base

The rumour of their approach appears sometimes to have alarmed the ignorant natives —

A strange rumour had spread among the people in the dominions of the Rajah of Gurwal, to wit, that the Prince was preceded by a host of three thousand military, carrying fire, devastation and pillage, wherever they went. With the utmost difficulty were the terror-stricken populace convinced that the plundering army and the splendid court with its golden pageantry, all consisted merely of a few pedestrian travellers, clad in simple attire, and followed by their luggage-bearers. Our party has unfortunately been diminished by the loss of one most useful member,—the Prince's personal attendant—who, being seized with repeated attacks of the nature of cholera probably caused by the sultry air of the valleys, was left behind. His place was taken by the aforementioned English hunter, who is intimately acquainted with all the windings, the ups and downs, and the narrow passes of these mountain roads and is moreover well versed in the "*Pahari Zubaan*," or language of the mountaineers, a dialect unintelligible even to our interpreter

After much fatiguing travel, they reached Gungotri, some interesting notices of which are given in a note by the translator —

Until a comparatively recent period, this region was unexplored by any traveller, save some wandering Hindu devotees. Mr J Fraser, who visited Gungotri in 1816, was the first European who penetrated thither, he ascertained the elevation to be 10,319 feet. Even among the devout Hindus, this pilgrimage is considered an exertion so mighty as to redeem the performer from troubles in this world, and to ensure a happy transit through all the stages of transmigration. The three pools,—*Surya* (the Sun) *Cund*,—*Vishnu Cund*,—and *Brahma Cund*,—are said to be of pure Ganges water, unpolluted by any confluent stream. The water taken from hence is drawn under the inspection of a brahmin, who is paid for the privilege of taking it, and much of it is carried to Bengal and offered at the temple of Baidyanath. The ascent of the sacred stream is, beyond Gungotri, of extreme difficulty, it was however accomplished by Captains Hodgson and Herbert, who after ascending an immense snow bed, and making their second bivouac beyond Gungotri at a level of 12,914 feet, found the Ganges issuing from under a very low arch from which huge hoary icicles depend, at the foot of the great snow-bed, here about 300 feet in depth proceeding for some thousand paces up the inclined bed of snow, which seemed to fill up the hollow between the several peaks, called by Colonel Hodgson, Mount Moura and the Four Saints, and geometrically ascertained to vary in height from 21,179 to 22,798 feet, they obtained a near view of those gigantic mountains described by our author as seen from Mukha. As Colonel Hodgson justly observes, "It falls to the lot of few to contemplate so magnificent an object as a snow-clad peak rising to the height of upwards of a mile and a half, at the short horizontal distance of two and three quarter miles"

Failing in the attempt to penetrate into Thibet, they proceeded direct to Kunawar "by one of the mountain passes."

In this journey they endured many hardships. For example —

We were perpetually sliding back upon the wet grass, and a full hour of tedious

climbing had passed away, ere we arrived, half-way up the hill, at the base of an over-hanging precipice of granite, which, although the level space below was limited enough, afforded some slight shelter to our party from the ice-cold rain. We halted here. Our naked coolies cowered around us, shivering, and their teeth chattering from cold. It proved however actually impossible, with our coolies and baggage, to pass the night on this platform of only ten feet square. There was not room sufficient to allow of pitching our tents, and not a spot was to be found in the neighbourhood bearing the most distant resemblance to level ground,—nothing but rugged acclivities and precipitous cliffs on every side.

Count O——, meanwhile, had gone in search of a better resting-place. The wind was every moment becoming colder and more piercing, and our limbs more and more benumbed, and still no messenger arrived to announce the discovery of an encampment-ground. Thus an hour passed away in dreadful discomfort and suspense, at the end of that time, one of the guides returned, to conduct us to a spot which he had at length found.

It was nearly dark from the heavy rain, we stumbled on,—following our guide, over the almost impassable mountains of debris,—so stiff from cold that, when we slid down, it was scarcely possible for us to rise up again, and our benumbed hands almost refusing to grasp our much needed mountain poles. At length we reached the spot selected as our resting-place, a somewhat less steep declivity, above the deep glen of the Guntty's parent stream. Our tents were pitched as well as could be managed, but the rain poured through them on all sides. Before our camp-beds could, with the help of large stones, be set up, another hour and a half had elapsed, and we had not yet got rid of our drenched clothes. As to establishing any thing like a comfortable abode, such a thing was not to be dreamt of for this night, and the wood we had brought with us was so thoroughly wet, that it would not ignite. At length, after many vain attempts, a feeble flickering flame rewarded our perseverance, and, cherishing it into a small fire, we boiled our own chocolate, the cook being ill from the cold, and incapable of doing any work but neither chocolate nor brandy,—in which last we indulged more largely than usual,—succeeded in thoroughly reviving the natural warmth of our frames.

I was scarcely in a state to make any measurements of height by the thermometer, however, the result of my calculations, such as they were, was an altitude of eleven thousand, seven hundred and nineteen feet above the sea.

THE "MOUNTAIN SICKNESS"

Nearly an hour and a half passed away before the van-guard of our troop of coolies with their load of baggage, arrived at the head of the pass. They were in a deplorable condition, and suffering, as was also our interpreter Mr. Brown, from headache, which they described as intolerably severe. Anxiety, debility and sickness are the other symptoms of the disease, known here by the name of "*Bush*," poison, or "*Mundara*." Travellers among these mountains, ascending within the limit of eternal snow, are generally attacked by it. It showed itself among the coolies even half way up the pass. They take, as an antidote, a paste prepared of the small sour apricots ("*Choaru*," which I before described, the kernels being bruised, and mixed up with it, it has an unpleasantly sour taste, from which it derives its name of "*Khutai*."

Finding the way blocked up with snow, they had to descend in another direction —

We set out on the march, and had scarcely gained the highest point, when a chill and soaking mist, gradually changing into a violent hail-shower, enveloped us in a gloom so dense, that the pioneers of our long train were altogether cut off from the rest.

Everything however conspired to make us earnestly desirous of reaching the foot of the mountain with the least possible delay, for the day was already on the decline, and it would have been utterly impracticable to pursue, amid the perils of darkness, a march in itself so replete with danger. As little could we, without risking our lives, spend the night on these heights. Our guides, themselves apparently anxious and perplexed, were urged forward with the impatience of despair.

We arrived in safety at the base of the first snowy steep, but here we found that the lowest, and unfortunately also the most abrupt declivity, consisted of a smooth mass of ice, upon the existence of which, we had, by no means, calculated. We forthwith began, axe in hand, to hew steps in it. It was a painfully tedious operation, and, while engaged in our fatiguing labour, we were obliged, hanging over a giddy abyss, to cling fast with our feet and our left hands, lest we should lose our hold and slide down to the bottom. This did indeed all but happen to the Prince himself, his pole, however, furnished with a very strong iron tip, checked his fall. I too slipped, and darted down to a considerable distance, but fortunately with the aid of my "*alpenstock*," I contrived, in spite of its point being broken off, to keep myself in an upright position. Thus the Prince and I, accompanied by the guides, arrived prosperously at the end of the ice, and reached a less dangerous surface of snow, but not a creature had followed us, and the thick rimy snow that darkened the atmosphere, prevented us from casting a look behind, towards our lost companions and attendants. One of the guides was sent back in quest of them, and it turned out that the coolies had refused to descend by this route. Neither money nor cudgelling seemed now to be of the least avail.

At length the snowy shower somewhat abated, the curtain of mist opened for a moment, and we descried, standing in a line on the crest of the ridge, from which we had descended an hour before, the whole array of coolies. Not one of them could muster resolution to venture upon the icy way, they looked down in despair. When they perceived us standing below, a few of the most courageous,—urged on by Count O—— with voice and stick,—at length agreed to follow in our steps. They got on pretty well as far as the smooth icy precipice, but here several of them lost their firm footing and slid down the steep descent with their heavy burdens on their backs. It was a frightful scene, and, to all appearance, full of danger, not one of them however met with any injury, even Mr Brown, whose shooting descent from the highest part filled us with terror,—as he slid down a distance of at least a hundred feet, into a crevasse, in which he was apparently engulfed, was at last brought to us safe and sound, with the exception of considerable excoriation and torn raiment. It cost half an hour, however, to hew a long flight of steps for him in this icy wall. During all these proceedings, which occupied more than an hour, the Prince and I were standing at the foot of the declivity, up to our knees in snow, exposed to a freezing blast and to incessant sleet, but most heartily were we rejoiced, when at length all our people were gathered around us, without one broken neck or limb. The coolies had latterly given up the attempt to scramble down the fatal precipice of ice, and had glided down "*a la montagne Russe*," abandoning themselves to their fate.

The Lama's hymn seems to have been very like what some of our readers may have heard in Armenian churches —

From the top of a cliff, over against Pnarí, we enjoyed, for a long while, the pleasing view afforded by the groups of neat houses surrounded by smiling vine-bowers and verdant corn-fields,—the frowning rocks in the back-ground, crowned on their summits with dark cedar-forests,—while the light clouds flitted across the silver peaks of *Raldung*, ("*Reildang*") in the far distance, and we were refreshed, after our day's fatigues, by the soft and balmy breath of evening. Already the valley was veiled in twilight, when the Lamas (Priests) of the temple appeared, with their long red mantles thrown round them in imposing drapery, and commenced, in honour of the Prince, a strain of melancholy singing. First, a leader gave forth the melody, as if intoning a Latin prayer, then the whole chorus, consisting of four other voices, joined in chanting the response, as in the "*Responsorium*" of a Roman Catholic church. The scene produced a wonderfully grand and solemn effect. It was long before we could summon resolution to quit this enchanted spot; and we did not return until a very late hour to the shady walnut trees under which our tents were pitched.

At length they reached Chíní.

Our path,—here very steep, and rendered slippery by the fallen leaves of the cedars,—soon led us above the wooded region, and we found ourselves upon a

well made and carefully kept-up road, the *Dāk-road* to CHINI. It has been made, for the distance of at least a hundred miles, across the roughest mountain country, by a company of British merchants, simply on a speculation, for the sake of carrying grapes with the greatest possible expedition to Simla, from the few places where they are successfully cultivated, they arrive at that station fresh, and in excellent condition. A contract has been entered into with the authorities of the district, according to which the grapes are packed by people appointed for the purpose, and transported from one village to another. Each station is fixed, and the *Dāk* has scarcely arrived, when the Mukdiar makes his appearance with fresh coolies, ready to forward the grapes without a moment's delay. Thus they travel on from village to village, till they reach Simla. The baskets, in which they are carried, are long dosers, or back-baskets, painted at the lower end. Cotton is sent up the country for packing them; in this the grapes, gathered not in bunches but singly, are packed in alternate layers. When they come to table at Simla, they have, by no means, the tempting appearance of a handsome, full-grown cluster, but rather resemble gooseberries, an immense quantity of them is however disposed of.

In this grape trade, to which the Rajah of Bussahir presents no obstacle, a single English merchant is said to realize, in the course of each season, a profit of four hundred pounds sterling, and the demand for grapes is greater than the supply. It is strange that the Rajah knows all this, and yet it never occurs to him that he might carry on the traffic in this article with the low country on his own account, by which means he would make much larger gains, as the grapes are his own property.

* * * * *

We had now gained an open height, commanding a view of the left bank of the Sutlej. Behind the chain of mountains which rises from its banks,—in the rugged defile of which we could yet recognize the ruinous avalanche and the masses of snow which we had so recently traversed near Barung,—appeared heights, treeless indeed, but clothed with fresh verdure above them rose the outlines of the Ral-dung group, piercing the very skies with their eternal snows. Unfortunately a shroud was wrapped round the highest summits, for a storm was advancing towards us. How magnificent the contrast of the dark cedar forests, the alpine pastures of tender green, and the white dazzling snow.

From Chini they at length succeed in penetrating within sight of the Chinese territory —

But what a surprise awaited us on reaching the highest ridge! A single, sharply drawn crest of white granite, destitute of all vegetation, (such are all the loftiest ridges of the Himalayas,—one cannot even walk along them), now rose before us, at one spot only there is a passage broken through it, a narrow opening like a sort of gate. The instant we entered this, the most magnificent Alpine panorama, beyond what fancy could have pictured, burst upon us the mountains of the Chinese territory,—*PURKYUL*,—which we now beheld for the first time. How strange, how interesting, the thoughts that filled the mind on thus finding oneself, as it were, magically transported to the very gates of the Celestial Empire! Alas! we knew too well by former experience, how securely defended these were! So much the more ardent was our desire to penetrate the barrier! so much the more vivid were our imaginings of the beautiful and the wondrous enclosed within! The mellow violet blue of the long lines of hills towering one behind another, had something in it so mysterious, so enchanting, that the most intense longing to see them more closely, to perambulate them at our leisure, was kindled in our minds. We did not then know how little they gain by nearer approach,—how, at last, that landscape, which from a distance appears so attractive, resolves itself into cold, naked, ruinous-looking rocks, crowned with everlasting snow. We afterwards reached these heights, and so far crossed their barrier, that we saw before us no more blue mountains, and even no more snow,—but only the monotonous horizon of that table-land of Thibet, which, most unpromising in its sterility and desolation, stretches far as the eye can reach.

KENTMERE BRIDGE (NEAR CHASU)

There was here but one route by which we could descend. It consisted of the remains of an avalanche, which in spring had choked up the bed of the river, and had hitherto served as a bridge. Unfortunately this mass of debris had recently fallen in, and one gigantic tower of snow was now left standing alone on either side, even these mighty piers of the quondam bridge had been partly washed away by the current at their base, while the glowing sun above, no less fatal a destroyer, caused the melted particles to trickle down their sides. We descended with great difficulty on these wet and dirty banks of snow, and when all was done, we found ourselves at the very margin of the river indeed, but without any means of transit across its rapid waters. We were constrained, on account of the distance from the wood, and of the difficulty of transport, to relinquish all idea of bringing down timber and beams for building, ropes of sufficient length too were wanting, and if we had had them, they must have proved useless by reason of the frowning crags on the opposite shore. At length a huge cedar-stem, ~~run~~ down by the rushing avalanche, was disentangled, and one grand effort was put forth to drag it to the narrowest part of the stream, after long and arduous labour, in the course of which we were all drenched to the skin, and covered with black mud, we were forced to abandon this plan also, for the tree became deeply imbedded in the sand, and no power of ours could move it from the spot. In this dilemma, we at last learned that a better place for constructing a bridge was to be found elsewhere, for actually our pioneers had been too indolent even to obtain proper information regarding the locality.

In order to reach the spot pointed out to us, we were obliged to clamber up an abrupt cliff, then to ascend a steep acclivity, several hundred feet in height, and covered with loose fragments of rock, and finally to scale a conical mass of granite without the slightest vestige of a path. The slope of loose debris was expected to present the most insuperable obstacle it proved otherwise, the blocks of stone did not yield beneath our feet, and when we reached the granite rock above, we found flat ledges and narrow fissures enough, so that, clambering up with hands and feet, we did at last gain the top of the cone, just in time to guide our coolies, who were at that moment coming up,—to the right course by our shouts.

The second spot selected for the passage of the river, seemed, at any rate, less dangerous than the first, for although the stream, fifty feet across, dashes its raging billows through the narrow gorge, a solid pier presents itself in the midst of its eddy, in the shape of a huge mass of rock. If it be possible to gain that point, all is safe, for it lies not very far from the opposite shore unfortunately however, it offers no jutting corners, but presents, on the side towards which we descended, a smooth face of from sixteen to twenty feet in height. Without delay we proceeded to the work of building, there was no time to lose, for already, in the depths of this contracted defile, the shades of twilight were threatening to overtake us each coolie must needs give a helping hand, stones were collected, and trees hewn down and driven into the bed of the river.

The work advanced more rapidly than I had expected. As soon as a few firm points in the stream had been secured, the rock in its centre was, with the assistance of a hastily-made ladder, speedily gained; from it a second rock was reached by means of a short bridge laid across, and thence the opposite bank itself was attained. At each hazardous spot, one of our party seated himself, to stretch out a helping hand to the *coolies* and *coolies*, and thus bring them safely across. After three hours of very arduous toil, the whole party and the whole baggage were on the further side. But we were still far from our station of Chasu; a steep acclivity rose in front of us, and when, with much difficulty and fatigue, we reached its top, we found ourselves deluded, again and again, by a false hope, as, at each turn of the path, we expected to see the village immediately before us.

KORA AND ITS INHABITANTS.

We were soon surrounded by a throng of the inhabitants, attired completely after the fashion of Tibet. The profusion of amber ornaments, and the brownish red of all their garments, the thoroughly Tibetan complexion, the general use of boots and trowsers, even among the women; which prevails from this place forward,

all mark the influence of the manners and customs of Thibet. The men wear skull-caps, sandals or high cloth boots, and a broad belt round the red vestment, in which are stuck a knife, a pipe, spoon, and a number of other little articles. The only thing which distinguishes the women's costume, is the absence of the belt, and the manner of wearing the hair, which, divided into numberless thin plaits, and interlaced with coral, shells, amber, and silver bells, hangs down like a sort of net-work upon the back.

The Tartar physiognomy is, by no means, very predominant; and although the noses are generally somewhat broad, and the cheek bones large and prominent, yet I saw some faces which, in any country, would be acknowledged to be pretty and expressive. The figures are slender and yet athletic, resembling those of the inhabitants of the valley of the Buspa, near Singla.

FRIENDLY FAREWELL

Our departure, on the 4th of August, was, as had been our arrival on the 3rd, a universal fête. The path was enlivened by numbers of blithe and merry women, maidens, and children, and the male population escorted us as far as the river,—at least an hour and a half's walk,—and even there parted from us only one by one. The women remained on the vine clad hills commanding our path, singing in clear but plaintive tones, "*Tantun ne re ho*" which, I understand, signifies, "*happy journey!*" The kindly salutation was still heard resounding, long after the songstresses had vanished from our eyes.

ENCAMPED

Our last steep ascent for the day accomplished, and a spot selected for our encampment, our first concern is to fix our tent. Each one sets his hand to the work, and in a few minutes the tent is pitched, our cloaks are unrolled, our blankets spread, and thus our night's quarters are prepared. But there stand, expecting their pay, the whole troop of coolies, the poor fellows must not be kept too long waiting for their hard earned pittance. Many a rope must be unbound to get at the money, and forthwith tied up again in dexterous knots, the substitute for a lock and key. Suddenly, I bethink myself of my beautiful gathered plants, what a pity that they should be left to wither! The paper too, saturated with moisture, must be laid out in the sun to dry. To release from suffering the various living creatures, swarming and sprawling in all manner of bottles, and to file them on needles, is likewise a duty that admits of no delay. While I am occupied with it, numbers of people gather round me, with imploring gestures. One points moaning, to his stomach, another brings a sick child, and without more ado lays it silently at my feet, while yonder group are carrying hither an unfortunate man, with shattered legs. There is no time to lose not a moment to linger among my zoological treasures. I must at least show my willingness to afford relief, even where I cannot give a remedy, and alas! how rarely can an efficacious remedy be provided in such haste! Yet it would be hard, indeed, to send away with worthless or fatal advice these poor people, who have come from their far-distant homes, confidently anticipating their cure from the "*Bara Doctor Sahib*!" When the wonder-working medicine has, at length, been rummaged out of the deep and closely-packed chest and duly dispensed, and the bandages applied,—though not without making large holes in the remains of my linen shirts,—I begin to think of indulging in a little repose. But lo! a sudden torrent of rain threatens destruction to the plants I had but just prepared for my *hortus siccus*. I hasten out to rescue my treasures. Thus the rest of the day slips away, darkness comes on with swift and unlooked for strides, and, as evening closes in, our simple repast is devoured with voracious appetite. Scarcely have the dishes been removed, when the conversation dies away, and our eye-lids drop heavily, but no! hence lazy sleep! my journal must be written before the vivid impressions of the day have faded from my mind. A solitary candle,—sheltered from the draught of air by an ingenious paper bell, lest it should be too often extinguished,—sheds its faint and murky light upon my work. In what a poetic mood must I then indite, in what interesting and witty language clothe my descriptions of the adventures we have gone through

or the scenes we have beheld ! At length, I am free to sink down on the hard couch of coarse, stratching, woollen stuff ; and refreshing enough would be my slumbers, if the incessant blood-letting, occasioned by gnats and stinging flies, and other little hostile animals of the sucking or stinging kind, would but suffer the dreamy daze to merge into a sound sleep. After a short rest, morning dawns, a noisy menial enters, and unmercifully pulling away the bed-clothes, compels me to throw on my apparel, yet damp from yesterday's rains. The tent vanishes not less quickly, and we are left to stand shivering in the chill morning blast.

IN THIBET AT LAST

After repeated unsuccessful attempts, His Royal Highness succeeded, on the 6th of August, in traversing the boundary of Thibet, not indeed at the place originally contemplated, but in a highly interesting part of the country, and thus we actually penetrated within the barriers of the Celestial Empire !

Four sturdy yak-oxen stood in readiness for us to mount their woolly backs, the baggage-sheep were saddled and packed, and a merry band of village dames and maidens, all clad in the loose red trowsers, were bustling about with the remainder of our luggage, amid incessant laughter and singing. The men, on the frontier and in Thibet, act as bearers only when forced to do so, and the whole burden of agricultural and of domestic toils they also leave to the women. It was a matter of some difficulty to gain a firm seat on the backs of our novel steeds, caparisoned with our Greek capotes by way of saddles for they are very shy, and kick with their hind-feet, turning their heads round perpetually, as if about to gore their riders. About half past nine o'clock, we set out on our expedition, leaving behind us the apricot-groves of Namdja, and thus bidding farewell to the last oasis in the desert of rocks and of debris through which the Sutlej forces its way.

Although our path appeared, from a distance, to be extremely dangerous, it proved quite sufficiently firm and level for our broad-footed yak-oxen, noble beasts with the thick, silky, white fringe under the body, and the bushy tail, both of which sweep the ground but soon the steepness increased so much that these poor animals began to groan, or rather grunt* in the most melancholy manner, and thus unearthly music gradually rose to such a violent rattle, that,—driven rather by its irksome sound than by the discomfort of our saddleless seats,—we dismounted at the end of the first half-hour.

How dreary, yet how imposing, is the prospect of those rude, steep, rocky masses of shattered slate, between which the roaring Thibetan river thunders its dark yellow waves. Not a shrub, not a green herb to gladden the eye, as far as it can reach, nothing is seen but rock after rock, tumbled together in wild ruins, or frowning in stern crags, descending in deep and startling precipices, or towering,—if indeed the mist allows a glimpse of those stupendous heights,—into bold mountain peaks and lofty pinnacles, crowned with everlasting snow.

Our resting-place, the frontier village of SHIPKI, was not yet visible, but we could descry three or four more distant villages, and could follow,—alas ! with our eyes only,—a path winding across the barren mountain-ridges, into the interior of that hidden land. How much did I envy the lammergeiers the freedom of their flight, as, poised in mid-air, they circled high above our heads !

To our left towered the majestic Purkyul, with its thousand sharp cones and pinnacles, like some gigantic Termites-hill the greater part of it was covered with snow.

We descended from this commanding point by gentle zig-zags, through tall bushes

* From this peculiar sound the animal derives its name of *Bos-grunniens*, by some naturalists it is designated the *Bosporophagus*. Besides the important article of trade furnished by the yak-oxen in their tails, which are sold in all parts of India as chowries, and as ornamental trappings for horses and elephants, and commonly used in Persia and Turkey for standards, dyed crimson and known under the name of horse-tails, they are valued by the natives of Thibet for the long hair, used in the manufacture of tents, ropes, &c., and for their rich and abundant milk.—Tz.

of furze, the home of a multitude of partridges and of small mountain-hares (*Lagomys*)* and in two hours we arrived at Shapki - the last portion of the way only was fatiguing from its steepness.

FORBIDDEN HOSPITALITY.

Notwithstanding the Emperor's mandate, which forbids the supplying of any victuals to foreigners under pain of being ripped up, these villagers brought us milk and apricots in as great abundance as we could possibly desire. By degrees, the whole population, men, women and children, assembled to stare and to laugh at the strange, unwonted intruders. The men are tall and well made, and have moreover, generally, agreeable features. Still, the Tartar descent is betrayed by the broad cheek-bones, and the long oblique eye turned upward at the outward extremity. The difference between the population of Northern Bissahr and that of Thibet is scarcely perceptible, the features, the costume, and the manners and customs are the same, with this distinction only, that the inhabitants of Bissahr are friendly, merry, and yet modest, those of Thibet, on the contrary, the most impudent, filthy, vulgar rabble upon the face of the earth - they cheat and chaffer like the Jews, and practise deception whenever opportunity offers.

The costume of both sexes consists of a caftan, a pair of loose drawers, and high cloth boots of motley patch work, the women are marked only by their drawers being a little longer, and by their plaited cues of black hair, shining with grease, which hang down the back in a multitude of narrow cords, bound together with imitation-agates made of glass, innumerable shells, and pieces of amber. Round the neck they wear, besides amulets, from ten to twenty strings of lumps of amber, false stones, lapis-lazuli, and turquoises of great beauty. The men content themselves with one cue, which, to make it very long and thick, is interwoven with sheep's wool.

Among the numerous dignitaries of this little place, who without the slightest shyness forced their way into our tent, were two doctors, an elderly and a younger man. They intimated the most earnest desire to make my acquaintance, and the elder one by way of salutation, touched my brow with the points of his folded hands. Our conversation was necessarily somewhat monosyllabic, as neither our interpreter nor any of our attendants could speak the language of Thibet. I understood only enough to convince me that these people are extremely ignorant, and physicians as it were by inspiration alone. One showed me his case of surgical instruments which hung from his girdle, a long iron case, with a little drawer, beautifully inlaid with brass. It contained a number of lancets, or rather fleams, which are struck with a hammer to open a vein, a variety of rudely wrought iron knives, and a razor. He had set his heart on exchanging his instruments for mine, and for the sake of curiosity, I actually gave him one of my lancets for two of his fleams - he departed quite proud of his new possession.

SINGULAR TERROR.

One of the elders of the people, a fine-looking old man, with a shrewd countenance, on my attempting to draw his portrait, flew at my sketch-book, and endeavoured forcibly to snatch it from me, when that measure of violence failed, he had recourse to the pathetic, throwing himself on his knees before me with gestures of the deepest anguish, and seizing me by the beard.

This was the only means which I discovered on this occasion for distancing

* An animal unknown to scientific tourists among the Himalayas, until a comparatively recent period - it was discovered by Dr Royle and named after him the *Lagomys Roylei*. To the Zoologist it is peculiarly interesting, as the other species of the Genus, from all of which it differs more or less, have been found only in Northern Asia, and among the rocky mountains of North-west America. The length of the *Lagomys Roylei* is about nine inches - like most of the other animals inhabiting the elevated regions of Kunawar, Thibet, &c, it has a soft rich fur below the coarse outer hair. The former is of a blue-black colour, the latter dark-brown, and usually about an inch in length. The face is somewhat shaggy, and the ears are of a singular funnel-like form. By some travellers the *Lagomys* has been erroneously described as a tailless rat - Ta.

from our tents the uninvited guests; whenever their importunity exceeded all bounds, I assumed an attitude as if about to draw their portraits, instantly they fled, neck and heels, as if driven away by some evil spirit. Nevertheless, I did succeed in committing to my sketch-book some few costumes.

The faces were, for the most part, of really frightful and repulsive ugliness,—the bridge of the nose deeply depressed,—the nasal stump scarce visibly protruding,—and the mouth very large and gaping wide.

They return to Namdja and thence descend to the Sutley, and so on to Chini again.

VISIT OF THE RAJA OF BISSAHIR.

The following morning (the 25th of August) His Highness the Rajah kept us all very long waiting, noon had already arrived, when we at last heard the sound of trumpets and of drums, announcing his approach. The Sovereign appeared on foot, a small, decrepit man, clothed in violet coloured silk, with morocco-leather boots of the same colour and a huge and most unshapely cap of gold tissue; he was led forward by the Vuar ("*Bujir*") and another exalted dignitary, both arrayed in white.

Count Von O — and I advanced to meet him, the Count took his left, and I his right arm, and so, amid the acclamations of the people, and the loud shouts of "*Maha Rajah*," "*Maha Rajah*!"—we proceeded to the tent, where, already, the presents sent by His Highness as precursors of his visit were deposited on large brass dishes. Our camp beds, with Indian shawls thrown over them, served as divans, on which the Rajah and his suite immediately reclined. Our interpreter, Mr Brown, translated questions and answers at a brisk rate, and the conversation flowed on with vivacity and zest, for the aged Rajah, however dulled and enfeebled in his outward man, displayed no lack of life and quickness in his mind and language.

Among the presents was a piece of Russian leather, which has thus the opportunity of making the great round and travelling back to Europe! There were also several singular weapons, and webs of silken and of woollen stuffs, musk bags, and the highly-valued Nerbassi root.

The same ceremonies took place at the departure of the Rajah, however, he very politely declined our further escort, not without symptoms of secret uneasiness.

After dinner the Prince returned his visit. The Vuar came to conduct us to the palace. Passing through a half-dilapidated gateway, surrounded by an eager throng of inquisitive spectators, we entered the great court, over which was spread a baldachin. A grand yet simple entrance leads into the interior of the palace, an edifice distinguished by the severe and unadorned style of mountain architecture. Three elegant silken sofas were placed in a circle, behind them and on either side, stood hosts of couriers clad in white, with drawn "*Khukries*" (short sabres) in their hands; a few only were marked as heralds by the insignia which they bore,—the long, gilt staff, separating at the top into two curved points. The counter-presents now offered as an acknowledgment of those received,—in compliance with the oriental etiquette of exchanging gifts,—were accepted, apparently with great satisfaction, by the Rajah. He conversed for a long while with the Prince, and expressed a great desire to obtain information concerning the position, size and state of our native land, as well as to know the name of every sovereign in Germany, on all which subjects it was no easy matter to give His Highness an intelligible reply. He refused, through the medium of his "*Bujir*," to allow us to see his palace, excusing himself on the plea that "the gods were in it," and only granting us permission to be conducted round its outer gallery.

Altogether, the audience was a highly interesting scene, and one of peculiarly oriental character. By the crimson light of an exquisite evening sky,—a rarity in this part of the country,—we wended our way back to the tents.

KOTGHUR

We followed the course of the Sutley, from Rampur, along easy and well-made roads, on the 30th of August, till, quitting the river glen, we struck off in a

south-westerly direction, towards KOTGHUR, where we celebrated the termination of our mountain wanderings in a most solemnizing manner at the home of two German missionaries, Messrs. Rudolph and Prochnow *

These very amiable and excellent men,—the first a native of Berlin, the second of Pomerania, have done wisely to settle in this paradise of Kotghur, where they have created very neat and pretty dwellings, surrounded by a charming park, and have established a large school for the Hindus, who appear also to flock in numbers to the Church. Thus a foundation seems to be laid for forming a Christian Church in Kotghur, for the mountaineers, though they themselves indeed come apparently only from curiosity to the Church, send their children to the school, not one of them however has been baptised as yet, but the boys are admirably well instructed, have learned English very quickly, and can read the Bible both in English and in Hindi, and intelligently explain what they read. In Germany, these two missionaries would doubtless be mere "candidates," whereas here, they are already beginning to gather a family circle around them. Herr Rudolph yesterday announced to us an addition to his, requesting the Prince at the same time to stand godfather to his child.

We heard a Hindu sermon, and afterwards a German one, which was very excellent, although Herr Prochnow has not spoken a word of German for three years. I am bringing home with me a Hindu Bible, which I received from him.

SIMLA

On the 4th of September we arrived at Simla, the English convalescent station, where there is a crowd of English officers, who have resorted hither with their families in quest of health. The place lies on the same level as at Namethal, but there is this difference between them, that the latter is just springing into existence,—scarce twenty Englishmen are there, and no ladies except the daughters of Mr Wilson,—whereas at Simla, some hundred and fifty officers reside, half of that number being married, and provided with daughters or female relatives besides, in addition

* Agents of the Church of England Missionary Society. The Himalaya Mission, of which Kotghur is still considered the centre, was established at the request and with the assistance of the British residents at Simla and elsewhere, in the year 1843, since which time the Gospel has been preached in the villages of the district and at the annual *melas*, or fairs, Thibetian and Hindu tracts have been distributed medical and surgical advice and assistance given by the missionaries, orphan institutions opened, and day-schools established in 1844 the boys' school, under the charge of Mr Rudolph, numbered from thirty to forty, while Mrs Prochnow had a school of ten or twelve girls, whom she taught to sew and knit, to read and write. Since then, the war in the Punjab has caused some interruption to the labours of the missionaries, who were obliged to remove for a time to Simla, but from the latter part of 1845, Kotghur has again been their head-quarters, and their operations are carried on with uninterrupted activity, and not without evidences of that blessing which alone can give success. Another step has been taken in the extension of the mission towards Thibet, by the establishment of a new school at Kepu, between Kotghur and Rampur, and another school has been opened at Theog, between Kotghur and Simla. Mr Prochnow mentions that many people from the adjacent villages, and travellers from a distance come in, and with the children of the schools and the native servants from the plains, listen attentively not only to the services on the Lord's day, but to the daily family worship, at which he has read and explained the Scriptures, particularly the Parables, the Sermon on the Mount, and the History of the Death and Resurrection of our Lord. He had met on the road between Kotghur and Simla a wandering Lama from Chinese Tartary, who had one of the Thibetian Christian Tracts which he had received from a travelling Zemindar, who told him that a *Sahib* had distributed many of them at the Rampur fair the year before in other instances these Tracts having been distributed in Lower Kunawur and Bissahur, have been met with and found to be read and highly valued in Chinese Tartary so that these silent and unobtrusive messengers of the Gospel, clad in no foreign garb, have found their way into the Celestial Empire itself, across that very barrier which has been found so impassable for Europeans.—Tt.

to which, many widows are settled here, and not a few solitary matrons, who console themselves at balls and varied festivities for the absence of their lords.

At the end of our long and wild Himalayan peregrinations, we arrived at the new and handsome English hotel in a somewhat barbarian costume, instead of a coat was substituted something between a cloak and a coat of mail, formed of coarse woollen stuff,—in the broad belt confining it at the waist was stuck the cutlass; feet shod with sandals by way of shoes, long hair combed back over the top of the head, and rough and shaggy beard completed our grotesque appearance. The whole skin of my face had peeled off twice from the reflected glare of the snow and that which had now succeeded it was of a dark brown hue.

Now,—we draw French kid gloves over our sun-burnt hands, force our feet broadened by exercise, into delicate dancing-boots, and never dream of appearing otherwise than in dress-coats and white waistcoats, for the most rigid etiquette is here observed. How strange does it still seem to me when I awake in the morning to find myself, not in the dripping tent, but in a comfortable bed-room furnished with all manner of luxuries. The lack of pedestrian activity too is an unwanted slavery, for our limbs, accustomed to scaling mountains and scrambling down precipices, are now exerted only to pay morning visits, or to dance polkas at a ball!

There are, at Simla, three great Bazaars, i. e. streets consisting only of shops and warehouses, occupied chiefly by Cashmere merchants. A great number of native artisans also live in this place. Here is to be seen an infinite variety of costumes those of the mountains mingling with those of the plains, Sikhs with the high pointed turban, on which they generally wear an iron ring with a sharp polished edge,—a dangerous missile, Afghans with the red caftan and the noble, flowing beard, and Cashmerians, never failing to display upon their persons their beautiful shawls. The latter people are usually merchants or tailors, but the goods they sell are not suited to my purse. To complete the picturesque effect of the varied throng, there are the gay and motley uniforms of the Indian troops.

From Simla our travellers visited Ferozepore, Lúdíana, Atscheriko and Múdkí. The last words written by our author were —

To-morrow the army is to advance towards Ferozepore, and I cherish a confident hope that we shall get through successfully, fresh reinforcements having now arrived. Farewell,—may we soon meet again!

Alas! he met them no more.

This is altogether a most interesting book. The travellers seem to have been most patient, persevering, courageous, and cheerful. The wonder is, how Dr Hoffmeister contrived to write so full an account of every thing they met with, amid all the turmoil and hardships of their long journey.

ART II.—*Map of Calcutta, 1792-3* By A. Uppohn.

THE rapid changes that are taking place in Calcutta, owing to the increasing European population, and to the facilities of intercourse afforded by steam,—the spread of English education and of English habits among natives,—together with the more extensive changes that are likely to occur, when railways may make Chauringi as the city of London is now, a residence for *karráns*, and mere offices for merchants,—suggest to us, that for the information of future residents, as well as for the pleasure derived from contrast,—it may be useful to jot down here, in a cursory way, the glimpses of the past that we have obtained, through old and rare books, as well as from conversation with the few that still remember the “days of auld lang syne” There yet survive two residents in Calcutta, who remember Sir W Jones and Warren Hastings, who have heard the tiger roar adjacent to the spot where now a noble cathedral and episcopal residence rear their heads, who remember the period when Chauringi was out of town, when shots were fired off in the evening to frighten away the *dakaitis*, and when servants attending their masters at dinner parties in Chauringi left all their good clothes behind them, lest they should be plundered in crossing the maidan—the Hounslow Heath of those days, and when the purlieus of China Bazar formed the aristocratic residences of the “big-wigs” of Calcutta—but these things have been

Let not the City of Palaces, like another Babylon, be too proud, basking in the sunshine of prosperity she may be hereafter as Delhi and Kanauj are now Macaulay vividly depicts to us the supposed meditations of a New Zealander gazing, in some after ages, from a broken arch of London-bridge, on the ruins of the once mighty English metropolis A similar fate may await Calcutta.

Calcutta is the sixth capital in succession which Bengal has had within the last six centuries. The shifting of the course of the river, which some apprehend will be the case in Calcutta, contributed to reduce *Gaur* to ruins, though it had flourished for 2,000 years, though its population exceeded a million, and its buildings surpassed in size and grandeur any which Calcutta can now boast of *Rajmahal*, “the city of one hundred kings,” favourably located at the apex of the Gangetic Delta—*Dháká*, famed from Roman times—*Nuddea*, the Oxford of Bengal for five centuries—*Murshadabad*, the abode of Moslem pride and seat of Moslem revelry, (for a vivid painting of which, consult the pages of the *Sar Mutakherum*)—These were in their days the transient

metropolitan cities of the Lower Provinces, but they have ceased to be the seats of Government and centres of wealth

There have been other leading towns. *Malcondi*, on the west bank of the Hughli, is mentioned by one writer as the capital of Bengal, in 1632, and Rennel refers to the city of Bengala at the eastern mouth of the Ganges. Calcutta, "the commercial capital of Bengal," is *now* in the ascendant, though its political influence on India, happily for the welfare of the peasantry, is on the wane, and late events in the Panjab have given more of their due influence to the North West and to Mofussilite interests. A hundred and fifty years ago, Calcutta was like St Petersburg, when Peter the Great laid his master-hand on it—the New Orleans of the East—a place of mists, alligators and wild boars, though now it has a population of 500,000, of which 100,000 come in and pass out daily. Were Job Charnock to rise from his lofty tomb in St. John's Churchyard, and survey the spot where once he smoked his hukā, and had "the black fellows" flogged during dinner to serve as his music, he would probably not be more surprised than would a denizen of Chaurangi, who has never seen the rice grow, and is as much surprised at the sight of an Indian pig as at a shark, should he a century hence wake from the tomb and find Bombay the commercial port of India, Calcutta a town of the size of Patna, a residence only for those who are not able to enjoy the comfort of villas in the neighbourhood of Hughli, Pandua, &c &c.

Opinions differ as to the etymology of the name Calcutta,—called *Galgotha* by an old Dutch traveller, (and not amiss in the days when one-fourth of its European inhabitants were cut off by the diseases arising in the rainy season) We find that in Europe various cities received their names from the circumstance of monasteries and castles having been first erected on a spot which formed the nucleus of a town, as English words ending in *chester* (*castra*) show. In the middle ages this occurred very frequently. Now as tradition, existing rites, Puranic authority, &c., indicate that the Ganges formerly flowed over the site of Tolley's Nala, and as Kālī Ghat, one of the holiest shrines in Bengal, has, from ancient times, been a place celebrated as one of the *putha sthans*, why may not the name Calcutta be a corruption of Kālī Ghaut? Holwell writes, in 1766 — "Kālī Ghaut, an *ancient* pagoda, dedicated to Kālī, stands close to a small brook, which is, by the Bramins, deemed to be the original course of the Ganges." When Job Charnock landed, on the 24th of August, 1690, fifty years after the first settlement of the English at Hughli, and smoked his pipe

probably under the shade of the famous old tree that stood at Bartakhana, Chauringi plain was a dense forest, the abode of bears and tigers a few weavers' sheds stood where Chandpal Ghat is now there was, consequently, no object of interest nearer than Káli Ghat. Is it not likely then that the old patriarch called the locality after the most conspicuous object—the same as the field of Waterloo is named from the *largest* village near it, and not from St. Jean, which is still nearer? We throw this out merely as a conjecture—*quantum valeat** However, the author of *Sketches of Benqal* sides with us he states "Calcottta takes its name from a temple dedicated to Caly" Another derivation has been given from the Mahratta ditch or *Khál Khattá*, which served as its boundary, before 1742, when this ditch was dug, we have not seen the name given

The Dutch, French and Danes chose the right bank of the river, fully exposed to the river breezes, but the English selected the left three reasons have been assigned, the deep water ran at the left side—numbers of weavers lived there, members of the patriarchal family of the Sets, who dealt with the Company,—and the Mahrattas never crossed the river Job Charnock left Ulubaria on account of its unhealthiness, but he did not gain much by the change

We shall, in the present article, limit our researches to one branch of the subject—the localities of Calcutta Our remarks will be simply gleanings. Many causes render it very difficult to pierce into the darkness of the past. Natives themselves give little aid they show no lively interest in antiquarian or historical research, as the *Records of the Asiatic* and other Societies evince, but the maxim of Cicero holds good now as when penned—"Nescire quid antequam natus sis acciderit, id est semper esse puerum"

We call our article "Calcutta in the *olden* time," some may say how can you call a city of a century and a half, old? We have only to say,—Reader, such is the state of the British in India, so crowded has been the succession of important and stirring events, and so shifting have been the actors on the scene, that what would appear in England quite modern, bears here, as in the United States of America, the air of the antique, and we look back on our predecessors in Calcutta of last century with a similar interest to that with which a Bostonian reads the

* Though allowed by the Mogul the choice of any site below Hugh, he selected, perhaps, the most unhealthy spot on the whole river the Salt-water Lake to the east left masses of putrid fish in the dry season, while a dense jangal ran up to where Government House stands now

Wanderings of the Pilgrim Fathers, or a Scotchman, The Tales of Border Life, and The Adventures of Prince Charles Our descriptions are only *Fragments drifted from the Wreck of Time*

A few books have survived the destruction which so certainly awaits old works in India, from apathy, frequent removals, or the climate as of some of these, only one or two copies exist, and as they are not accessible to the generality of our readers, we shall occasionally make some extracts to illustrate various points in connection with Calcutta as it was in the last century. Though the books be *old*, the information may be *new* to many of our readers, and even to others may be useful in recalling their thoughts, in a busy and bustling age, to the dim visions of the past, the twilight of Calcutta history

One of the earliest works that presents itself to our notice, is *The Genuine Memoirs of Asiaticus* The author was Philip Stanhope, an officer in the 1st regiment of dragoon guards, his pamphlet, containing 174 pages, was published in London in 1785, he came to India in 1774, the victim of disappointed love, the lady to whom he was attached not being allowed by her father to go to India He touched at Madras, dined with the Governor, and mentions p 38—"We retired 'soon after dinner, according to the custom of the country, to 'take our afternoon's nap, which the heat of the climate renders 'absolutely necessary for the refreshment of our bodies, which 'must necessarily be weakened by a continual perspiration"

In October of that year he arrived at Calcutta It was the time when the *huka*, with its long pipe and rose-water, was in vogue —

Even the writers, whose salary and perquisites scarce amount to two hundred pounds a year, contrive to be attended wherever they go, by their *huka burdaar*, or servant, whose duty it is to replenish the *huka* with the necessary ingredients, and to keep up the fire with his breath But extravagant as the English are in their *huka*, their equipage, and their tables, yet all this is absolute parsimony, when compared to the expenses of a *seraglio* a luxury which only those can enjoy, whose rank in the service entitles them to a princely income, and whose *Haram*, like the state horses of a monarch, is considered as a necessary appendage to Eastern grandeur

He had been promised a situation by Warren Hastings, but failed, from the opposition given to all Hastings's recommendations by the new members of council —

The numerous dependants, which have arrived in the train of the Judges, and of the new Commander in Chief of the forces, will of course be appointed to all the posts of any emolument and I must do those gentlemen the justice to observe, that, both in number and rapacity, they exactly resemble an army of locusts sent to devour the fruits of the earth

He left Calcutta, after a few months' stay, for Madras, where

he spent three years in the service of the Nawab of Arcot. In 1778 he visited Bombay, where "the settlement not being divided by factions, there is more society than at Madras, and the sources of wealth being fewer, there is less of luxury and parade than at Calcutta." The same year he arrived in London.

In 1780 Mrs. Fay, the authoress of *Original Letters from India*, presented herself on the stage. She was one of the first who tried the overland route, she was made prisoner at Calicut by Hyder Ali, and was imprisoned there, she arrived in Calcutta, and mentions her visiting Mrs Hastings at Belvidere House, "a great distance from Calcutta." Her husband was a barrister, but joining himself to the party of Francis against Hastings, and uniting with others in resisting a proposed house-tax, he was obliged, through want of briefs, to leave Calcutta in debt, his wife being deprived by the creditors of every thing except her clothes. She separated from her husband, and found refuge in the house of Sir R. Chambers, noted for his "immense library." After twelve months' residence, she left Calcutta for England in May, 1782, and arrived in England in February, 1783, experiencing the discomfort of hard-drinking gentlemen on board, with a "large gun" in the port-hole of her cabin. She returned, however, to Calcutta, in 1784, and engaged in the millinery line—she failed, returned to England, but made another voyage to Calcutta.

We have lately met with a work called *Hartley House, Calcutta*, printed in London, 1789, which, under the guise of fiction, paints the manners and customs of Calcutta as they existed in Warren Hastings's days, when Calcutta was "the grave of thousands, but a mine of inexhaustible wealth." The general *vrausemblance* of them is confirmed by an Octogenarian still living. We shall quote occasionally from this book.

A book called the *East Indian Chronologist*, published in 1801, by a Mr. Hawksworth, throws much light on various occurrences. It is a compilation of facts relating to British connection with India, gathered from sources which are now destroyed by white-ants and damp. The facts are arranged in chronological order, and present, in 100 pages quarto, an assemblage of many rare subjects.

A work was published in Calcutta called *Historical and Ecclesiastical Sketches of Bengal*, which gives the fullest notice we have seen of the early establishment of the English in India, a particular account of the Black Hole, the re-taking of Calcutta, the history of St. John's Church, the Old Church, Kiernander's mission, the Portuguese of Calcutta, the Armenians of Calcutta.

Old Zaphania Holwell, who rose, from being an apothecary, to the governorship of Calcutta, published, in 1784, the third edition of a curious and interesting work, *India Tracts*, which, besides giving various details respecting our progress to power after the battle of Plassey, presents us with a minute account of the sufferings in the Black Hole. He was zemindar of Calcutta for some time, and in this work gives a graphic picture of the cheating and over-reaching of the native servants of Government of that day. Holwell was born in Dublin, 1711, and like other survivors of the Black Hole, he lived to a green old age—he died in 1798.

Upjohn, an ingenious artist, published a *map of Calcutta* in 1793. he died in 1800—this map is very valuable, as affording a contrast with Calcutta at the present time, and thus indicating the immense additions since made in buildings and streets.

Mrs Kindersley's letters throw light on different points in Calcutta life about 1770. Grose wrote his *Travels to the East Indies* about 1750—4. *Grandpre*, a French officer, visited Calcutta towards the close of last century, and has written an interesting account of his travels.

The Surveyor General's office possesses the original survey made by *General Martin* in 1760. no road to Budge-Budge is marked off. Akra is not mentioned, nor Diamond Harbour, there was no road to Diamond Harbour,—the Rupnarayan is called the old Ganges,—the Salt Lake was marked off as frequented by wild buffaloes.

Stavorinus, a Dutch admiral, visited India in 1768. An account is given of his travels in the East, in a work of three volumes. We have some lively sketches of the times in Calcutta. He and the Dutch Governor of Hugh went to a formal dinner to Government-house at half past 12 P. M.—Visits of ceremony were then paid at 9 A. M. Seventy covers were laid, and the service was entirely of plate, after dinner, the *huka* was served to each person, and after smoking half an hour, they retired to their respective dwellings. At six in the evening they rode to Governor Cartier's country-seat at Belvidere, where they supped. The next morning, at *nine* o'clock, the English Governor paid a ceremonial visit to the Dutch Governor—that seems to have been a fashionable hour for calls, probably, to avoid the mid-day heats; on the installation at that period of a new Dutch Governor of Chinsura, there was a public breakfast given at *seven*, and the ceremony took place at 9—it was in the month of March.

The principle of the association of ideas has a strong hold over the mind—man wishes to connect the present with the past—

it is pleasing for a stranger, when traversing the streets of a city, to be able to observe the places identified with various events in the days of yore. We have *The Traditions of Edinburgh*, *The Recollections of London*, why should we not have a pamphlet to put into the hands of strangers, to be called "*An Antiquarian Ramble through Calcutta?*" Some of our pleasantest hours have been spent in this pursuit in Calcutta, in endeavouring to "conjure up the ghosts of departed days." We shall now jot down some of our gleanings collected from books and conversation, some of these facts, though apparently trivial, have cost us considerable search—but all bear, more or less, on the point of Calcutta, as it *was* in respect of its *localities*.

We shall begin with Kidderpur, then proceed to Chaurangi, thence to Tank Square and its neighbourhood, then to Chitpur, and conclude with the Circular Road, noticing, as we go along, those places which call up associations of the past, the dim vision of the years that are no more, which remind us of the thoughts and actions of the buried generations of English who figured on the stage of events in Calcutta during last century.

Kidderpur is approached from the plain, by Hastings' bridge. Not far from Hastings' bridge was another of brick, called Surman's, after a Mr Surman, a member of council—he was a member of the embassy to Delhi in 1717—his residence was, probably, to the south of it, in a place called Surman's Gardens, which will be ever memorable as the spot where the Governor and his party stopped, when they cowardly and treacherously deserted the Fort in 1757. This led to the catastrophe of the Black Hole. Immediately to the south of these gardens, was the boundary of Govindpur, the limit of the Company's colony of Calcutta, marked by a pyramid. Close by were situated *Watson's Docks*, so called from a Colonel Watson, the chief engineer, who built the *first* ships in Calcutta in 1781. an enterprising man, he obtained a grant from Government of the land for the purpose of making docks, on which he spent ten lakhs. Near those docks the Colonel erected a wind-mill, but as it commanded a view of a native's zenanah, the native went to law and obtained a decree that the wind-mill should be pulled down! This was a suit of wind-mill *versus* nuisances. Previous to this, two vessels were launched, in 1769 and 1770, but Calcutta had, heretofore, been dependant on Surat, Bombay and Pegu for its ships. However, famine gave an impulse to ship-building! Good out of evil—the ravages caused by Hydar in the Carnatic, in 1780, roused the Government to a sense of the importance of the shipping interest they could not supply ships in sufficient numbers to convey food to the famished population of the South. Bombay had docks in 1735, but *Kidderpur*,

not for sixty years later, which Waddel made in 1795 Trade advanced between 1781 and 1800, thirty-five vessels, measuring 17,020 tons, were built from 1781 to 1821, the total was 237, which cost more than two millions sterling this trade of ship-building is not, however, so brisk now It was not, however, confined to Calcutta, as at Fort Gloucester, between 1811 and 1828, twenty-seven vessels, measuring 9,322 tons, were built, and as early as 1801, a vessel of 1,445 tons, the *Countess of Sutherland*, was built at Titighur, near Barrakpur the river has so shallowed since, that, probably, the experiment could not be tried now

To the North of Hastings' bridge lies *Kul (Coohe) bazar*, once occupied, like many other places, by a handsome Musalman burial-ground, but which was pulled down to erect the present buildings On a platform erected to the south-west of it, Nandakumar, once Dewan to the Nawab of Murshidabad, was executed, August 5th, 1775—the first brahman hanged by the English in India his death excited as great a revulsion of feeling among natives as did the execution of Louis XVI among the French royalists The foremost among the Mahapatak, crimes of the highest degree, or mortal sins of the Hindus, is killing a brahman—the other four are stealing gold from a priest, adultery with the wife of a guru, drinking spirits, and associating with persons who have committed any of those offences Immediately after the execution, the Hindus rushed to the river to wash away the offence committed in seeing it, by bathing in Ganges water During three days they ate nothing, and, subsequently, the excitement was very great, menaces were held out to the judges that if they proceeded to court, their lives would be sacrificed as victims to popular fury, but regardless of menaces, they marched in procession to the Supreme Court, attended by all the paraphernalia of justice, and the threats of the Hindus were as effective as those of the Calcutta Babus, on the passing of the *Lex Loci Act* There is a native still living in Calcutta, whose father told him, that on that day the Hindus went to the other side of the river to eat, considering Calcutta to have been polluted by the execution of a brahman.*

The *Diamond Harbour Road* terminates at Kidderpur from Kidderpur to Bursea it was lined with trees this road extends thirty-nine miles, to Diamond Harbour, while the river route is fifty-six miles it must have been an immense convenience in former days for speedy traffic, when cargo boats, from March to September, occupied from five to seven days in taking goods

* In the *Memorial of Sir E Impey*, by his son, a different statement is given, but parties on the spot can give a more correct opinion

from Calcutta to Diamond Harbour, or when a ship has been three weeks beating up to Calcutta from Diamond Harbour the splendid old tanks near Diamond Harbour show the traffic that existed Stavorinus, in 1768, gives the name of the village of Dover to Diamond Harbour, "where the English have ' built some ware-houses, and a factory much frequented by ' ships close to it is a channel called the Shrimp Channel " There is no mention of the Diamond Harbour road in Upjohn's map of 1794, though there existed the Budge-Budge high road to Calcutta in 1757 Two miles south of Kidderpur is *Manikchand's Bhagan* Holwell writes of it—"The family of the Rajah ' of Burdwan farmed lands to the amount of four lakhs, contiguous ' to the bounds of Calcutta, and had a palace at Byala the fort ' of Budge-Budge, on the Ganges, was ' also their property " This *Bhagan* was once the residence of Manikchand, a Hindu, who was appointed Governor of Calcutta, when the English were expelled from it During his incumbency he was noted for his rapacity, for though 50,000 of the Hindus returned to their dwellings in Calcutta after Suraj Daula left, yet no man of property would trust himself under Manikchand Bengali like, he did not present an example of much courage, he ran away from Budge-Budge, when the English attacked it, a ball striking his turban having put him to flight, and he never stopped till he reached Murshidabad Ali Verdy Khan, who appointed him to this office, found him so treacherous and cowardly, that he trusted the Patans chiefly on active service The Musalman promoted the Bengalis to high office, but on the principle that they became excellent sponges which he could squeeze when he liked On Ali Verdy's memorable retreat from Burdwan, 18,000 Bengali troops ran away

Kidderpur was called after Colonel Kyd, an enterprising European, the Chief Engineer on the Company's Military establishment, his two East Indian sons were the famous ship-builders, and in 1818, launched from the dock there the *Hastings*, a seventy-four gun ship, which lately anchored at Sagar He, with Bowley, Skinner and others, has shown what genius could effect in spite of the depressing influence of European caste, and the feeling which in Calcutta formerly regarded East Indians as a kind of *pariahs* *

* *East Indians*, alias Eurasians, alias country-borns, were a class that excited great alarm in the last century, some writers conjecturing that they would, like the Americans, combine with the natives and drive the English from Calcutta. Hence various projects were entertained for neutralising their influence There was only one Boarding School in Calcutta, chiefly for East Indians, in 1780, and the females of their class were fonder of the *huka* than of letters they loved the theatre, dressing magnificently, and "affording by their sparkling eyes a marked contrast with the paleness and languor of the European ladies "

To the East of Kidderpur lie the *Calcutta militia lines*, the soldiers are all natives, certainly not on the original plan of the militia, for in the earlier days, every European was expected to be a militia man, the same as every passenger in an Indian man was trained to take part in the defence of the ship. In 1759 the Europeans of Calcutta were all enrolled in the militia to garrison Calcutta, which enabled the Company to send the soldiers into the field against the Dutch, who came up the Hughli with a strong force, again, in 1763, all the regulars were sent away from Calcutta, the militia garrisoning it; however, a body of free merchants and free mariners, not content with standing on the defensive, took the field and marched to Patna. In 1801 there was a European as well as a Portuguese and Armenian militia.

The road from Kidderpur to Bursea, in last century, presented a picturesque appearance, being planted with shady trees on both sides—a fine old practice.

The *Kidderpur Military Orphan School* was established in 1783, by Major Kilpatrick, and was located at first at Haura, but about 1790, the present premises were taken. The front room of this building, the ball room, calls to mind the state of society in former days, when European ladies were afraid to face the climate of India—even Lord Teignmouth's lady refused to go out to India with her husband in consequence, Kidderpur was a harbour of refuge, where men in want of wives made their selection in an evening, at balls given expressly for that purpose, travelling often a distance of 500 miles down the country to attain that object. But *tempora mutantur*.

Garden Reach is one of the oldest places of residence "out of town," and is mentioned in a map drawn up by General Martine, in 1760, as containing fifteen residences but these were only fine bungalows. Previous to the battle of Plassey, the English were cooped up in the neighbourhood of the old Fort, enjoying the evening air in the Respondentia walk, lying beyond Chandpal Ghat, or in the fish-pond near Laldighi—beyond, there was too wholesome a dread of thieves and tigers, to induce them to wander into the grounds of the neighbouring zemindars, who were the Robin Hoods of those days. But when peace and security dawned, it is to the taste of the Ditchers, they preferred garden-houses, ornamented occasionally with statuary, which were their favourite abodes during the hot weather. Mrs. Fay writes in November—"My time has passed very stupidly (in Calcutta) for some months, but the town is now beginning to fill—people are returning for the cold season"—doubtless, from their country villas. We find that Warren Hastings had a place of this description at Sukh Sagur, and

another Governor, Cartier, one in 1763 at Baraset. The retirement of the garden, and the boating parties on the river, "the oars ' beating time to the notes of the clarionet," formed more the objects of relaxation then than now " Kittysol-boys, in the act ' of suspending their kittesans, which were finely ornamented, ' over their heads—which boys were dressed in white muslin ' jackets, tied round the waist with green sashes, and gartered ' at the knees in like manner with the puckered sleeves in ' England, with white turbans bound by the same colored ' ribband—the rowers, resting on their oars in a similar uni- ' form—made a most picturesque appearance "

Sir W Jones lived in a bungalow in Garden Reach, nearly opposite to the Bishop's College—we have not been able to ascertain the site here, shunning Calcutta and its general society, he indulged in his oriental studies, and in the morning, as the first streak of dawn appeared on the horizon, he walked up to his lodgings in the Court House, where he occupied the middle and upper rooms He must have travelled viâ Kidderpur, as there was then no direct road from Garden Reach to Calcutta.

At the bottom of Garden Reach is *Âkra*, marked off in Martine's map of 1760, with salt moulds, after that it was used as a powder dépôt, and subsequently as a race-course A little south of Kidderpur bridge, near the old Garden Beech, is *Bhu Khailâs*, founded by the late Joy Narayan Ghosal two of the largest *lingas* in India are to be seen in two Sivite temples here, which were erected in the last century

Alipur seems to be a Musalman name, and of the same signification as Alinagur (the city of Ah), which Suraj Daula, after the Moslem fashion of altering native names, gave to Calcutta, on its conquest in 1757

Nearly opposite Alipur bridge stood *two trees*, called "the trees of destruction," notorious for the duels fought under their shade here Hastings and Francis exchanged shots, in the days when European women were few Had Hastings fallen in that duel, the stability of British power in India might have been shaken, with such a Phæton as Francis guiding the chariot of the state Jealousy often gave rise to these "affairs of honour"

Facing Alipur bridge is *Belvidere*, once the favorite residence of Warren Hastings, but latterly he erected another house further south—he is said to have hunted tigers in its neighbourhood, and we think it probable, considering the state of other places at that time as late as 1769, Stavorinus writes of the country in the vicinity of Chagda—"Having many woods, ' in which there are tigers, we soon met with their traces in

‘ plenty ’ Lord Valentia states, that the Company gave in premiums for killing tigers and leopards, in Kasimbazar island, up to 1801, Rs 150,000 Mrs Fay describes Belvidere in 1780

The house is a perfect *byou*, most superbly fitted up with all that unbounded affluence can display but still deficient in that simple elegance which the wealthy so seldom attain, from the circumstance of not being obliged to search for effect without much cost, which those but moderately rich find to be indispensable The grounds are said to be very tastefully laid out

Stavorinus mentions visiting Belvidere in 1768, when the then Governor of Bengal resided there, it may have probably served as Barrackpore does now, as the country residence of the Governors for the time being

The *General Hospital* reared its head, as early as 1768, over the then solitary Chauringi, “ far from the city,” previous to 1768, it was the garden-house of an individual, and was purchased by Government *

To the north of Alipur flows *Tolly's Nala*, called after Colonel Tolly, who also gave his name to *Tollyganj*, he excavated a portion of it in 1775—the old name given to it was the Govindpur-creek, being the southern boundary of Govindpur, which was formerly the chief residence of the natives, the *Sets*, who, along with the Baysaks, constituted the oldest Hindu families of Calcutta, they lived in the neighbourhood of the old pagoda and on the site of Fort William, the whole district being called Govindpur—a name derived from a deity called Govinda Colonel Tolly made the *nala* at his own expense, in the bed of what was called *Surman's Nala* Government granted him the tolls on it, exclusively, for twelve years, and it soon yielded a net profit of 4,300 Rs monthly The Colonel died soon after its completion This canal, in the course of thirty years, up to 1820, had silted up six feet—its native name

* Hamilton, in 1709, mentions a pretty good hospital at Calcutta, which “ many go into and undergo the penance of physic, but few come out to give an account of its operation ” In these days doctors were not well qualified or well paid *Ex uno omnes discite* an anecdote is mentioned of one of the Governors of Bombay, who, wishing to gain the favour of his Honorable Masters in England, by retrenchment, found the Surgeon's pay to be forty-two rupees monthly, on which he said there must be some mistake, that the figures were transposed, and so saying, with one stroke of his pen he wrote twenty-four instead of forty-two ! However, in Calcutta, there was a difference Thus in 1780—“ Physic, as well as law, is a gold mine to its professors, to work it at will—The medical gentlemen at Calcutta make their visits in palanquins, and receive a gold-mohur from each patient, for every common attendance—extras are enormous.”

A disease called “ *a pucha fever* ” was prevalent in Calcutta last century, probably owing to the mass of jungle which extended in every direction, and the fetid jills Mrs Kindersley writes of it as “ the illness of which most persons die in Calcutta, it frequently carries off persons in a few hours—the doctors esteem it the highest degree of putridity ”

is *Burhi Gungá** On its banks is Káli Ghat Temple, built about sixty years ago by one of the Sabarna Chaudaris of Barsi Byelá.

We next proceed to *Chauringi*. Mrs Kindersley, in 1768, describes the European houses "as built so irregular, that it 'looks as if the houses had been thrown up in the air, and fallen 'down again by accident as they now stand' " The people of Calcutta in fact preferred, like the Madras people, garden-houses, where they could enjoy some privacy The town was considered unhealthy and hot, and Chauringi was chosen for a garden retreat, as people now select Kasipur and Titighur, and as they will, ere long, on the opening of the rail-road, choose the neighbourhood of Bandel How times change! The Sunderbunds were healthy and populous places, eighty years before Charnock founded Calcutta, were then the site of flourishing cities, but are now the abodes of the rhinoceros and the tiger

Chauringi (Chowringee) is a place of quite modern erection Be not surprised, reader, it originated from "the rage for *country* houses," with their shade and flowers, which prevailed equally at Bombay and Madras, at the beginning of this century—but how *country* houses? Why, Chauringi was then out of town, and even palikí bearers charged double fare for going to it, while at night, servants returned from it in parties, having left their good clothes behind through fear of *dakats*, which infested the outskirts of Chauringi! There is a lady still living, who recollects when there were only two houses in Chauringi—one Sir E Impey's, the very house now occupied as the nunnery, a third story only being added On the site of the nunnery church was a tank, called the *Gol talao*, the surrounding quarter was Sir E Impey's park, which stretched to Chauringi-road on the west and to Park-street on the north, an avenue of trees leading through what is now Middleton-street into Park-street from his house, it was surrounded by a fine wall, a large tank was in front, and plenty of room for a deer park, a guard of sipahis was allowed to patrol about the house and grounds at night, occasionally firing off their

* Our readers may deem it incredible, but we have a firm conviction, that the Ganges itself, which now flows by Bishop's College, once took its course on the site of Tolly's Nala. With the natives, to the south of Calcutta, Tollygunj is a sacred place for cremation, and so is Baripur, where there is now not a drop of water, because they believe the stream of the Ganges rolled there once the traveller never sees any funeral pyres smoking near the Hugh south of Calcutta, as the natives have a notion that this is a *Khatá Gangá*, or a modern channel—the ancient channel, and not merely the water, is accounted sacred by them Geological observations confirm this In the borings made at Kidderpur in 1822, it was found, there were *no vegetable remains or trees*, hence there must have been a river or large body of water there

muskets to keep off the *dakants*. The other house was the present St. Paul's school. Chauringi houses increased towards the close of the last century. Upjohn, in 1794, places twenty-four houses in Chauringi, between Dharamatala and Brijitalao, the Circular-road and the plain. Lord Cornwallis in his day remarked that one-third of the Company's territories was a jungle, inhabited only by wild beasts, and in Chauringi the few houses were scattered over a great extent of ground. Let those who are warm friends to the centralising system of Calcutta, and who look on the Chauringi palaces as ever enduring, reflect a little on the past—to conjecture what the future *may* be. Surat, three centuries ago, had a population of half a million, now its grass-grown streets and tomb-covered squares show the desolating hand of time. Sagar island, now the abode of the tiger and the snake, contained two years previous to the foundation of Calcutta a population of 200,000, which, in one night, in 1688, was swept away by an inundation.

Park-street, so called because it led to Sir E. Impey's park, is mentioned in Upjohn's map of Calcutta, 1794, by the name of Burial-ground road. Being *out of town* last century, it was the route for burials from town (i.e., the part north of Tank Square) to the Circular-road burial ground, hence it was dreaded as a residence. "All funeral processions are concealed as much as possible from the sight of the ladies, that the vivacity of their tempers may not be wounded,"—death and dancing did not harmonise together. We find in the *India Gazette* of 1788 a notice from T. Maundesely, undertaker, advertising for work, "having regularly followed that profession in England." He states, that on account of the great distance of the burial-ground, he has built a hearse, and is fitting up a mourning-coach, —previous to that, what a gloomy scene in Park-street, a funeral procession continuing one hour or more. The coffins, covered with a rich black velvet Pall, were carried on men's shoulders, and the European Pall Bearers arranged a little before they came to the ground.

Chauringi-road is spoken of by Holwell in 1752, as "the road leading to Collegot (Kali Ghat) and Dee Calcutta,"—a market was held in it at that time.

In a house in *Wood-street*, occupied lately by the eye-infirmarian, Colonel Stewart lived, surnamed Hindu Stewart, from his conformity to idolatrous customs, &c.,—he was one of that class, now almost passed away, who looked with equal regard on the worship of Christ and Krishna.

At the corner of Park-street is the *Asiatic Society's house*,

built on a piece of ground granted by Government, it had been previously occupied as a *manège*, and was favourably located for that purpose. The Society was founded January 15, 1784—the same year which gave Calcutta the first church erected by the public since the battle of Plassey religion and literature thus went together

The *Course*, so called, as being a coss or two miles in length, is described in 1768, as being “out of town in a sort of angle, ‘made to take the air in,’ though an old song states that those who frequented it, ‘swallowed ten mouthfuls of dust for one ‘of fresh air’” Hamilton makes no mention of it in 1709—the recreation then was “in chaises or by palankins, in the ‘fields or to gardens” Boating and fishing seem to have been favourite amusements. Certainly those who took their evening sail in a pinnace enjoyed more exercise than the modern lollers in a carriage in the *Course*

Of the *Race Course* mention is made in 1780, though the present one was commenced in 1819 There was formerly an old Race Course at Akra, but “Lord Wellesley, during his administration, set his face decidedly against horse-racing and every ‘other species of gambling” his influence threw a damp on it for many years, though last century a high value was attached to English jockeys, and the races were favourite subjects of expectation with the ladies With the amusement of the turf came the spirit of betting

Dharmatala was formerly called the *avenue*, as it led from town to the Salt-water Lake and the adjacent country Last century it was a “well-raised causeway, raised by deepening the ‘ditch on either side,” with wretched huts on the south side, while on the north a creek ran through a street, still called Creek-Row, through the Wellington Square Tank, down to Chandpal Ghat Large boats could come up it—if it had been kept clear and had been widened, it might have been very useful for the drainage, as Colonel Forbes, in his memoranda to the Municipal Commissioners in 1835, recommended the digging a similar creek in that direction The road was, according to an old useful Hindu practice, shaded with trees on both sides, as we find was the practice in other parts at that period. *Dharmatala* is so called from a great mosque, since pulled down, which was on the site of Cook’s stables, the ground belonged, with all the neighbouring land, to Jáfir, the jamadar of Warren Hastings, a zealous Musalman. The *Karbela*, a famous Musalman assemblage of tens of thousands of people, which now meets in the Circular-road, used then to congregate there, and by its local sanctity, gave the name to the street of the *Dharmatala* or *Holy street*

The *bazar*, about half way between Wellington Square and Government House, occupies the site of the residence of Colonel De Glass, superintendent of the gun manufactory, which has since been removed to Kasipur. David Brown, the eminent minister of the Mission Church, subsequently occupied the building, which had a large compound. He kept a Boarding School, and had among his pupils Sir R. Grant, late Governor of Bombay, and Lord Glenelg.

Wellington Square Tank was excavated in 1822, it was one of the good works of the Lottery Committee, its site was formerly occupied by wretched huts inhabited by lascars, who made the place a mass of filth and dirt. The banks have several times fallen in, owing to the old creek called Channel Creek having formerly run through it.

The *Native Hospital* owes its origin to the suggestion of the Rev John Owen, a chaplain, the plan was proposed in 1793, when the Marquis Cornwallis granted it 600 Rs per month, the private subscriptions amounted to 54,000 Rs. Lord Cornwallis gave 3,000 Rs, each Member of Council 4,500 Rs, the Nawab Vizier gave 3,000 Rs. It was established at first in the Chitpur-road, and opened September the 1st, 1794, but in 1798 the managers purchased ground in "the open and airy road of Dharmatala." At that time there were only three or four houses in the street*. During the last century disease must have made fearful ravages among the natives. Small Pox was a dreadful scourge, "inoculation is much practised by the natives, but they convert the contagious matter into powder, which they give internally, mixed with some liquid." Adjoining the Dharmatala is the *Free School*, on the site of a house which was occupied by Mr Justice Le Maître, one of the judges in Impey's time. The Free School was engrafted on the Old Charity School, founded in 1742, and settled "at the garden-house near the Jaun Bazar, 1795." The purchase and repair of the premises cost 56,800 Rs.

* Calcutta, in former days, had justly an ill name for its insalubrity, "the grave-yard of Europeans"—but the Doctors also were in fault, as Dr Goodeve, in his able paper "On the Progress of European Medicine in the East" shows, when all agreed that "as the strength must be supported in dysentery, wine and solid animal food were the most appropriate diet." Patients were ordered in these cases, "pillows, curries, grilled fowls and peppered chicken broth *ad libitum*, with a glass or two of medicine, or a little brandy and water, and a dessert of ripe fruits." Native doctors had their hot and cold remedies for hot and cold diseases, their mantras and philtres, while Lind states that the Portuguese doctors prescribed as the grand cure, "the changing all the European blood in their patients' bodies into native's." This they endeavoured to accomplish by repeated venesections, till they conceived that the whole mass of this circulating fluid had been abstracted. And then, by a diet consisting exclusively of the productions of the country, they hoped to substitute a liquid entirely Indian, which would render their patients proof against the maladies under which they had previously laboured."

On the proposal for forming the Free School, the public at once subscribed 26,082 Rs. and Earl Cornwallis gave 2,000 Rs. It is the oldest educational institution in Calcutta, it is said that its funds arose chiefly from the interest of the restitution money granted by the Musalmans for pulling down the Old Church near the Writers' Buildings in 1756

Cossitala, leading from Dharmatala into Old Calcutta, was named after the *Kasû* or butchers, dealers in goats' and cows' flesh, who formerly occupied it as their quarter. It must therefore have been formerly a hateful street for Hindus to pass on their way from Chitpur to Kali Ghat, as seventy years ago Hindus would not sell an ox when they knew it was designed for slaughter. Like Government House, it was then "in the suburbs of Calcutta," this may account for the late C. Grant, father of Lord Glenelg, having taken up his residence in Grant's Lane, which received its name from this circumstance. He afterwards built a handsome house, opposite Lord Clive's, where he resided several years before he left India. In 1757 *Cossitala* was a mass of jangal, and even as late as 1780, it was almost impassable from mud in the rains. In Upjohn's map only two or three houses are marked in it, so that Mr. Grant might enjoy his *rus in urbe* in the neighbourhood of his favorite *Lal Gya*. In 1788 a Mr. Mackinnon advertises for a school to be opened to contain 140 pupils.

Lal Bazar is mentioned by Holwell, in 1738, as a famous bazar. Mrs. Kindersley, in 1768, states it to be the best street in Calcutta, "full of little shabby looking shops called *Boutiques* kept by black people," it then stretched from the Custom House to Baitakhana. Bolst mentions a case of a Governor-General, about 1770, who, finding that Europeans there retailed "paria arrack to the great debauchery of the soldiers," sent a guard of sipahis and gave them lodgings for several days in the dungeon of the new fort. Sir W. Jones, in 1788, refers to the nuisance there of low taverns, kept by Italians, Spanish, and Portuguese. In the house west of the Police Office, were formerly placed *hamam* or warm-baths. It is singular that in the metropolis of an oriental country, no encouragement has been given to these speculations, while every Overland traveller can testify to the beneficial effects of the Cairo hot-baths, and even the mechanics of London now avail themselves of tepid baths. Facing this, on the opposite side of the street, stood an old play-house. The *Police Office* formed the residence of John Palmer, one of the "merchant princes" of Calcutta. His father was secretary to Warren Hastings; when a youth he was a prisoner of war in France, where he

was treated most kindly by La Fitte, the famous banker, who instructed him in commercial subjects. He came in 1789 to Calcutta, where he established himself in business, which he conducted on a most extensive scale. He had for his first partner Henry St. George Tucker, who was afterward in the Civil Service, and subsequently Chairman of the Court of Directors. Palmer was called the prince of British merchants, and was equally renowned for his princely generosity. He died in 1836. On the opposite side of the street, stood the *Old Jail* of Calcutta, which also served as the Tyburn of Calcutta, all the executions taking place in the cross road near it, the pillory was erected also on that spot. There is a man still living in Calcutta who underwent the punishment of the pillory there. The Calcutta papers of 1800 give us an account of one Brajamohun Dut, a watch-maker, having been hanged there for *stealing a watch privately from a dwelling-house*. The same period has witnessed five Europeans hanged there together. At the siege of Calcutta, in 1757, it served like another Hougomont, as a point of defence.

Calcutta, in early days, in 1780, had French and English confectioners. Opposite the Old Jail in Lal Bazar, was the famous *Harmonicon Tavern*, now the Sailor's Home, it was the handsomest house then in Calcutta and proved a great comfort to the poor people in Jail, to whom supplies of food were frequently sent from thence. It was founded in the days when strangers considered that "every house was a paradise and every 'host an angel," where young men stayed as long as they liked, but this system began to give way to that of hotels about 1823. Mrs. Fay writes of it in 1780.—

I felt far more gratified some time ago, when Mrs. Jackson procured me a ticket for the Harmonicon, which was supported by a select number of gentlemen, who each in alphabetical rotation gave a concert, ball, and supper, during the cold season, I believe once a fortnight.

We had a great deal of delightful music, and Lady C——, who is a capital performer on the harpsichord played, amongst other pieces, a Sonata of Nicolai's in a most brilliant style.

Mr Hastings attended this party. The Harmonicon Society, previous to 1780, had a house in Lal Bazar, so that punch-houses were, probably, its successors. Haworth mentions—"I was also shown, *en passant*, a tavern called the London Hotel, where entertainments are furnished at the moderate price of a gold-mohur a head, exclusive of the dessert and wines. At the coffee-houses your single dish of coffee costs you a rupee (half-a-crown), which half-crown, however, franks you to the perusal of the English news-papers, which are regularly arranged on a file, as in London, together with the

‘ *Calcutta Advertiser*, the *Calcutta Chronicle*, &c., &c.—and, for the honour of Calcutta, be it recorded, that the two last-named publications *are*, what the English prints formerly *were*, moral, amusing, and intelligent ” The chief strangers that came to Calcutta were the Captains of the Indiamen, great personages in their day, the lords of those splendid ships, the Old Indiamen, and whose position was often a stepping stone to a seat in the Direction In fact one of the Charters provided that six members of the Court of Directors should always have been commanders of their ships, but the Company rented accommodation for those magnates by hiring houses during their stay at 500 Rs per month

A little to the north of this, in the Chitpur road, is the *Tiretta Bazar*, so called from a Frenchman named Tiretta, who established it about 1788, he was superintendant of streets and buildings. It yielded a monthly rent of 3,800 Rs It was valued then at two lakhs, and Tiretta having become bankrupt, his creditors offered it at that sum as a prize in a lottery

Opposite the Tiretta bazar stood the house of C Weston (after whom Weston’s lane was named), when he lived there in 1740, the house was in the midst of a large garden, which could have borne witness to many benevolent deeds C Weston here gave away 1,600 Rs monthly to the poor with his own hand, and at his death he left one lakh of rupees as a legacy

The road from Lal Bazar to the Old Church, called Mission Row, was formerly named the Rope Walk, and was the scene of hard fighting at the time of the siege of Calcutta, in 1757 The *Old or Mission Church* was so called, because it is the oldest church in Calcutta, having been built in 1768, eleven years after the demolition of the first church by the Musalmans Kiernander, the first Protestant missionary to Bengal, erected it, at a cost to himself of half a lakh He not only did this, but gave the proceeds of the sale of his deceased wife’s jewels to the building, in 1774, a large school-room was added to the east of the present church During his life-time Kiernander gave away of his own property in charity at least £12,000 sterling This school and the church were built in a way then unusual in Calcutta, without any Sunday work! Kiernander died in 1799, in his eighty-seventh year, forty-eight of which he spent in India, with him died all very active efforts for the benefit of the Portuguese. The subsequent exertions were merely desultory

David Brown, the first chaplain of this church, was the man for the middle classes. His congregation was chiefly composed of “ Europeans, East Indians and Portuguese,”—the

only recompense he would consent to receive from the Christian Knowledge Society, was "some valuable packages of books" The church is still known among the natives by the name of the Lal Griya, from the red-painted bricks of which it was made, but *Lal Bazar* was a name in existence long before this church—perhaps it may have been called *lal* from its vicinity to the *Lal Bazar*? The premises now occupied by the senior chaplain were once the abode of Obeck, a well-remembered name. The residence of the junior chaplain is adjacent to the site of the first mission school begun in Calcutta, by Kiernander, in 1759 It contained 135 boys, Armenian, Bengali, English and Portuguese English and Portuguese were taught in it Kiernander entertained sanguine hopes of the conversion of the brahmans in the school, but his prospects were doomed, as many subsequently have experienced in similar cases, to vanish into air The minister of the Mission Church paid more attention to the spiritual and intellectual condition of that much neglected class, the Portuguese, than any other persons in Calcutta, and some of the best members of the church were Portuguese even as late as 1789, the Rev T Clarke, who came out as a Missionary, but who afterwards renounced his profession and became a chaplain "under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief," began to study Portuguese, as "a fundamental principle of the 'Mission was to have the native population everywhere 'addressed in their own language" This church is inseparably connected with the name of Charles Grant, who paid 10,000 Rs to have it redeemed from the Sheriff's gripe He contributed liberally to the missionary objects of it, and afterwards, as Chairman of the Court of Directors, selected the chaplains to be there * In the last century, the Old Church was in a state of feud with the New (St John's) Church, the chaplains of the former were evangelicals, of the latter, high church, the middle class and the East Indians attended the former, the fashionables and "big wigs," the latter,—so far did the spirit of *odium theologicum* reach, that the chaplain of the New Church requested the Government to close the Old Church!

Tank Square, last century, "in the middle of the city," covers upwards of twenty-five acres of ground Stavorinus states "It was dug by order of Government, to provide the 'inhabitants of Calcutta with water, which is very sweet and 'pleasant. The number of springs which it contains makes the 'water in it nearly always on the same level It is railed 'round, no one may wash in it" When this tank was dug,

* For full details respecting Kiernander, see an article in this *Review*, No XIII—"The first Protestant Missionary to Bengal"

we have never been able to ascertain Hamilton wrote in 1702, that the Governor had a handsome house in the Fort, "the Company has also a pretty good garden, that furnishes the Governors with herbage and fruits at table, and some fish-ponds to serve his kitchen with good carps, callops and mullet" Perhaps the tank was dug to serve as the fish-ponds, and the garden may have formed the Park, *Lal Bag*, or in modern times, Tank Square The tank was formerly more extensive, but was cleansed and embanked completely in Warren Hastings' time Its first name was "the Green before the Fort" No doubt, it was the place of recreation and shooting wild game for the Company's factors, and in the middle of last century it was the scene of many a moonlight gambol of young people, and elderly ones, who, rigged out in stockings of different colours, yellow coat, green waistcoat, &c, &c, amused themselves on the banks of the "fish-pond in the park" inhaling the evening breezes, and thinking of the friends of whom they had heard nine months before!

Old Court House Street, parallel with Mission Row, is so called from the Old Court House, or Town Hall, which stood at the northern extremity of the street, on the site of St Andrew's Church The charity boys were lodged and fed here previous to the battle of Plassey—this was the first charity school,—feeding and educating twenty children for 2,400 Rs annually It was erected about 1727, by Mr Bourchier, a merchant, who was afterwards appointed Governor of Bombay In 1734 he gave it to Government, on condition of their paying 4,000 Rs annually to support a charity school, this money goes to the Free School, and is still paid by Government. In 1765, it was considerably enlarged by private subscription, in consideration of this Government agreed to give 800 Rs. monthly to the school Omichand, a native merchant, gave 20,000 Rs towards this subscription Lectures were occasionally given in it, we find that Dr Bell in 1788 read a course of twelve lectures on experimental philosophy there Stavorinus writes of it, in 1770 "Over the Court House are two handsome assembly rooms In one of these are hung up the portraits of the King of France, and of the late queen, as large as life, which were brought by the English from Chandernagore, when they took that place" These assembly rooms were used, as the Town Hall is now, for holding balls, meetings, &c We have an account of a grand ball given here in 1769, in honor of the Dutch Governor, by the English Governor Cartier The party assembled at seven and remained till the next morning, "the ladies were decorated with an immense quantity of jewels"

Sir W Jones occupied rooms in the present Court House, where he had to attend to Police cases twice a week, to issue warrants to pick up the drunken sailors, as all the Judges in those days took it by turns to do. In the Court only four attorneys were allowed to practise, an appeal was permitted to the Governor and Council. Another Court, founded in 1753, called the Court of Requests, existed, composed of twenty-four Commissioners, selected originally by the Government from among the principal inhabitants of Calcutta, but who, subsequently, elected their own members. They sat every Thursday, to determine matters of forty shillings value—three forming a *quorum*. Daniel gives a drawing of this Court House—with elephants walking in Tank-Square,—for in the last century elephants were freely permitted to perambulate the town. As early as 1727 a corporation, consisting of a Mayor and nine Aldermen, and a Mayor's Court, was established, of which the famous Zaphania Holwell was once President, but it was considered to be too much under the influence of Government, cases having occurred where trials were suspended at the dictum of the Governor, who, by his patronage, greatly influenced the Members. Owing to this and the want of an enlarged jurisdiction to control the gigantic abuses which had grown up among the servants of Government, the Supreme Court was constituted in its stead in October, 1774. The Mayor's Court had jurisdiction in civil causes between Europeans. The judges were the Aldermen, mercantile men, who had a liberal allowance of twenty-two rupees monthly for their services! Holwell sat in this Court, and states, he heard natives confess to the most atrocious crimes, pleading they should be acquitted, since it was the *Kāl Yug*, and therefore it was in the nature of things to commit sin. *Asiaticus* states, that the abolition of the Mayor's Court, in 1774, was not a very popular measure —

The attorneys, who have followed the judges in search of prey, as the carrion crows do an Indian army on its march, are extremely successful in supporting the spirit of litigation among the natives, who, like children, delighted with a new play thing, are highly pleased with the opportunity of harassing one another by vexatious suits, and those pests of society, called bailiffs, a set of miscreants hitherto little known in India, are now to be seen in every street, watching for the unhappy victims devoted to legal persecution. Even the menial servants are now tutored to breathe that insolent spirit of English licentiousness, which teaches the slave to insult his master, and then bring his action of damages at Westminster, if deservedly chastised for his impudence. Arbitrary fines are daily imposed on gentlemen who presume to correct their slaves, and the house of the Chief Justice of Bengal resembles the office of a trading magistrate in Westminster, who decides the squabbles of oyster women, and picks up a livelihood by the sale of shilling warrants.

As an illustration of the state of justice in the Mayor's Court, we give an anecdote with which the name of *Tagore* is mixed up. The party referred to was a relative of the late Dwarkanath Tagore —

A gentleman of the Council of Calcutta became indebted to one Wm. Wilson, a sail maker, for work done in the way of his profession, amounting to Co s Rs 75-0 7, for payment of which the sail maker sent in his bill, with a receipt annexed. The Councillor, who happened at the same time to be zemindar, alleged the charges in the bill were exorbitant and unreasonable, and would neither discharge nor give up the bill, threatening the sail maker, that he would get him turned out of the Company's service, or sent to Bencoolen, if he persisted in his demand. The sail maker, not intimidated, filed his bill in the Mayor's Court against the Councillor, who, rather than expose the affair to a public discussion, more prudently agreed to pay the bill and the expenses of suit by which it was, consequently, swelled. The complainant's solicitor or attorney at law (as they are called in Bengal) sent his banyan, Radhoo Tagoor, a black merchant of Calcutta to receive the amount of the bill. This was repeated several times without success till at last the said Radhoo Tagoor desired the Councillor's banyan to inform his master that the amount of the bill was wanted and if it was not paid some bad consequences might ensue from the cause going on in the regular course of law, and the charges being consequently enhanced, which being told to the Councillor and zemindar, he grew angry and ordered the merchant Radhoo Tagoor, to be immediately seized by his peons, and carried to the cutchery, where he was without any examination inquiry, or form whatever, tied up severely flogged, and beat on the head with his own slippers, by order of the said zemindar, who wrote a letter to the attorney at law upon the occasion, of which the following is an exact copy —

SIR,—I have ordered your demand to be complied with. It is so extravagant, that I intend laying it before the court. Your banyan was so insolent as to tell me that, unless I discharge it directly, you would increase your demand for which insolence in him I have sent him to the cutchery, where he will meet his deserts.

Your most humble servant,

Calcutta, the 22nd February 1765

Near the Old Court House, in the north-west corner of Lyon's Range, stood the *theatre*, which, in the siege of 1757, was turned into a battery by the Moors, and annoyed the fort very much. The theatre was generally served by amateur performers, and was frequented by the authorities, a ball room was attached, respecting the dancing there, *Asiaticus* gives us a lively description —

For my own part, I already begin to think the dazzling brightness of a copper coloured face infinitely preferable to the pallid and sickly hue, which banishes the roses from the cheeks of the European fair, and reminds me of the death struck countenance of Lazarus risen from the grave. The English ladies are immoderately fond of dancing, an exercise ill calculated for the burning climate of Bengal, and in my opinion, however admissible in cooler latitudes, not a little indelicate in a country, where the inhabitants are covered with no more clothes than what decency absolutely requires. Imagine to yourself the lovely object of your affections ready to expire with heat, every limb trembling, and every feature distorted with fatigue, and

her partner with a muslin handkerchief in each hand employed in the delightful office of wiping down her face, while the big drops stand impearled upon her forehead

Fort William College or Writers' Buildings was appropriated for the residence of writers, or Young Civilians. Originally civilians, during their first years in India, were employed in copying Sir C Metcalfe "wrote section" himself; a work now done by keranis at the rate of 1,400 words for a rupee—they at first lived in the fort, but, subsequently, in the present buildings, which were rented by Government from the Barwell family. Mr G Barwell himself retired to England on a fortune of eighty lakhs, he was member of Council in 1780, these eighty lakhs melted away in a manner no one could account for. Old Barwell was Governor of Calcutta in 1750, and for a century the family has commanded the first appointments in the Civil Service. The location of it in Calcutta was most unfavourable for the young men,—could the past unfold its tale, what a picture would be presented of young men fresh from school, lavishing large sums on horse-racing, dinner parties, contracting large loans with *Bamans*, who clung to them for life like leeches, and quartered their relations on them throughout their Indian career. Mention is made of the Writers' Buildings in 1780, as being "a monument of commercial prosperity,"—could the walls tell of the past, how many scenes would be unfolded—lamp shades used as champagne glasses, &c, &c. In the houses now occupied by the Exchange and the *Hurkaru* office, *Fort William College* was first located on its establishment in 1800, by the Marquis of Wellesley. Dr Buchanan, the Vice-Provost, and Dr Carey occupied rooms in what is now the Exchange, but it was then a part of the Old College of Fort William, and was connected with the other portion of the building, now the *Hurkaru* office, by a gallery that ran across the street. This building reminds us of a few points about the former status of civilians. Orders came from the Court in 1675, that civilians should serve five years as apprentices, receiving, however, ten pounds per annum for the last two years, and then to rise to the respective grades of writer, factor, merchant, and senior merchant, they were also directed to learn the military exercise, so that, if found better qualified for the military than the civil line, they might receive a commission and have military pay. Their honourable masters had strange ideas of a civilian's duties, for, in 1686, on ten ships of war being sent to Bengal, to fortify Chittagang and establish a mint there, there were six companies of soldiers sent in the ships, without captains, as the Members of Council were designed to act as such! Charnock, a civilian, was appointed

Admiral and Commander-in-Chief. But as early as 1600, the India Company requested in their petition for a Charter, "that 'no gentlemen might be employed in their charge!'"

To the west of Writers' Buildings, thirty yards east of the fort, stood the *first church* of Calcutta, called St John's, at the suggestion of the Free Masons, who were liberal contributors to it*. It was built in 1716, days when "gold was plenty and labour cheap" by the piety of sea-faring men. The Christian Knowledge Society took an active part in its establishment, and the Gospel Propagation Society sent a handsome silver cup in commemoration of its opening. As they were sometimes without a chaplain, owing to death, the service was performed by merchants, who were allowed 600 Rs annually, for reading the prayers and a sermon on Sunday,—the oldest chaplain we have notice of, is Samuel Brereton, in 1709. The steeple of this church, "the chief public ornament of the settlement," fell, or sunk down in the earthquake of 1737, and the church itself, which commanded the fort, was demolished by the Moors in 1756. Calcutta then remained without a church, until the Missionary Kiernander erected one at his own expense in 1768, service in the interval being performed in a temporary room fitted up on a ground floor in the old fort, though little respect was paid to Sunday, except by hoisting the flag at Fort William. Even in church no great decorum was observed.

Where *all* ladies are approached, by sanction of ancient custom, by *all** gentlemen indiscriminately, known or unknown, with offers of their hand to conduct them to their seat accordingly those gentlemen who wish to change their condition (which are chiefly old fellows, for the young ones either choose country born ladies for wealth, or having left their hearts behind them enrich themselves in order to be united to their favourite dulcineas in their native land) on hearing of a ship's arrival, make a point of repairing to this holy dome and eagerly tender their services to the fair strangers who, if this stolen view happens to captivate often, without undergoing the ceremony of a formal introduction, receive matrimonial overtures, and becoming brides in the utmost possible splendor, have their rank instantaneously established, and are visited and paid every honour to which the consequence of their husbands entitles them.

In *Hartley House* mention is made of the foundation of a new church laid about 1780, in the new fort. Could any of our readers throw light on this subject?

In the north-west corner of Tank Square, stood the *Black Hole*, its site was commemorated by an obelisk, fifty feet high, inscribed with the names of thirty victims who perished in the

* We have accounts of a Free Mason's Lodge in Calcutta in 1744, in 1789, they gave at the Old Court House a ball and supper to the members of the Company's service in Calcutta, and they seem to have had a local habitation and a name there from the days of Charnock—their institution tended to mitigate the exclusiveness of European caste in former times.

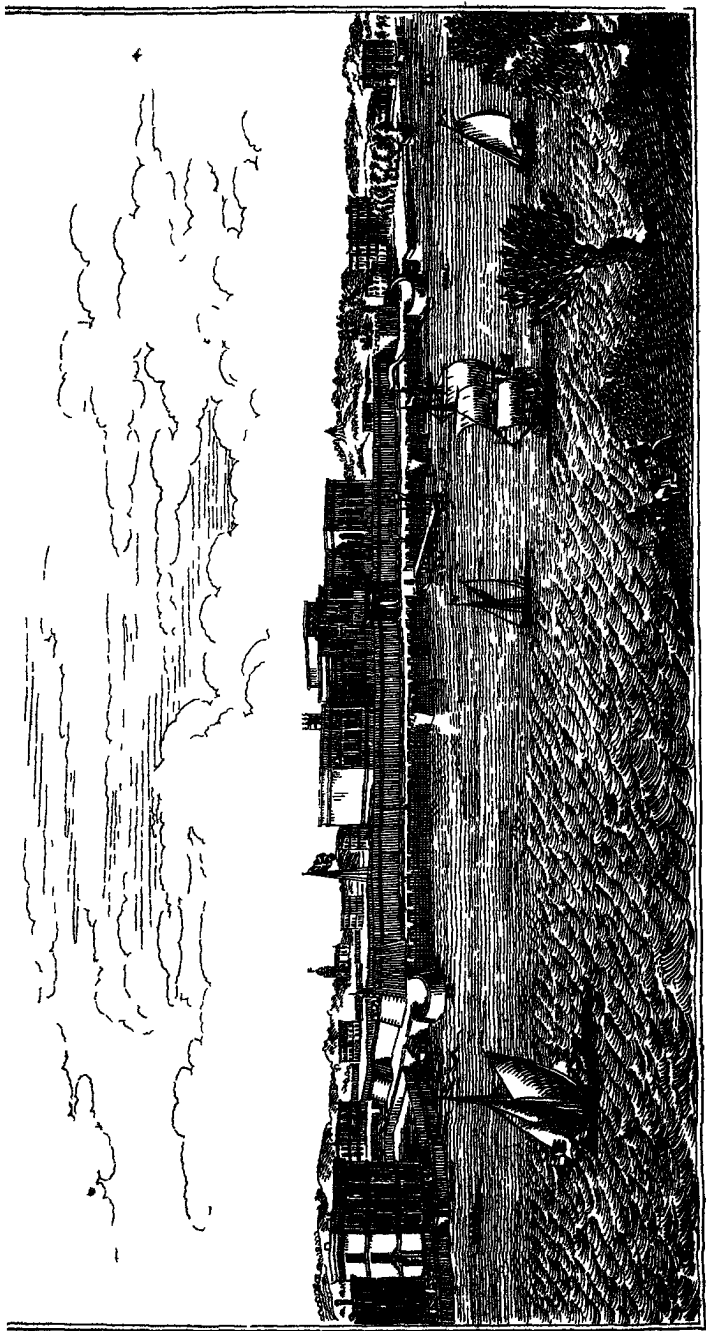
Black Hole, on the 20th of June, 1757. It was erected at the expense of Mr Holwell and the survivors, "the bodies of the ' victims were thrown into the ditch of the fort." * This monument, though erected at the expense of individuals, was pulled down by the order of the Marquis of Hastings, on the ground, that it served to remind the natives of our former humiliation † As the remark has often been made, that Indian patronage has been a family one, and that the same names occur year after year, we append here the names of those as inscribed on the monument, which was erected to them, who perished one century ago in the Black Hole, but few persons are in the Company's service now, of the same name, which seems to indicate that patronage has taken another channel —

Edwd Eyre, and Wm Baillie, Esqrs, The Revd Jervas Bellamy, Messrs Jenks Reevely, Law, Coats, Nalacourt, Jebb Torriano E Page, S Page, Grub, Street, Harod P Johnstone, Ballard N Drake, Carse Knaption, Goshing Dod, and Dalrymple Captains Clayton, Buchanan, and Witherington Lieuts. Bishop Hays, Blagg Simpson and J Bellamy Ensigns Paccard, Scott Hastings, C Wedderburn, and Dumbleton Sea Captains Hunt, Osburn, and Purnel Messrs Carey, Leech, Stevenson Guy, Porter Parker Caulker, and Bendol, and Atkinson who with sundry other inhabitants military and militia, to the number of 123 persons were, by the tyrannic violence of Suraj Daula Suba of Bengal suffocated in the Black Hole Prison of Fort William in the night of the 20th day of June 1756, and promiscuously thrown the succeeding morning into the ditch of the Ravahn of this place This monument is erected by their surviving fellow sufferer, J Z HOLWELL

* The *Old Fort* was called *Fort Wilham*, because built A D 1692, in the reign of William the Third, the year in which the French at Chandernagore, and the Dutch at Chinsurah, built theirs Two years previously the Governor and Members of Council at Bombay were made to walk through the streets of that city with irons round their necks. The Burdwan insurrection of 1696 originated it The walls were very strong, being made of brick, with a mortar composed of brick-dust, lime, molasses, and hemp, a cement as strong as stone. In 1819, when the fort was pulled down to make way for the Custom House, the pick-axe or crow-bar was of no avail, gun-powder was obliged to be resorted to, so strong were the buildings. In early days it was garrisoned by 200 soldiers, chiefly employed in escorting merchandise, or in attending

* 150 were crowded into a room 18 feet by 14, 22 of these came out alive—for a full account of the Black Hole see Holwell's Tracts or Broome's History of the Bengal Army, a work of sterling value.

† Suraj-a-Daula has, we think, been too severely blamed for the catastrophe of the Black Hole, the incarceration was the work of his underlings, his orders were simply to keep the prisoners secure, and when they complained, no man ventured to break the sleep of an Eastern despot. After all, Calcutta suffered far less injury from its capture by the Moors, than Madras did in 1746, when taken by Lally, and the French, who totally demolished all the public buildings



“Perspective View of Fort William in the Kingdom of Bengaal, belonging to the East India Company of England”

on Rajahs, who, like the chieftains in the castled crags of the Rhine, levied tolls on all boats ferrying up or down the river ! The Old Fort extended from the middle of Clive-street to the northern edge of the tank. About 1770 it was used as a church and a jail, and as the *dépôt* for the Company's medicines. There is a sketch of it in an old Number of the *Universal Magazine*, which we have had re-produced in outline. Doubtless the foot itself is correctly delineated, although the artist must have drawn upon his imagination for the hills in the back-ground.

The Old Fort served like the feudal castles, to form the nucleus of the town (as in England all these towns, whose names end in *caster*, were originally Roman camps,) the natives meeting with protection, and enjoying privileges in trade, soon settled down in Suttenuddy and Govindpur.

St John's Church, *alias* the old Cathedral, was opened on Easter Sunday, 1787. Previous to Bishop Middleton's arrival, it was called the New Church, to distinguish it from the Old Church, which is the oldest Anglo-episcopal church in Calcutta. With this building may be dated the commencement of the era of church-building. Calcutta was rising to its title of a City of Palaces, the Supreme Council had called for plans of a church, and Warren Hastings felt, that the metropolis ought to have a suitable place for religious worship. As in 1774 Calcutta had "a noble play-house—but no church," service was held in a room next to the Black Hole. A Church Building Committee was organised in 1783, its first Committee Meeting was attended by its zealous patron, Warren Hastings, and his Council, they found 35,950 Rs. had been subscribed, 25,592 Rs. additional were given by a resource then popular in Calcutta—by lottery. A Hindu, Nabakissen, presented, in addition to assigning over the burying ground, a piece of ground, valued at 30,000 rupees, the Company gave 3 per cent. from their revenues, the rest was raised by voluntary contributions. We have never had in India such an inauguration of a church. On the day when the foundation stone was laid, the acting Governor gave a public breakfast, and then, along with the chief Government servants, went in procession to the scene of the ceremonial.* Charles Grant despoiled Gaur of some of

* This church called out the voluntary principle very rapidly—Mr Davis undertook the ornamenting the church, a barrister, Mr Hall, drew up the contracts gratuitously. Wilkins, the orientalist, superintended the moulding of the stones prepared at Benares,—the East India Company gave 12,000 Rs. for providing communion plate, velvet, bells, and besides 14,394 Rs. subsequently from the Government of Bengal, Earl Cornwallis gave 3,000 Sa. Rs. Zoffani painted the altar piece for it gratis. All the Apostles were taken from life, and represented persons then living in Calcutta. Old Tulloh, the Auctioneer, who came out in 1784, sat for Judas without knowing it.

its finest marble and freestone, the new church took three years in building, and Earl Cornwallis opened it on the 24th of June, 1787, thus wiping away the reproach. The Musalmans, during the short period they held Calcutta, in 1757, showed a different zeal, for they erected a mosque within the Old Fort, having pulled down other buildings to make room for it. Previous to 1787, divine service was performed in a small room of the Old Fort, "a great disgrace to the settlement, the site was occupied by the old burial ground which had existed there for a century previously, when the bones were rooted out of the graves to make a site for this church, it created a strong indignation among the Musalmans, who would not do it to their bitterest enemy." The bones were, we believe, removed to the new burial ground, the "house of prayer was not the house of sepulture," and the tombs of the following persons were preserved—Hamilton, Charnock and Watson. The oldest burial recorded is that of Captain Barton, 1693. Charnock's widow was interred in the tomb built by himself, before which he used to sacrifice a cock on the anniversary of her death.

This burial ground was once "in the environs of Calcutta, as the new burial ground is now without the boundaries of the town." In 1802 the old tottering tombs were removed. Most of the old tablets were cut from stone procured at St Thome, near Madras.

The vestry meeting of St. John's was long looked upon as a scene, where the laity gave their opinion and votes on church matters. The Governor-General, Earl Cornwallis, attended the first vestry meeting, in 1786. This vestry has charitable funds at its disposal, arising from legacies left by General Martine, Baretto and Weston, yielding in interest 15,000 Rs annually.

We seldom see in the compound the train of carriages, palki-gharis and palankins, without thinking on the revolution that has taken place in manners. When the foundation stone was laid in 1784, the Governor and the principal inhabitants of Calcutta *walked* from the old Court House to take part in the solemnity, at the consecration they contributed 3,943 Rs. to a charitable object, that of a Free School, and previous to this period, the Governor and heads of Government, used to walk in solemn procession every Sunday to the first church, erected at the west end of the Writers' Buildings, which was demolished in 1756. While we are adopting the absurd custom of dressing in black in hot weather, we have almost renounced the good old English habit of walking. Certainly, the *exercise* of lolling in a carriage, benefits the doctor and

the coachmaker, but whom else? And yet people complain of the climate! We know the case of ladies in Chauringa who, through indolence, are carried up-stairs, no doubt they loudly exclaim what a dreadful place is India, where they must sit still so long!

West of St John's, in the premises now occupied by the Stamp and Stationery Committee, was formerly the *Old Mint*, where the Company coined its rupees from 1791 to 1832. In the latter year the New Mint was established, previous to 1791, the coinage was executed by contract, the copper coin, chiefly by Mr Prinsep, the father of the late James Prinsep, who conducted an establishment for that purpose at Fulta. The coining their own names, (though with the Mogul's head and a Persian inscription,) was an object of early ambition with the English and other European powers, hence even the Dutch had a mint of their own, at Murshidabad, in 1757. On the site of this Old Mint stood, in 1790, the flourishing ship-building establishment of Gillets. As late as 1770, no copper coin was to be seen in Bengal, no pice were in use, change under a rupee had to be given in cowries. This is strange. As early as 1680, a Mr Smith was sent out from England as an assay master, on a salary of sixty pounds *per annum*, but it was the time when the commandant of Bombay had six shillings daily as his pay. In 1762 the first money was coined in Calcutta.

The site of the *Old Government House*, in 1780, was covered with squalid native huts "out of town," but in Upjohn's map, the Government House and Council House occupy the spot covered by the present Government House. The building of this latter was commenced in February 5, 1799, and the first brick was laid by Timothy Hickey. Its projector, the Marquis of Wellesley, may be called the Augustus of Calcutta,—a man fond of Oriental pomp,—the ground cost 80,000, the building itself thirteen lakhs, the furniture half a lakh. Previous to that period the Governor lived in a small house now forming part of the Treasury. His views were, that "India should be governed from a palace, 'not from a counting-house, with the ideas of a prince, not 'with those of a retail-dealer in muslins and indigo." While the French Governor lived in the stately palace of Ghyretti, with its spacious lawn, in which 120 carriages have been at times drawn up, and the Dutch Governor resided in the beautiful terraced gardens of Fort Gustavus, in Calcutta there was no place to receive visitors in. The Dutch Governor of Chinsura, on his visit to the Governor, in 1769, was accommodated in a house belonging to a native. Opinions differ as to the precise locality of the old Government House, some say it

was where the Treasury is now, and others, at the south east corner of Government Place. Warren Hastings's town-house was a very small one, on the site of the present Government House, but Mrs. Hastings lived in one in Hastings'-street, now occupied by Messrs. Burn and Co * In the house at the corner of Waterloo-street, now occupied by Messrs. Winser and Co., General Clavering lived, while General Monson resided in an adjacent house, now belonging to Messrs. Freer, Smith and Co, near Mango-lane

The *Treasury* included the building first erected by Sir E. Coote, as a residence, in *Council House Street* We have heard that the Council was formerly held in the house which still stands between Mackenzie's and Holling's offices, the scene of many stormy discussions between Hastings and Francis

In *Old Post Office-street* was the Post Office, in a house opposite to Sir J Colville's residence

The *Town Hall* occupies the site of a house in which Justice Hyde lived, and for which he paid 1,200 Rs rent per mensem In 1792 the Old Court House being in a ruinous condition, was pulled down by order of Government, and as it was used as a Town Hall, a meeting was held in 1792, at which Sir W Jones presided, in order to raise subscriptions to erect another Town Hall Sir W Jones subscribed 500 rupees to the object

The *Supreme Court*† sittings were first held in the Old Court

* The following account is given by Grose, vol 11, p 249, of the sufferings in 1757 of the then Governor of Bengal and his suite What a contrast it presents to the present regal style of magnificence with which the Governor General is received —

They embarked in a wollock, or large boat, on the 24th, and were thirteen days in their passage to Muxadabad, which is about two hundred miles up the river from Calcutta The provision was only rice and water, and they had bambus to lie on but as their fever was come to a crisis, their bodies were covered with boils, which became running sores, exposed to excessive heats and violent rains, without any covering, or scarce any clothes, and the irons on their legs consumed the flesh almost to the bone

Mr Holwell, as a prisoner of state, was estimated and valued to Bundo Sing Hazary, who commanded the guard, at four lakhs of rupees, or 50,000 £ sterling

They arrived at the French factory on the 7th of July, in the morning, and were waited on by Mr Law, the French chief who generously supplied them with clothes, linen, provisions, liquors, and money About four in the afternoon, they landed at Muxadabad, and were confined in an open stable, not far from the Subah's palace This March drew tears of despair and anguish of heart from them, thus to be led like felons, a spectacle to the inhabitants of this populous city They had a guard of Moors placed on one side, and a guard of Gentils on the other The immense crowd of spectators, who came from all quarters of the city to satisfy their curiosity, so blocked them up, from morning until night, that they narrowly escaped a second suffocation, the weather being excessively sultry

† The Supreme Court calls up many associations Here the sentence of Nankumar was pronounced, here Impey bravely maintained the independence of the power of justice against the E I C then supreme over every other power

Enormous fortunes were made by its lawyers in early days when the attorneys were limited to twelve in number, to share the spoils gathered from fostering the

House, and as the Old Court House was pulled down in 1792, the present building must have been erected about that time for particulars respecting the early history of the Supreme Court, consult *the Life of Sir E Impey by his Son* Mrs. Fay gives an anecdote which throws light on the state of things in her day —

On Mr Fays expressing some apprehensions lest his having come out without leave of the E I Company might throw obstacles in the way of his admission to the Bar here Sir F Impey indignantly exclaimed No Sir had you dropped from the clouds with such documents, we would admit you The Supreme Court is independent, and will never endure to be dictated to by any body of men whose claims are not enforced by superior authority It is nothing to us whether you *had or had not* permission from the Court of Directors to proceed to this settlement you come to us as an authenticated English Barrister and as such we shall on the first day of the next term, admit you to *our Bar* There exists a strong jealousy between the Government and the Supreme Court lest either should encroach on the prerogatives of the other The latter not long since committed Mr Naylor the Company's Attorney, for some breach of privilege, who being in a weak state of health at the time died in confinement

The *Esplanade* formed a favourite promenade "of elegant walking parties," in moonlight evenings The five chief streets of Calcutta abutted on it—to the south of it was the *murdan* covered with paddy fields, while the course led the ladies down to see an occasional launch at Watson's works

Facing Government and Council House, stands *Fort William*, commenced shortly after the battle of Plassey, in 1757 The works were planned by an engineer named Boyer It was evidently designed to hold the inhabitants of Calcutta, in case of another siege, as permission was originally given to every inhabitant of "the settlement,"—the name by which Calcutta was designated during last century,—to build a house in the fort. But entertaining views of domestic comfort, different from those held at Bombay, the people did not avail themselves of this *privilege* They preferred the plan of living in garden-houses In 1756 the site of it and the plain were occupied by native huts, the property chiefly of the Mittre family, and by salt marshes, which afforded fine sport to buffalo

litigious propensities of the natives "A man of abilities and good address in this line, if he has the firmness to resist the fashionable contagion, gambling, need only pass one seven years of his life at Calcutta, to return home in affluent circumstances, but the very nature of their profession leads them into gay connections, and having for a time complied with the humour of their company from prudential motives, they become tainted, and prosecute their baue from the impulses of inclination"

We have an account of a Portuguese who, in 1789, carried on a law-suit with an American, which cost him 40,000 Rupees

hunters The borings made in the fort, in 1836—40, under the superintendence of Dr Strong and James Prinsep, have shown that the ocean rolled its waves 500 feet beneath the surface of the present fort, and in 1682 an ancient forest existed in that locality

During the building of the fort, the great famine of 1770 occurred, which caused great difficulty in obtaining food for the workmen—a sad time—children died at their mothers' breast—the Ganges' stream became corrupt from the corpses—and even its fish were poisonous from feeding on corpses,—76,000 natives perished in the streets of Calcutta, between July 15th and September 4th 2,000 Europeans perished in Bengal Two millions of people died in Bengal, and some natives in the neighbourhood of Patna fed on human flesh

This fort cost two millions of money, of which five lakhs were for piling, to keep off the encroachments of the river, but the Company was cheated in their accounts, both by Europeans and natives The amount may be estimated by the fact, that when Holwell, Governor of Calcutta, was about to prosecute certain defrauders, some party unknown sent a *lakh of rupees* to his house on the eve of the trial, to induce him to drop the prosecution ; but he, as an honest man, handed it all over to the Company's treasury Unhappily, in these days, he had few imitators, John Company was viewed as a lawful subject of spoliation, Dutch and English ran a race in making what money they could *quocumque modo* The Company designed that only a fort, capable of being garrisoned by 1,000 men, should be erected, as if it required a much larger garrison they could keep the field Much interesting and curious information respecting the building of the fort may be obtained in the *Reports of the House of Commons on India Affairs for 1770—2*

It is only in recent years we have had any road outside the fort, the *Respondentia* walk extended a little below Chandpal Ghat, the resort of those fond of moonlight rambles, and of children with their train of servants—as no horses were allowed to go on it. Of the Strand road we shall state little, as such an ample account has been given of it in this *Review*, No X., pp 430-55

The Respondentia walk joins on with what is now the Strand road, the creation of the Lottery Committee in 1824, along with Cornwallis and Amherst-streets. The *Strand road* was formerly a low sedgy bank, and the river near it was shallow, as the deep channel was formerly on the Haura side, but owing to the formation of the Sumatra sand (so called from a ship of that name sunk there, whose wreck formed the

nucleus of a mass of mud,) "the deep channel has been thrown ' to the Calcutta side, from the projecting angle at Haura ' Ghat "

Babu's Ghat, next to it, was named from Raj Chandra Mir, who built it. The *Bankshall*, the hall on the banks of the river (?) was the site of the first dry dock in Calcutta, made here by Government, in 1790, but removed in 1808. *Bankshall* seems to have been an old name, given to stations for ships or pilots, thus *Fulta* was called the Dutch *Bankshall*, as their ships, owing to the strong currents, sometimes could not ascend the river to *Chinsura*, but anchored there. This gave rise to the *Pilot Service*, which was established in 1669, the men were to be furnished from the *Indiamen*, to man one pinnace. *Police Ghat* is so called from the Police Office having been there formerly. The embankment in front of the *Custom House* was begun in 1800. *Nimtola* was named after a *Nim* tree, which protected the weary with its shade. The *Strand* district is the oldest settled in Calcutta, its sedgy shores, called *Suttanuddy*, were occupied by Job Charnock, in 1689, when he landed from *Uluberia*, they presented the only cleared spot, as *jungal* extended from *Chandpal Ghat* all to the south.

In 1823 the *Strand road* was formed, which led to a great sanitary improvement, but injured the ship-builders, who had docks in *Clive-street*, and were obliged to remove to *Haura* and *Sulkea*. This road has been widened at the expense of the river, so that where the western railing of the *Metcalf Hall* stands, there were, forty years ago, nine fathoms of water.

Clive Street, parallel with the strand, was once "the grand ' theatre of business, and there stood the Council House, and ' every public mart in it," near where the *Oriental Bank* is now, was the residence of Lord *Clive*.

Jessop's foundery was established by Mr *Jessop*, of the *Buttery* iron works, in *Shropshire*. He was sent out in 1820, by the *East India Company*, to make an iron suspension bridge for the *King of Lucknow*, he remained five years in *Lucknow*, then came to *Calcutta* and commenced a foundery.

The *Mint*, of modern erection, was built below high water mark, two-thirds of it is under ground, propped up on mud and piles.

The *Bag-bazar* is of long standing, it was in 1749 one of those farmed out by Government, along with *Soba-bazar*, *Sam-bazar*, *Hat Kola*, *Jaun-bazar*, *Burtalla*, *Sutanuddy Hát*.

We come now to *Haura*, on the opposite banks, but as we wish to confine our remarks to points not generally known and not easily accessible to the public, we refer our readers for an

account of the *Botanic Gardens, Bishop's College, Haura, &c*, &c, to an Article in No VIII of this *Review*, pp 476—484

We merely notice that Haura, in 1709, had docks and a good garden belonging to the Armenians, that the ground to the north-west of the church is marked off in Upjohn's map as practising grounds of the Bengal Artillery The old fort of *Tanna*, built to protect the trade of the river, was situated a little to the south of the residence of the superintendent of the Botanical Gardens mention is made of it in 1686, when its garrison endeavored to hinder an English sixty-gun ship from passing down the river In 1783 the *Orphan House*, now the Magistrate's kachari at Haura, was erected, of which David Brown was the first chaplain, but he resigned this *lucrative* post in 1788, and devoted himself to the *gratuitous* service of the Mission Church

Sulkea, a densely populated suburb, containing 73,446 inhabitants, in 1835, formed the terminus of the Benares road, which, by its narrowness and roughness, reminds us of the difficulties dâk travellers must have met with in former days It was a common practice, however, formerly, when travellers were few, for Englishmen to send to the zemindars along the road for supplies of bearers and food the zemindars supplied them, but quietly indemnified themselves by debiting it to the expenses of the *revenue* collection, or else making the *rayats* pay for it It was not until 1765 that a regular dâk was established, and that only between Calcutta and Murshidabad, and for a long period after that, travellers had no bungalows, but were obliged to send two sets of tents on before them

Opposite *Sulkea*, on the left bank of the river, is the *Nawab of Chutpur's* palace, which was a favourite resort of Europeans in the last century The buildings and gardens were magnificent, and the Nawab Rezah Khân lived on intimate terms with the *Sahib-loh*, inviting them to his palace, and presenting a fine object, mounted on his splendid elephant and attended by a guard of honour When the foreign Governors came down from Serampur, Chandernagar, Chinsura, they landed at Chitpur, where a deputation received them, and they then rode in state up to Government House—this Nawab was a descendant of Jaffir Ali.

Beyond his palace, in the house now occupied by Mr Kelsall, and known by the name of Kasipur House, lived Sir R Chambers, noted for his oriental learning

South of this is the *Chutpur-road*, which may be called the Cheapside of Calcutta, as Lal-bazar is its Wapping, being thronged constantly with native vehicles. Various wealthy

native families, who lived in this street formerly, have now deserted it on account of its noise and dust. It received its name from the goddess *Chuteswari*, who had a splendid temple here, where human sacrifices were formerly offered. Chitpur-road is the oldest road in Calcutta, forming a continuation of the Dum-Dum-road, which was the old line of communication between Murshidabad and Kālī Ghat.

Mutsyea-bazar was famous for its sale of fish, in last century the native merchants lived on the river banks, while behind them were the seats of trade. The ground here is the lowest in Calcutta, and only eight feet above the sea level.

The *Bara-bazar* is mentioned in 1757. A native friend has communicated to us some anecdotes of natives, who resided in this and the neighbouring bazar a century ago we give them —

The oldest inhabitant of Calcutta, of any note was Baishnavacharan Set, who lived at Bara bazar about a hundred years ago and was reckoned one of the richest and most honest merchants of his time. As an instance of his honesty it is said, that Ramaraja, prince of Telingana, would use no Ganges water for his religious services unless consigned to him under his seal. Once the Set bought a quantity of zinc in the name of his partner Gauri Sen which afterwards turned out to contain a large admixture of silver. He attributed the transmutation of the metal to the good fortune of his partner and accordingly made over the whole profit of the bargain to him, unwilling to share the good fortune of another. Gauri Sen became very rich from this wind fall used to spend large sums of money in liberating prisoners who happened to be confined for debts, and pay fines for such poor people as happened to fight or quarrel for a good cause and were punished by fines hence the adage, “লাগে টাকা দেবে গৌরী সেন”

Of this Set it is also said, that once he contracted to buy 10 000 maunds of sugar from a merchant of Burdwan a *tam buli* or pan dealer by caste, named Gobardhana Rakshit. When the sugar arrived at Kadamtola Ghat, at Bara bazar the people of the Set in order to extort money from the consigner reported to their master that the goods were not equal to muster. This in due course was communicated to the consigner and he was requested to make a proportionate deduction in the price. The Rakshit rather than abate in his price, and submit to the stigma of attempting to deal unfairly, ordered the whole cargo to be thrown into the river. — When this intention was carried out in part, the Set interposed, and offered to take the remainder paying for the whole invoice. Gobardhana not to be out-done by the Set in honesty, would only take for what remained at the invoice rate, and the bargain was settled accordingly.

বনমালী সরকারের বাড়ি।

গোবিন্দবাম মিত্রের ছড়ি।

আমীর চাঁদের দাড়ি।

হজুরি মল্লের কড়ি।

310 CALCUTTA IN THE OLDEN TIME—ITS LOCALITIES.

Of the four individuals named in the above stanza, all contemporary, of the middle of the last century, Banamali Sircar the party noted for his fine house, was a *Sudgopa* by caste and used to serve as a banian to European merchants. The ruins of his house still exist near Bag bazar. His son Badhakrishna Sircar held a high position in Hindu society, and Raja Navakrishna, even in his better days is said to have paid him court. Govindaram Mitra was a zemindar and had held large farms from the Nawabs of Murshidabad * He was notorious for his devotion to club-law and his lattie was an object of universal dread. A temple (the oldest in Calcutta) and a Navaratna on the Chitpur road still exist.

Hazurimall was a Sikh merchant, he lived at Bara bazar, in a very large house, had a large establishment of clerks and sixteen sets of singers and musicians to sing the praises of Akal. A lane at Baitakhana is still known by his name.

Dewan Kashinatha was a parvenu. His widowed mother used to serve a Mohammedan fakir named Shah Jummah, who lived in a reed bush on the bank of the river near Bara bazar. On the death of the fakir Kashinath came to some fortune (it is said) through the blessing of the saint and, subsequently much improved it by his connection with the Raja of Kashijora to whom he was introduced by Baishnavacharan Set.

The *Faujdar Balakhana* was formerly the town-house of the Faujdar, or Governor of Hughli, under the Musalmans, he was an important personage, and one of the chief officers in Bengal.

We come next to an ancient quarter of Calcutta, the part occupied by the Armenians, Portuguese, Jews, Greeks. The appearance of the houses tells their own tale, and reminds us of the compact buildings in the garrison towns of the continent.

The *Armenians* are among the oldest residents, and their quarter attracts by its antique air, contrasted with conspicuous modern buildings in Calcutta. The Armenians, like the Jews, were famous for their mercantile zeal, and in early days, were much employed by the English as *Gomastahs*—they are to be commended for their always having retained the oriental dress—they have never had much social intercourse with the English. They had a church here as early as 1724, the present St. Nazareth, previous to that they had a small chapel in China-bazar, and their burying ground was on the site of the present church, while the East India Company made a regulation that, in whatever part of India the Armenians should amount to forty, the East India Company would build a church for them, and pay the minister's salary for seven years. The Armenians had settled in this quarter as early as the days of Job Charnock.

The *Portuguese* quarter of *Murgi Hata*, or the fowl market, is equally interesting: we have given an account of it in an article in this *Review*, No X.—“The Portuguese in North of

* He was “the black banian” of the Mayor’s Court for twenty-five years, and amassed an immense fortune.

India," we therefore need not repeat what is stated there. As the Portuguese were such ancient and influential inhabitants of Calcutta, we make a few general remarks respecting them.

It presents a singular contrast to present times, when 4,000 natives are receiving an English education in Calcutta, that in the middle of last century, the Portuguese language was a common medium of intercourse. The Portuguese had, for two centuries previously, carried on a flourishing trade, and many of them were employed as topazzas, table servants and slaves (last century the generality of Europeans in Calcutta kept slave-boys to wait at table). On this subject we extract from a Calcutta paper of 1781 the following advertisement —

" TO BE SOLD BY PRIVATE SALE

Two Coffree boys, who play remarkably well on the French Horn, about eighteen years of age belonging to a Portuguese Paddrie lately deceased. For particulars, enquire of the Vicar of the Portuguese Church."

Mrs Kindersley, in her letters, states, that the Dutch at the Cape imported slaves from the East Indies, which were easily procurable, as it was a practice of the Portuguese, in their early navigation in the East, to land on the coast, rob and plunder the defenceless inhabitants, and then carry them away as slaves, which they reconciled to their consciences, by making Christians of them, in giving them a black hat, trousers, coat and stockings, an *European* name, teaching them to repeat so many Pater Nosters and Ave Marias. Those natives who apostatised, were burnt at Goa. Slaves were regularly purchased and registered in the *kácheri*, and in 1752, we find each slave paid a duty of four rupees four annas to the East India Company, while at that period, the charge for a marriage license was only three rupees. Hamilton, in 1702, speaks of a place twelve leagues above Sagar, "commonly known by the name of Rogné's river, which had that appellation from some banditti Portuguese, who betook themselves to prey among the islands at the mouth of the Ganges, and committed depredations on those that traded in the river of 'Hugli.'" In other points morals were not better, the same writer states "The Bandel deals in no sort of commodities, but what are in request at the court of Venus."

The Portuguese came in 1530, into this country, as mercenaries in the service of the King of Gour, and acted as a kind of pretorian guards to the native Rajahs, at that period the chief emporia from the Cape to Chma, an extent of 12,000

miles of sea coast, were in their possession,—and all this in the short space of fifteen years under Albuquerque.

We must allow the Portuguese full credit for a sincere desire to propagate their faith “Wherever the Portuguese prevailed or gained a settlement, one of their first points was to ‘stock the place with missionaries,” but, like the French missionaries in North America, they were, in various cases, the panders to ambition, so that the English at Bombay would not allow Portuguese missionaries to settle there, though they permitted French, German or Italian ones

Hamilton writes in 1708, respecting their language “Portuguese is the language that most Europeans learn, to qualify themselves for general converse with one another, as well as with the different inhabitants of India” How fallen now! There are, perhaps, not three Europeans now in Bengal, well acquainted with it, and even few of the so-called Portuguese can read it intelligently The Portuguese language has now fallen through India In 1823 it was complained of in Calcutta that “the priests preached in high Portuguese, while the people only ‘understood the language of *ayas*.” Few traces of it now are left, except in such words as *caste*, *compound*, *janala*, and a few others The Portuguese conquests, by the temporal advantages conferred on converts, spread the system, but chiefly among the lower classes, who became their servants and soldiers The epithet “Rice Christians” applied to Native Christians, was handed down from the Portuguese, who called such persons *Christianos de Arroz*. But what could have been expected from converts, when their teachers were a set of ignorant men, taken out of the class of common sailors and soldiers, who could scarcely read? No wonder that such men professed to show at Goa, the model of a ship which sailed in one night from the Cape of Good Hope to Goa, “the devil holding the helm, and the ‘Virgin Mary acting as quarter-master” At Goa was every where to be met the image of the Virgin, described as “a ‘woman gorgeously dressed like a courtesan, with a friz bob-wig, with a crown on it, and a large hoop petticoat reaching ‘down to her feet, tied round the neck instead of the waist, and ‘a child in her arms.” These priests were famous legacy hunters, and thoroughly profligate, as the people were completely subject to their will

The name Portuguese, in the last century, was a byë-word of reproach, the name Portuguese *ayah* was synonymous with *femme de plaisir*, while the men who boasted to be countrymen of Albuquerque and the DeCastas, became petty *keranis* or

cooks—what a fall for persons, whose ancestors, as early as 1563, used to send thirty ships annually from Bengal to the Malabar Coast, laden with pepper, sugar, cloth, and oil.

With all their faults, the Portuguese, in one point, set an example to the English, they made India their home,—the word so current among the English last century of “the Exiles” they spurned, they would not have called Calcutta a settlement, but a city.

The *native part of the town*, east of the Chitpur-road, is comparatively modern, though we find the names of Mirzapur and Simla mentioned in 1742, yet, down to the commencement of this century, their site was occupied chiefly by paddy fields, with stagnant tanks sending out their malaria, while at night no native would venture out with any good clothes on him—there was such just dread of robbery and murder. Of Simla it was stated in 1826, “no native for love or money could be ‘got to go this way after sunset.’” The site of Cornwallis Square and of the Circular canal was long noted for the murders committed there. *Soba Bazar* is a building of last century, and reminds us of Naba Kissen and the days of Clive.

Near the *Circular-road*, when the Marquis of Wellesley, whose influence gave a great stimulus to the improvement of the roads, came to Calcutta, was “the deep, broad Mahratta ‘ditch,’” which was chiefly filled up by depositing the filth of the town in it. “The earth excavated in forming the ditch, was so ‘disposed on the inner or townward side, as to form a tolerably ‘highroad, along the margin of which, was planted a row of trees, ‘and this constituted the most frequented and fashionable part ‘about the town.” An old writer states “Now (1802) on the Circular-road of Calcutta, the young, the sprightly and the opulent, ‘during the fragrance of morning, in the chariot of health, enjoy the gales of recreation.” In 1794 there were three houses, in its length of three miles. The ditch was dug in 1742 to protect the English territories, then seven miles in circumference, the inhabitants being terrified at the invasions of those modern Vandals, the Mahrattas, who, the year previous, invaded Bengal to demand the chaut or fourth part of the revenues, they were fierce invaders, called by Arungzebe “mountain rats,” but it is to be remembered they were Hindus, who claimed, by treaty, a share in the revenues of the country the Moguls broke their promise, and the Mahrattas had to collect by main force. But the Mahrattas, in 1742, were not a whit more atrocious than were the Orangemen and Romanists in Ireland towards each other in 1798. The Mahratta power was a pure Hindu revulsion against

the Musalman, and rose rapidly on the decline of the latter, extending its sway from Surat to the confines of Calcutta, and from Agra to the Kistna, collecting a revenue of seventeen crores, and numbering 300,000 cavalry, all under the guidance of brahmans. Like the French national guard, they were soldiers and peasants, and noted for the keen sword blades they wielded; they used to say the English swords were only fit for cutting butter. Owing to the defeat of 200,000 Mahrattas at Paniput, by 150,000 Musalmans, Bengal became for ever free from any apprehensions of invasion. The Mahratta ditch commenced at Chitpur bridge, but was not completed, as the panic subsided. By the treaty of 1757 with Mír Jáfír Ali, the latter agreed to give up to the English "the Mahratta ditch all round Calcutta, and 600 yards all round about the ditch, the lands to the southward of Calcutta, as low as Culpí, should be under the Government of the English Company." The country on the other side of the ditch was, at that time, infested with bands of dakaitis, but there was a high road which ran along side the ditch, probably made from the excavation in 1742.

Omichand's garden, now *Halsi bagan*, was the head-quarters of Suraj Daula, and a military post fortified with cannon, in 1757. Here, at the Durbar, Messrs. Watts and Scafton saw there was no prospect of making peace with the Nawab, and that the sword was the *ultima ratio*. The garden was so called from Omichand, the Rothschild of his day, a merchant of Patna, who possessed great influence over Ali Verdí Khan, he gained much money by usurious practices with the troops. The names of Omichand and Manikchand occur, who, as Hindus, held high appointments under the Musalman dynasty, but Gladwin, in his history, gives us the key to this policy. Omichand was the great millionaire of his day, who, by his influence, could sway the political movements of the court of Murshidabad. During forty years he was the chief contractor for providing the Company's investments, and realized more than a crore of rupees. He lived in this place with more than regal magnificence, most of the best houses in Calcutta belonged to him, hence, merchant-like, he was an enemy to war. Omichand stipulated with the English to obtain thirty lakhs for betraying Suraj Daula, but on finding he was deceived by a fictitious treaty, he lost his reason.

The ground to the east of Omichand's garden was the scene of hard fighting, when, in 1757, the English troops marched in a fog through Suraj Daula's camp, to the East of Halsi bagan, and marched down the Baitakhana. In the skirmishing which took place, the English lost more men than they did at Plassey.

Baitakhana-street, now the *Bow-bazar*, received its name from the famous old tree that stood here and formed a *Baitakhana* or resting place for the merchants who traded to Calcutta, and whose caravans rested under its shade. Owing to the dread of the Mahrattas, who plundered in the districts west of the Hugh, the Eastern side, as being protected by the river, was selected for their route of trade from the North-west. Job Charnock is said to have chosen the site of Calcutta for a city, in consequence of the pleasure he found in sitting and smoking under the shade of a large tree. This tree was, probably, the Baitakhana tree, "here the merchants met to depart in 'bodies from Calcutta, to protect each other from robbers in the 'neighbouring jungle, and here they dispersed when they arrived 'at Calcutta, with merchandise, for the factory." This tree is marked on Upjohn's map of 1794. Baitakhana was called in 1757, the Avenue leading to the eastward, the greater part was then surrounded by jungle. A *rath* of Jaggannath, seventy feet high, formerly stood here, and a *thanna* was located under the shade of the big tree.

Opposite Baitakhana, in the south corner of Sealdah, is the site of the house which formed the Jockey club and refreshment place of the Calcutta sportsmen, when, in former days, they went tiger and boar hunting in the neighbourhood of Dum-Dum. Let our readers remember that last century there were no pakka buildings in Dum-Dum, the artillery merely went there in the cold weather from the fort. An anecdote is related of an officer named Tiger Duff, noted for his athletic Highland form. Dining, some seventy years ago, at the bungalow mess-room in Dum-Dum, he found his servants retiring quickly from the room, when rising up to see what was the matter, he came in collision with a huge Bengal tiger, who had made his appearance within the compound. He had presence of mind to thrust the brawny arm of his right hand into the tiger's throat, and seize hold of the root of his tongue, the enraged beast twisted and writhed, and lacerated the other hand, but still he held his grip until he had seized a knife, and with his left hand cut his throat, when the animal fell in the agonies of death on the floor.

The house next Baitakhana is occupied by Mr *Blacquiere*, the oldest resident in Calcutta, now in his ninety-second year, seventy-eight of which have been passed in Calcutta, where he arrived a fortnight after the execution of Nankumar. He has seen the maidan a rice field.

Sealdah is mentioned in 1757 as a "narrow causeway, raised

“several feet above the level of the country, with a ditch on each side, leading from the East.” It was the scene of hard fighting in 1757, when there were thirty-nine English and eighteen sipahs killed, eighty-two English and thirty-five sipahs wounded. The English guns had to be dragged through Sealdá, then rice fields. At *Baitakhana* was a Musalman battery commanding the ditch, which inflicted great slaughter on the English.

To the North-west of *Baitakhana* is the *Portuguese burial ground*, the gift of Mr Joseph Baretto, one of the Portuguese “merchant princes” of Calcutta, who purchased it in 1785 for 8,000 rupees.

The *Baitakhana church* was founded in 1809, by a Mrs. Shaw.

The *old Madressa*, founded by Warren Hastings in 1781, in the first instance at his own expense, still remains, the collegiate establishment was removed to Wellesley Square in 1824, the buildings have been improved,—but not the Musalmans, now, as then, “they despise the sciences and hold trade in contempt.”

Of the Calcutta Musalmans of last century little can be said, they were fierce and haughty, and paraded the streets with daggers in their girdles. On the decline of Murshidabad the best families went to the North West, the commercial influence of Calcutta not being liked by men whose ascendancy lay in the sword. In fact, Bengal was never thoroughly incorporated into their empire, and all their conquests in the South were slow, thus the Carnatic was not entirely reduced under their sway until 1650. They were never very zealous here in propagating their religion, and the case of Jafir Khan, who pulled down all the Hindu temples within four days’ journey of Murshidabad, in order to build his own Mausoleum, and a mosque with the materials, stands as a solitary case. They were severe collectors of the revenue however. Murshid Kuli Khan used to oblige defaulting zemindars “to wear leather long drawers, filled with live cats—to drink buffalo’s milk mixed with salt, till they were brought to death’s door by diarrhoea.” With all this cruelty, the Musalmans gave speedy decisions, which were preferable to the tardy, and therefore almost useless decisions of our existing courts. The *chora* or whip, and *sipaha* or triangle of bambu, with a rope suspended for tying up the culprit, were formerly common in their *Naoharis*, the zemindar presided, and Europeans have been known to send their servants with a chit to the zemindar, politely requesting him to flog them!

Sealdá leads to the Circular canal, the *Circular canal* branches

off from the Circular-road, the north part of it was once the Mahratta ditch, through which a stream ran, it was begun in 1824 and finished in 1834, at a cost of 1,443,470 rupees, but its increasing trade soon brought in a large profit, in three years 23,109 boats passed through it.

On its site Suraj Daula's army was encamped in 1757, the part near Chitpur bridge is on the site of the old Mahratta ditch, which formed here a strong defence of Calcutta, against Suraj Daula's army.

Though, for some time, this canal was the cause of unhealthiness, it has contributed very much to the clearing of the country *Bahaghat*, now the scene of such a busy trade, was seventy years ago called the "*Bahaghat passage through the wood.*" A branch of the canal a mile long, called the Entally canal, excavated in 1809, serving as a large mud trap, contains 722,065 cubic feet.

The Circular canal begins at Chitpur, a little beyond is the village of Barnagur, *i. e.*, *Barahanagar*, or the place of boars, once abundant there, it was formerly a Dutch settlement, and the half way station between Fulda and Chinsura Stavorinus writes of it as having a house for the temporary accommodation of such of their servants as land here in going up or down the river

The Salt-water Lake seems, in former days, to have been deeper and wider than now, running probably close to the Circular-road Holwell states, that in his time, about 1740, the lake overflowed in the rains, an occurrence which seldom takes place of late years. As late as 1791, Tarda was on the borders of the lake, but the lake is now at a considerable distance, its greatest depth does not exceed $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and it seems to be gradually silting up, charred and peaty earth, found twenty feet below the surface, indicates that here, as in Dum-Dum, were the remains of an ancient forest, and that it was the resort of wild buffaloes. These marshy lands are not now wholly useless, as they yield to the zemindars, by the fisheries and reeds, a profit of 16,000 rupees annually. It is about three feet lower in level than the banks of the river Dr Stewart, in his interesting "*notes on Calcutta,*" written in 1836, states that Not more than forty years ago, the salt-lake was much nearer to Calcutta than at present.

On a road leading from the Circular-road to the lake, is the *Chinese burial ground*, on another road the *Parsi's*, and on a third the *Jews*, the latter teems with Hebrew inscriptions.

The Circular-road might have been justly called the Valley of

Hindoo, in former days, as it was lined to the north in various places with burial grounds, which were then "some miles from the town," though now situated in populous neighbourhoods, but "the temple of the divinity was not made a charnel house."*

The *Mission burial ground*, called Kierlander's, was originally made by that eminent missionary, and opened on August 25, 1767, on the old burial ground near Tank Square being ploughed up and its monuments levelled. Few names of note occur here. Few call up historic associations, as Ghazipur does of Cornwallis, or Tanjore of Swartz, or Goa of St. Xavier. The name of Jones almost stands out alone, *magnum et venerabile nomen*, his monument has been repaired at the expense of the Asiatic Society. The ground yielded large profits, 500 rupees last century being charged for opening graves for the respectable classes,—days when undertakers fattened on the spoils of death. The small square on the opposite side was opened in 1773 for interring Kierlander's wife, the square to the east was opened in 1796: the monuments chiefly record the names of those "born just to bloom and fade." There is, however, the monument of Colonel Stewart, disfigured by the emblems of Hindu idolatry, which in life he so warmly cherished. Few tombs of the old times occur, though Park-street burial ground is the *Pere Le Chaise* of Calcutta; there are, however, the tombs of General *Clawering*, the great opponent of Hastings, of *W Chambers*, the first person in Bengal who translated any portion of the Bible, and of *Cleveland*, the benefactor of the Rajmahal Hill tribes.

Tiretta's burial ground was opened in 1796, taking its name from the same Monsieur Tiretta who established the bazar already spoken of.

The *French Burial Ground* contains few monuments of any antiquity, though the French seemed at one time in a fair way to have contested for the prize of Bengal with the English,—when Colonel Clive took Chandernagore in 1757, their fort mounted 183 pieces of cannons, many of large calibre, and they had previously a greater number of European troops than the English,—but England was the "Ocean Queen."

* Among the most flourishing trades, that of an *Undertaker* was the foremost. As late as thirty years ago, an Undertaker about to sail for Europe, demanded 20,000 rupees for the good will of his business for the months of August and September,—memorable months in old Calcutta, when as late as Hastings' administration, those who survived them used to congratulate each other on having a new lease of life, and at an earlier period, the 15th of November was an equally memorable day, when the survivors met to rejoice in their deliverance from death.

The Mubammadans have five burial grounds along the road; Narikeldanga, Gobra, Kama-bagan, Tangra and Karbela.

Respecting the native part of Calcutta, little is to be gleaned. We find in Holwell's account, that in 1762, the names of the following places are mentioned—Patrea Ghat, Soba-bazar, Bag-bazar, Hatkhola, Simla district, Mirzapur district, Hogul-kurea district, Doubapara, Jaun Nagore, Baniapuker, Tangra, and Dollond.

We have thus taken a glance at the chief points of interest in the different streets,—but the European population change here so rapidly, that the events of the past soon become buried in oblivion; and this was particularly the case before the newspaper press sprang up, which is such a mirror of the events of the day. Few of the streets bear any marks of antiquity, and the English, like the Americans, have had the bad taste to give them European names, instead of euphonious expressions drawn from native associations,—yet there is not a single street which perpetuates the name of the founder of Calcutta, Mr Charnock. The natives have not been so neglectful, as Barrackpur still retains the soubriquet of Chanak. Of the native ones some are called after things which were sold on the site of the existing streets, as Suriparah (wine sold), Harikatta (bones for combs), Kulutala (oil), Chuturparah (carpenters), Chunam (lime), Molunga (salt), Aharitola (curds); Kumartola (potters' tank).

The names of old native proprietors are recalled by *Hedaram Banerjee Guh*, *Bihma Banerji Guh* (Bihma was noted for inviting large parties of natives, and giving them scanty fare), *Jay Narayan Pakram Guh*, (Jay Narayan is said to have had a contract for building a part of the fort, having received several lakhs in advance, he fled), *Tulsi Ram Ghose Guh*, (Tulsi Rám gained much money as a ship banyan.)

Loudon-street recalls the name of the Countess of Loudon, in whose time it was built. *Russel-street* was called after Sir H Russel, Chief Justice, who built the first house there, now occupied as a boarding establishment. *Middleton-street* was so named after its first resident, a civilian, it was formerly a part of Sir E Impey's park *Grant's-lane*, in Cossitolla, so called from the late Charles Grant, father of Lord Glenelg, who resided in the first house on the right hand side as you enter from Cossitola. He came out to India, poor and penniless, but by the force of integrity and religious principle, he rose afterwards to be chairman of the Court of Directors. What a contrast his original position was,—

that of an "interloper" or private trader,—a class to which the Court was so hostile, that in 1682 they sent out orders that none of their servants should *intermarry* with them. *Clive-street*, so called from Lord Clive, he lived where the Oriental Bank is now located.

The Musalmans have given few names to places, those chiefly from *pirs*—such as *Maniktala*, which was called after a Musalman *pir* or saint, named Manik

The Portuguese have *Baretto-street* (the name of Baretto occurs, as that of a Viceroy in India, in 1558). Joseph Baretto was a Portuguese merchant, who came from Bombay and settled in Calcutta as a merchant, and was a man of the same generous stamp as Palmer

We close now our notes on the *localities* of Calcutta, an equally wide field is presented in the *people* of Calcutta of last century—their amusements—literary and religious condition—their dress—diet—diseases—manners—institutions—the newspaper press—the prices of articles—trades—but the limits assigned to this *Review*, and the extent of our article, forbid our entering on the subject at present

tures with a vacant stare of astonishment, without a thought of Him who spake the word, and it was done? Or are we bound to recognize the fact, that each fresh discovery is, as it were, an enlargement of the mirror in which we see reflected the various attributes of the Creator? An intelligent traveller, who lately ascended Mont Blanc, declares, that, when he reached a certain spot, and from thence looked down upon the unspeakable grandeur of the scene before him, the thought that instinctively rose to his mind was this,—O God! how wonderful are thy works! Similarly ought we to be moved by each new conquest of the human mind over the inertness of matter, or the inscrutability of more subtle agencies. We should view them as additional proofs of forethought and goodness in the working of Him who prepared the earth for the residence of man. Every event which helps to overcome the sloth and indifference of men's minds, and to allure them to the careful consideration of such conquests, may well be expected to lead them to a more admiring and adoring love of God, at least it gives them the knowledge which may become the foundation of that holy feeling.

Upon this ground, then, among others, we hope that moral good will arise from the Great Exhibition of Industry.

It is peculiarly satisfactory, as indicating the importance attached to the contributions furnished by this country to the Great Exhibition, that amongst the "Lectures on the Results," delivered before the Society of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, there is only one devoted to the consideration of the arts and manufactures of a particular country, and that that country is India. It is also matter of congratulation, that this subject was committed to Dr Royle, a man than whom, although there may be some who have more acquaintance with particular branches, there is probably not one living who knows so much, regarding *all* the branches of Indian produce, and arts, and industry. Considering the immense range of subjects that the lecturer had to handle, it is amazing how much information, regarding almost all of them, he has combined to condense into a single lecture, and all is clear and intelligible, even without the plates and specimens which were exhibited in illustration of the lecture at its original delivery.

- ART II.—1** *Illustrations of the Literature and Religion of the Buddhists.* By B H Hodgson. Serampore, 1841
- 2** *Notes on the Religious, Moral, and Political State of India, before the Mohammedan Invasion.* By Colonel Sykes London, 1851 *
- 3** *The Pilgrimage of Fa Hian* Calcutta, 1848
- 4** *Christianity in Ceylon.* By Sir J E Tennent London, 1850
- 5** *Introduction à L'Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien* Par E Burnouf Paris, 1844
- 6.** *A Manual of Buddhism* By R S Hardy London, 1853

No form of religion is so wide-spread as Buddhism. By the best authorities its followers are said to be more than three hundred millions.* It prevails over most of the fertile and populous regions of South-eastern Asia. It is the prevalent form of religion in Burmah, Siam, An-nam, Japan, Thibet, and Loo-choo, in Ceylon, Nepal, Mongolia, and the splendid islands of Malaysia, it is widely diffused, whilst, with the exception of the aristocratic, political disciples of Confucius, and the rational, philosophical followers of Laou-tsze, the unnumbered millions of China worship Buddha. As the religion of one-third of the human race, as a system exhibiting some singular developments of the religious faculty, and as a form of belief exerting a most mighty influence on the destinies of numerous nations and countless individuals, it merits our thoughtful consideration.

Justice to ourselves, as well as to our readers, requires the statement, that whatever may be written in the present day on Buddhism must lie open to future correction. The esoteric principles of this wide-spread system are but imperfectly

* Hassel estimates the Buddhists at 315,977,000. Balbi numbers them at only 170,000,000, this is evidently much below the truth, and may be accounted for by his estimating the inhabitants of the Chinese Empire at 150,000,000, whereas the last imperial census gives the number as 367,000,000, which Mr Gutzlaff declares to be as "near the truth as can be ascertained." The following estimate was given by Professor Neumann of Munich, in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1834, of the number of Buddhists—

China... ..	200,000,000	Indo-China..	25,000,000
Manchoos and Mongols	5,400,000	Ceylon	600,000
Japan and Loo-Choo	25,000,000	Nepal	2,000,000
Thibet and Bootan... ..	6,000,000		
Corea,	5,000,000	Total.	269,000,000

This number is too low, because there are several smaller Buddhist States not enumerated, and the disciples of Fo, in China, are probably much beyond two hundred millions.

known; for although we may easily ascertain what are its popular aspects, it is difficult sometimes to trace out the more philosophical and abstract notions which lie hidden beneath, and amidst the "various and varying" forms of this Protean religion, to define what are its fundamental principles, its substantive truths, just as it is difficult to a stranger, when viewing an Indian army, in which are blended cavalry and infantry, regulars and irregulars, Europeans and natives, Sheiks, Patans, Gurkas, Rajputs and Hindustanis, to point out what there is which unites them into one mass, distinguishing them from other forces, and at the same time binding them to each other. Many of the original sources, whence correct information might have been obtained respecting the rise and early tenets of this faith, have been destroyed or mutilated. The fierce and terrible struggle between Buddhism and Hinduism, which led to the complete expulsion of the former from India, was followed up by the efforts of the latter to destroy every memorial of the existence and the power of its rival. Large and massive temples were either demolished, or divested of every Buddhistic peculiarity, and then devoted to the worship of Jagannath, of Vishnu, or of Shiva, its literature was destroyed, and its history perverted or suppressed, hence it is, that Hindu writings are of very doubtful value in all investigations into early Buddhist history, and leaving the land of its nativity, we must search the literature of the various nations amongst whom it took refuge, would we arrive at even a proximate knowledge of its primitive form.

Another source of difficulty arises from the fact, that the Buddhism of one country is very different from the Buddhism of another. Religious error has ever been as flexible as it is frail. Buddhism has been pre-eminently so. Mohammedanism has destroyed the systems with which it has come into conflict, Buddhism has absorbed them into itself. Like the supple-climbing parasitic plants of the tropics, which spread themselves over every tree and ruin within their reach, themselves assuming a form from the objects to which they cling, yet leaving the form of that object substantially unchanged, has Buddhism spread itself over numerous nations and islands of the sea, too feeble to destroy, it has overlaid and smothered the Polytheisms it met, and assumed a form which was dictated by the very superstition over which it triumphed. During the twenty-three centuries of its existence, among nations remarkable for their intellectual subtlety, speculativeness, and apathy, it has developed "phases of faith" which differ almost as much from one another, as they do from avowedly antago-

mistic creeds. In Nepal it has incorporated within itself much of Hindu mythology; in Ceylon, it has assumed an atheistic form, in Thibet, it is theocratic, in China, "it acknowledges ' gods many and lords many, its principal divinities are goddesses, together with innumerable other feigned deities, ' presiding over individual, local, and national interests,"* in Camboja, "it is nothing else but a vast and absurd Pantheism, ' which covers with its veil a hopeless Atheism "† And from viewing it merely in its local aspects, various writers have been led to give the most conflicting definitions of the leading principles of the faith of Guadama. It has been represented "sometimes ' as almost perfect Theism; sometimes as direct Atheism, sometimes as having the closest analogy to what in a Greek philosopher, or in a modern philosopher, would be called Pantheism, ' sometimes as the worship of human saints or heroes, sometimes as altogether symbolical, sometimes as full of the highest abstract speculation, sometimes as vulgar idolatry "‡ All these statements are true when made about a *form* of Buddhism, but they are manifestly false as definitions of Buddhism. The investigators into oriental systems of religion need to be aware, lest like the two knights on the *opposite* sides of the statue with the gold and silver shield, they too dogmatically declare that their opinions are true, forgetting that the opinions of others are *equally* so.

Another reason why diffidence is most becoming when writing on this subject, arises from the fact, that we are in possession of only a small portion of the existing literature of the system. Turnour and Upham in Ceylon, Hodgson in Nepal, and Colonel Sykes in India, have brought valuable Buddhist documents to notice, whilst Burnouf, Klaproth, Lassen, and others in Europe have done much to unfold the system to our view, but the wisest of them have felt that it was reserved for a future age to solve those mysteries, which they could but imperfectly unravel. Although, as with Hinduism, it is to be feared that on some questions, especially of an historical nature, light can never more be shed, yet there are others from which the darkness of ages shall ultimately pass away.

As an illustration of the correctness of some of the previous remarks, we may allude to the conflicting statements made by different writers respecting the time when Guadama lived and died. A Thibetan author of the sixteenth century mentions no less than fourteen different calculations made to fix the date

* *China*, by Professor Kidd

† *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. vi., p. 605.

‡ *Maurice's Religions of the World*

of his death Bohlen gives a list of thirty-five dates of the same event. The time when he flourished has been fixed at various periods, ranging over more than 1800 years. Some Thibetan writers state that he died 2420 years B C. The Chinese and Japanese tell us that he was born 1029 years B C, and died 950 B C, although other Chinese documents place his birth 688 years B C, and his death 609 B C*. The chronology of the *Rajatarangini*, a Cashmerian history, gives the early part of the sixteenth century B. C. as the period of his death, whilst the Singhalese annals give the year 543 B C as the date of his death, when he was about eighty years of age. The last date is probably very nearly correct. Some writers have attempted to reconcile these varying statements by suggesting that there were several Buddhas. Without denying that Buddhism existed in some form before the age of Guadama, we may state that the suggestion of several historical Buddhas is based upon very imperfect evidence†

Sakya Muni, Sakya Sinha, or Guadama Buddha, the founder of the system which bears his name, was born at Kapila, in the kingdom of Magadha, not far from the modern city of Lucknow. He is said to have been the son of a king, and the various accounts of his life sufficiently indicate that he was of superior rank. Like Confucius, whom in many respects he resembled, it is said he spent the earlier period of his life in princely enjoyments, but on arriving at maturity, he broke away, like our Henry the Fifth, from his youthful associations, that he might pass his days in retirement and meditation, or in the sterner duties of religious proselytism. For several years,—somewhat reliable tradition informs us—he lived in the practice of rigid austerity, but afterwards adopted a more genial mode

* That the higher date of the Chinese is to be rejected, and the Singhalese preferred in its stead, may be shown by the following facts. All writers state that Sakya died in the reign of Ajatasatta. According to the chronology of the *Yaya* and *Motaya Puranas*, this king flourished about 243, or, according to the *Vishnu Purana*, about 280 years before Chandragupta. Now the latter was a cotemporary of Seleucus Nicator, who reigned from 310 to 305 B C. If then we add the latter number to the former, we shall arrive at the true era of Prince Sidhanta's death. Again, it is generally acknowledged by those nations that assume the higher date, that the second revision of the sacred writings took place during the reign of Asoka, 280 years after the death of Sakya, but since he flourished about the middle of the third century B C, the death of Guadama could not have taken place 900 years before our era.

† The question is, were the mortal Buddhas, who are said to have preceded Sakya Sinha, real personages, or are they myths? Buddhist history begins with Guadama, and all that we know of previous events is said to be the result of his special revelation. There is, however, reason to believe, that even Sakya himself was opposed by a relative of his own on some point relating to the number of Buddhas who had already existed, and from Fa Hian, we learn that, when he was in India, there was a sect who acknowledged the Buddhas anterior to Sakya, but rejected him.

of life, because convinced that the mortification of the flesh was inefficacious to bring blessings to the soul. When first he became a religious teacher, he is said to have been reserved in the declaration of his views, probably because they were abstract rather than practical. Unlike his proselytizing successors, yet apparently like the Rishis and Munis of his own land, he selected such disciples as he supposed capable of comprehending his ideas and of sympathizing with them, but—whether from his growing popularity, his great benevolence, or his altered sentiments, we know not—he soon developed a more popular form of instruction, partly ethical, partly philosophical, and partly religious, and proclaimed it himself through a considerable part of Central India. Magadha was the stronghold of his followers, and his own most frequent residence, its kings espoused his cause, and lent their influence to spread a doctrine so favourable to the conservation of their privileges. He is said to have attained to supreme intelligence, or to have become Buddha, before his death, which took place to the north of Patna, in the neighbourhood of the mountains of Nepal.

What may have been the actual character of Sakya Sinha, and how far he was influenced by pure, benevolent, and exalted motives, it is difficult to define, since we are left but with few facts to aid us in forming a conclusion, and we must resort to a species of induction, which is difficult at any time in relation to human character, and especially so in relation to men who have stood, like Ajax, above the multitude, and who are usually as much unduly depreciated by their enemies as they are exalted by their partizans. There is no reason to believe that the low ambition of founding a sect, the desire of supplanting teachers who had overlooked or despised his claims, or the love of spiritual domination, were the motives under which Guadama acted. We are no hero-worshippers in the Emmersonian sense, nor on the other hand, are we inclined to anathematize those master minds who have established great religious systems. A profounder investigation, and a less prejudiced judgment, are beginning to show that they were neither the knaves, nor the hypocrites they have been represented. Priest-crafts exist because people like them. Many a founder of a sect has been led on to his dizzy pre-eminence, much more by the desire of the multitude to have a master and a leader, than from any wish of his own to deceive and mislead. The minds capable of exerting the mightiest influence over others, are generally of a type incapable of the baseness of religious imposture; but we cannot pursue this tempting discussion. By what mental process Sakya Sinha was led on from the pleasures

of a princely youth to the rigid practice of asceticism, and then to undertake the difficult and dangerous labours of a religious reformer, it is difficult to say, however, we are not wholly without light, albeit our path lies through an Indian jungle, and night, and the rank vegetation of ages obscures and impedes our course

There is reason to believe, that like all profound and reflective minds, Guadama was inclined to dwell on the more sombre aspects of human life, and the more perplexing mysteries which are connected with the relations of mankind to the spiritual and the future. It is said, that circumstances in his early history threw a dark shadow over his prospects, and induced him to seek in solitude relief for his own broken spirit, and a remedy for the ills under which he saw humanity suffering. There seems good reason to believe, that when he laid aside the habits of an ascetic, and became a public teacher and the founder of a party, he was influenced chiefly by a benevolent desire to check the progress of error, and to confer on the people a system which, in its tendencies, should operate to check evil, and cherish that which was virtuous and good. We cannot but attribute to him a profound sympathy with human nature in its vain efforts to attain a higher state of purity and freedom than it had then reached,—a desire to set men free from the priestly domination which crushed them down to the dust, and a wish to diffuse principles, which, if not productive of the largest amount of happiness, should at least preserve the multitude from the depths of evil into which they were ever liable to fall, in short, he seems to have possessed the chief attributes of a wise, benevolent, and thoroughly able reformer.

What position he assumed in relation to the popular and dominant faith, and in what respects that position was altered on account of the opposition of his enemies, we are not informed. We feel assured, however, that he commenced his career as a public teacher, not as the opponent of Hinduism, but as its adherent, probably, as the expounder of some dogmas which had formerly been recognised, but were now forgotten and cast aside, like the trappings of some gorgeous pageant when it has passed away. "It is clear," says Burnouf, "that he appeared as 'one of the ascetics, who, from the most ancient times, had been 'in the habit of traversing India, preaching morality, respected 'in society in proportion to the contempt of it which they 'affected. It was even by placing himself under the tutelage of 'the Brahmins that he entered on the religious life. In fact, 'the Lalita Vistara shows him to us, when he left his father's 'house, resorting to the most learned Brahmins, in order to

‘ derive from their school the knowledge of which he was in quest. * * * Sakya Muni, or the anchorite of the Sakya race, is not distinguished, at first, from other anchorites of Brahminical descent, and the reader will see presently, when I collect the proofs of the struggles which he had to sustain against the rival ascetics, that the people, astonished at the persecutions of which he was the object, sometimes asked his opponents what reasons they had for hating him so much, seeing he was only a mendicant like themselves.”

That Guadama did not begin by assuming a position directly antagonistic to Hinduism, is shewn also by the following considerations. That attachment to what is believed to be religious truth, which leads to a bold, unequivocal, disinterested denunciation of error, and a repudiation of all its sophisms, is essentially a Christian virtue, nor do we remember a single instance among heathen nations, in which certain tenets have been disinterestedly abandoned only because they were erroneous, and others as boldly adopted only because they were true. On the other hand, numerous instances of mental reservation, an unfair and specious interpretation of the popular faith to square with the opinions of wiser men, or of down-right hypocrisy, will present themselves to the readers of classical history. And there has not been a Hindu sage, from the days of Vyasa to those of Chaitanya, who has not acted more or less on the policy of Kapila, the founder of the Sankya philosophical school, who seems to have admitted the existence and liberation of the soul *as terms* into his atheistical system, as Epicurus admitted the gods into his, simply that the prejudices of polytheists might not be shocked by a direct denial of a tenet acknowledged by the received religion.

A question here arises, which has relation both to the character of Guadama and the early history of the system which bears his name. Which is the more ancient system, Buddhism or Brahminism? We shall not be expected to go fully into this controversy, although it is worthy of lengthened remark; at the same time we cannot fairly pass it by. It is alleged by those in favour of the priority of Buddhism, that many of the dates assigned for the age of Buddha are far back in antiquity beyond the period we have fixed for the apotheosis of Guadama—that the system bears marks of extreme simplicity and antiquity—that there were Buddhas before Sakya Buddha. We are confident, that *as a system of religion*, Brahminism is much older than Buddhism; but we see no reason to conclude that Buddhist opinion did not exist before the age of Sakya Muni. There is reason to believe, that some of the

tenets of his system were held by ascetics—perhaps even taught as distinctive matters of faith, long before his age. They might be—they probably were—a part of that surging, crude, shadowy mass of notions which have always been floating about in the Asiatic mental atmosphere, waiting for some Zoroaster, Mohammed, Hermes, or Vyasa, to give them “a habitation and a name” It may be possible, therefore, to show that isolated tenets of the Buddhist system existed long anterior to the age of Guadama, but it was he who founded and systematized the religion And as no entire system, which has ever taken hold of the minds of nations, neither the religions of the ancient nations of Europe, nor Hinduism, nor Mohammedanism, have emanated as original productions from one mind, but men of genius, selecting that which was true or fitting in current opinion, and amalgamating it with new forms of thought, have created faiths more suitable to the age which gave them birth,—it was thus with Buddhism Ideas which Sakya saw were in danger of being overlaid and forgotten—and ideas which he conceived were essential to give compactness and strength to his system, were mingled that they might form a faith able to satisfy the cravings of humanity, and capable of offering resistance to antagonistic creeds.

If then the Buddhist religion originated with Sakya Muni in the fifth century B C—and this we aver—it is of course posterior to Brahminism But we must offer further proof of this Buddhist history can be traced up with great distinctness to the age of Sakya Muni, but no further, whilst Hindu history can be traced up to an antiquity to which authentic Buddhist history lays no claim The Vedas were compiled by Vyasa about the fourteenth century B C, but no date for the rise of Buddhism earlier than the twelfth century B C merits the least notice. The Buddhists of almost every country speak of India as the original seat whence their faith was derived, and such a concession is surely of great weight, if not decisive The religious literature of these nations constantly recognises Hinduism as existing in the time of Guadama, and as offering the greatest opposition to the spread of his opinions. To cite but one witness, Burnouf, in his *Introduction to the History of Indian Buddhism*, gives a long list of Hindu deities, and says—“All these deities are those of the people amidst whom ‘Sakya, with his devotees, lived,’ and after quoting several proofs that the disciples of Sakya recognised Indra, Brahma, Janardana, and other gods, but as inferior to Buddha, he says —

These testimonies mark exactly the relation of the popular gods of India to the founder of Buddhism. It is evident that he found their wor-

ship already existing, and that he did not invent it. * * * I am thoroughly convinced, that if Sakya had not found around him a pantheon peopled with the gods I have named, he would have had no need to invent, in order to ensure to his mission the authority which the people might refuse to a man. Sakya does not come, like the Brahminical incarnations of Vishnu, to show the people an eternal and infinite God descending on earth, and preserving in his mortal condition, the irresistible power of the Deity. He is the son of a king, who becomes a religious devotee and who has nothing to recommend him to the people but the superiority of his virtue and his knowledge.

Elphinstone argues on the same side "from the improbability that the Buddhist system could ever have been an original one." He says —

A man as yet unacquainted with religious feeling would imbibe the first notions of a God from the perception of powers superior to his own. Even if the idea of a quiescent divinity could enter his mind, he would have no motive to adore, but would rather endeavor to propitiate the sun, on which he depended for warmth, or the heavens which terrified him with their thunders. Still less would he commence by the worship of saints, for sanctity is only conformity to religious opinions already established, and a religion must have obtained a strong hold on a people before they would be disposed to deify their fellows for a strict adherence to its injunctions especially if they neither supposed them to govern the world, nor to mediate with its ruler.

The Hindu religion presents a more natural course. It rose from the worship of the powers of Nature to Theism, and then declined into Scepticism with the learned, and man worship with the vulgar.

The doctrines of the Sankya school of philosophers seem reflected in the Atheism of the Biddha while the hero worship of the common Hindus, and their extravagant veneration for religious ascetics, are much akin to the deification of saints among the Bauddhas. We are led, therefore, to suppose the Brahmin faith to have originated in early times, and that of Buddha to have branched off from it at a period when its orthodox tenets had reached their highest perfection, if not shown a tendency to decline.

Perhaps one of the strongest proofs in favour of the position we are maintaining, is the statement of all Buddhist authorities, that all the seven Manushi Buddhas were of *Brahmin and Kshetria descent*.*

Buddhism had gained a firm footing, and numbered its thousands of disciples, when Guadama died. Kassapo was then chosen to be the leader of the party or the sect. What were his peculiar functions, we are not told, they could not have been those of a sovereign pontiff, for the system was too popular in its form, and too hostile in spirit against an established hierarchy, to admit of such an office. Probably he was regarded as the most worthy to preside over its communities, and to

* Hardy makes the same statement respecting the *twenty four* mortal Buddhas who preceded Guadama. It may be necessary to state, that writers differ as to the number of mortals who have become Buddhas.

guard the conservation of its principles. His influence and ability were, however, immediately needed, for, during the first year after Sakya's death, it was necessary to call a council at Rajagaha, the capital of Magadha. The doctrines of Buddhism were then defined by the most eminent followers of the system. To the Sutto-Pittaka, ascribed to Guadama himself, they added two supplementary parts. These compose the most valued Buddhist writings, for the council is supposed to have been divinely inspired, that they might transmit the system, pure and authoritative, to future ages.*

About a century after the death of Guadama, a second council was held, in the year 443 B C, at Wesali, in Magadha, to suppress some heretical opinions which were held. After the degradation of the heretical, the orthodox, in order to check the recurrence of schismatic opinion, revised the existing sacred writings, and lent them the weight of their authority and influence.

Another, and a yet more important, council was held about 220 years B C, at Pataliputra, in the reign of Asoka, who used his great influence to spread Buddhism in India. It seems to have met, not only to check a perverted form of the religion, but also to suppress the hostility of a party, who had taken alarm at the rapid spread of Sakya's opinions. On this, as on the former occasions, the most eminent Buddhists revised the formulas of their faith, and, not improbably, modified them to meet the wants of an enquiring and a refined age.†

Buddhism had all along displayed a strong proselytizing tendency. Beneath the force of that tendency, Hinduism had been obliged to give way, repulsed, if not defeated, and not only in Magadha, but among numerous Hindu kingdoms, the faith of Sakya pressed on with all the prestige of a youthful, vigorous, and successful assailant. This tendency was intensified and developed by the third council. It set in operation one of the most remarkable proselytizing efforts the world has ever seen. Missionaries were despatched not only into various parts of India, but to Gandhara, the upper part of the Punjab, to Cashmere, to Thibet, the various regions to the north and west of the Himalayas, and to Ceylon.

* The Buddhist age of inspiration is said to have continued for four hundred years. During this period a large mass of reputed sacred writings were given, called by the Singhalese the "Pittakattaya," or the three Pittakas, called the *Winayo*, *Abhidhammo*, and *Sutto-Pittako*. Besides these, Buddhism recognises an immense mass of sacred literature.

† See Turnour's *Introduction to the Mahawanso*. He fixes the date of a third council in 309 B C.

What led to this extraordinary movement, so unlike what might have been expected from any Indian system, is a matter of dispute Landresse and others would lead us to suppose that it was rather the result of flight from persecution than of spontaneous zeal There is, however, good reason to believe, that until several centuries afterwards, no persecution, at least of an organized nature, disturbed the Buddhist community There was undoubtedly no dubious blending of the proselytizing and martial spirit in this movement, not only has the genius of the system been pre-eminently peaceful, but widely as it has spread, in no instance has it employed force Even political intrigue has had less to do with its diffusion than with the diffusion of Brahminism, Mohammedanism, and even Christianity itself Whether it was the result of rivalry, leading the followers of Guadama to aim at a geographical and numerical superiority over their Brahmin adversaries—or, whether it was that love for proselytizing which stimulates the religionists of every creed, save the caste-bound Hindu—or, whether it was the promptings of an elevated and benevolent sentiment—or, whether it was the result of one of those capricious, sudden, mysterious movements, which occasionally impel the people of Asia to wake up from the lethargic sleep of ages, like the forces of nature when the earthquake heaves, and to perform deeds of daring and of energy which are foreign to their ordinary nature, we profess not to decide Account, however, as we may for this remarkable outbreak of religious energy, remarkable chiefly for its disinterestedness and peacefulness, it stands recorded as a fact on the page of history, although its causes are hidden amidst the shadows of a dim and distant antiquity As with modern Christian missions, the efforts to diffuse abroad the principles of the faith were attended by corresponding efforts to spread it throughout the land of its birth These efforts were attended with signal success. Mr James Prinsep has attempted to show, from the testimony of coins and inscriptions, that in the age of Alexander of Macedon, India was under the rule of Buddhist kings Colonel Sykes speaks still more positively—“With respect to the general prevalence of Buddhism in India ‘from the seventh century B C to the seventh century A D, ‘the personal testimony of Fa Hian, that when he was in India ‘there was not a single prince eastward of the Jumna who was ‘not of the Buddhist faith, and that it had continued UNINTER-
‘RUPTED from the time of Sakya Muni, would seem to render ‘further testimony unnecessary, up to the beginning of the fifth

' century A D '* These views, we think, require modification. They give a somewhat too wide and too early sway to Buddhism. It does not follow that because it was dominant, when Fa Hian was in India, about the year 412 of our era, that therefore it was equally dominant, or equally prevalent, nine centuries earlier. Analogy, as well as facts, would lead us to a different conclusion. The testimony of Fa Hian is certainly explicit — "As to Hindustan itself, from the time of leaving the deserts (of Jeyselmir and Bikanir) and the river (Jumna) to the West, all the kings of the different kingdoms of India are firmly attached to the law of Buddha, and when they do honor to the ecclesiastics, they take off their diadems." We are quite willing to believe the worthy Chinese, in relation to what he actually saw, though he does tell us his own eyes beheld a veritable *shadow* of Buddha kept as a relic by the priests! But like Rubruquis, Marco Polo, and other old travellers from the West, he is evidently not a very reliable authority when he writes ancient history, or tells us of things about which he had only heard. There can, however, be no doubt, that Buddhism was very popular in the reign of Asoka. It was the religion of the monarch, his kingdom was very extensive, and all the vast power he wielded was employed to protect and propagate this vigorous faith, nor can there be any reasonable doubt that it was either dominant, or extensively diffused, not only in the North-west of India, but also in Bengal, Behar, Orissa, Guzerat, and Southern India. The vast and remarkable antiquarian remains, found at Ellora, Carli, at Amravati in Behar, Rajputana, the Mysore, and on the Malabar Coast, would sufficiently prove this, were other proofs wanting. The precise date we shall not presume to fix, but it was somewhere between the second century B C, and the sixth century of our era.

How was it that the faith of Buddha thus rose up by the side of Hinduism so rapidly, and attained a vigour so great as to endanger the existence of its great rival? The reasons must be sought both in the new and in the ancient superstition, for no great moral revolution has ever occurred where the causes lay entirely either with the party which triumphed or the party which suffered defeat. We see good reasons for supposing, that about the time when Sakya Sinha lived, was, what the Germans would call, the age of the development of Hinduism. It had emerged from the Pantheism of the Veda into a form of Polytheism, different indeed from the hideous conglom-

* *Notes on the Religious, Moral and Political State of India before the Mohammedan Invasion*, by Colonel Sykes

meration of the present day, yet equally false and almost as pernicious. Along with this development, innovations had taken place as repulsive to the sensibilities of a virtuous man, as they were chafing to a philosopher and offensive to a patriot. Priestly power and pride had grown up, like the gigantic tithcoco around the nunagách, and had left the body-politic, a leafless, sapless, lifeless thing, which yet remained only that it might sustain the hateful parasite which had brought it to decay. The growth of an idolatry, characterized equally by physical grossness and unphilosophical peculiarities—by an hereditary priesthood—by the vilest superstition, and the consequent depreciation of the regal dignity, the exclusion from sacred service of many who coveted its honors and its immunities, and the tendency to crush anything in the shape of political freedom and popular advancement, might well excite a large amount of dissatisfaction and hostility. Prince Sidhanto was well fitted to lead a popular movement. Of royal lineage, benevolent, profound, bold, prudent, and enthusiastic, he could easily gain the confidence of his disciples, and retain that confidence because of the plausibility and comprehensiveness of his views. The retention in his system of many essential tenets of Hinduism preserved him for a time from open hostility, and not improbably from death itself. As before stated, he began by being a reformer of Hinduism, although probably, like Mohammed, Luther, Wesley, and others, he was forced, by circumstances he could not control, farther, and still farther, from his original position, like a vessel exposed to strong winds and currents when her anchorage is bad. It is, however, both vain and unnecessary to attempt to trace either the history of his own mental development, or the growth of the system which bears his name. Of two things, however, we may be sure. Its various dogmas were adopted, either with a view to the conservation and consistency of the system, or, that it might present a formidable front in all cases of aggression. At present we have to consider the causes why it so rapidly spread, in spite of the powerful system to which it was opposed.

*It was favorable to the exaltation of princes and of kings.** In this respect it was politically opposed to Brahminism. The latter system tolerates kings, it does not exalt them. Though monarchical in theory, it is oligarchical in fact, and oligarchical in the worst form—that of an hereditary priesthood. The Brahmins rule through the king. The terrible and deci-

* See "Memoir on the History of Buddhism," in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 1.

sive struggle, which there is reason to believe, once took place between the Kshetrias and the Brahmins, sufficiently indicates that the Hindu mind has not passively submitted to this absorption of power on the part of the priesthood. And the genius of Buddhism was a revolt against the same odious despotism. It declared that no third party should come between the people and the prince. It left the latter free * No wonder then that "all the kings of the different kingdoms of India were firmly attached to the law of Buddha." It was to them what the appeal of the monarchs of Europe during the middle ages was to the free towns and people of their realms, an effort to become free from a powerful band of nobles, by calling into existence a new power.

Another feature favorable to the progress of Buddhism was its *repudiation of caste*. It must have taken ages to enable one-half of a nation to make the other half believe that they were in every respect inferior. It was a doctrine too monstrous to be broached at once—that one class were born slaves for the special behoof of another, and could never by any possibility be anything else. Even the Hindu mind, yielding as it is, has shewn a disposition more than once to throw off this galling bondage, and never had it so nearly succeeded as when Prince Sidhanto proclaimed that all men were alike and equally free. No wonder that, like the gathering cry of many a patriot leader, it drew around him the more thoughtful, the more bold, and the more injured of the kingdoms of Northern India!

The intense individuality and self-consciousness created by Buddhism was favorable to its diffusion. It freed men not only from the thralldom of caste, and the evils of priestly domination, but it quickened the individual energies by its opposition to a deadening Pantheism. Each Buddhist was thrown back upon himself, and must have felt that he was not so much a helpless unit of a system, as a *person* possessed of capabilities of the very highest order.

* The following passages from the Code of Manu will show how much the king was under the control of the Brahmins—"To one learned Brahmin, distinguished among them all, let the king impart his momentous counsel." (Chap. vii. 38) "A king, desirous of inspecting judicial proceedings, must enter his court of justice, composed and sedate in his demeanour, together with Brahmins and councillors who know how to give advice." (Chap. vii. 1) "But when he cannot inspect such affairs in person, let him appoint for the inspection of them a Brahmin of eminent learning. Let that Chief Judge, accompanied by three assessors, fully consider all causes brought before the king." (Chap. vii. 9-10) "Let the king, having risen at early dawn, respectfully attend to Brahmins, and by their decision let him abide," &c. (Chap. vii. 37)

Buddhism then was intended to be popular, and it was so. Powerful monarchs delighted to honor a faith which so fully recognised their supremacy. Magnificent temples illustrated the wealth and influence of its votaries. A new era in literature and history was the effect of its diffusion, and the vast multitude of its adherents proved how thoroughly it was welcomed by the people. It was not, however, to be expected, that its prosperity would be allowed to flow uninterruptedly on. It was too flexible, too latitudinarian, and too successful, to commit overt acts of persecution, but its powerful rival could not be expected to look passively on, whilst its temples were being deserted and its tenets impugned. By what gradations Buddhism drew off more, and still more, from Hinduism, and by what events the two were brought into collision, we know not, this only do we know, there was a long, a relentless, and an exterminating struggle, but the guilty, unscrupulous, jealous priesthood of India have taken good care that few remains should exist to witness against them, like a murderer, who, after a deadly struggle with his victim, carefully removes every trace of the strife, that no proof may be found to discover his guilt and reproach him with his crime.

The first record of this persecution is in the *Kumarica Chanda*, which says, that in the year 3291 of the *Kaliyug*, or 196 A D, the King *Sudraca* destroyed the workers of iniquity.* This, however, could have been but a partial outbreak of religious hostility, for *Fa Hian* speaks as though Buddhism were reposing in prosperous tranquillity at the very commencement of the fifth century. There seems good reason for concluding, that not long afterward, the final struggle commenced. *Kumaril Bhatta* is said by *Mahdeva*, a commentator on the *Vedas*, who wrote about 1300 A D, to have been the chief leader in this persecution, for it was at his instigation that King *Sidhanma* issued the terrible decree which breathed nothing less than extermination to the Buddhists—"Let those who slay not be slain, the old men among the Buddhists and the babe, from the bridge of *Ram* to the snowy mountains." *Kumarila* accomplished his purpose, not only by means of the civil power, but by presenting Brahminism in a form at once plausible and formidable. The recognition of the *Vedas*, as the basis of all

* The following passages from the *Bhagavat Gita*, in the prophetic style, give the Hindu idea of the causes of the Buddhist schism—"Then at the commencement of the *Kaliyug*, will *Vishnu* become incarnate in *Kakita*, under the name of *Buddha*, the son of *Sinha*, for the purpose of deluding the enemies of the gods—"Praise be to the pure *Buddha*, the deluder of the *Daityas* and *Danawas*,"—"By his words, as *Buddha*, *Vishnu* deludes the heretics."

religious truth, enabled him to give an appearance of system and definiteness to Hinduism, such as, for at least some time, it had not possessed; whilst his professed intention of seeking out the meaning of the sacred writings, gave him the opportunity of offering such a signification as he pleased to these dubious statements which best suited his designs. He certainly missed no opportunity of controverting Buddhist doctrine, and of denouncing its adherents *

The existence of severe persecution about this period is strikingly confirmed by the records of several nations now professing Buddhism. Driven from India, the followers of Guadama sought refuge in lands where their faith had already been planted, or carried it with them to nations who were willing to give them shelter. At the end of the fifth century, the hierarchy of the Buddhists left India, and sought in China an asylum where he might preside in peace, and shortly after, at the beginning of the following century, Dharma, the son of an Indian monarch, said to have been descended from Prince Sidhanto himself, entered China, and by his zeal and influence did much to consolidate the Buddhist faith †. From China it seems to have spread to Japan, Tonquin, Cochinchina, and the remote islands of the Eastern seas. About 530 it was introduced into Corea. Toward the end of the century, a large number of priests and idols arrived in Japan from India. Buddhism was introduced into Java during the sixth and seventh centuries, when multitudes of Hindu emigrants arrived there, and in the various islands of the Indian Archipelago. ‡ Like a strong adversary, however, whose means of defence are not speedily exhausted, and who, though driven from one strong position, yet retains the power to turn back to another, and bravely renews the conflict there, Buddhism, no longer caressed by kings and honored by millions of their subjects, yet lingered in several parts of India. Al Edressi mentions it as professed in Guzerat in the twelfth century. About the same time, a Buddhist dynasty reigned in Bengal, whilst in the Decan it lingered until the ninth, or perhaps three hundred years later. And now, throughout the whole of Peninsular India, not a single Buddhist remains! Not only has its existence ceased, but the very memorials of that existence are almost

* The Cerala Utpatti, written about A. D. 800, chiefly relating to Malabar, states that Kumarila visited that country, and succeeded in entirely expelling the Buddhists. Other accounts affirm his earnest zeal to suppress Buddhism.

† The *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii, p. 260.

‡ Raffle's *History of Java*.

lost, and we who seek to construct its strange history from the broken fragments that are left us, are like travellers amidst the mysterious ruins of the cities of Central America: we tread with uncertain steps, surrounded by the ruins of a people, whose place of glory has been utterly overthrown, and whose only memorials in the land over which they once proudly reigned, are the wrecks of their former greatness, to which even a strange people lay claim.

But what are the PRINCIPLES of this system, which thus rose up side by side with Hinduism, until, too formidable to be tolerated, it was cast out from the place of its birth, like Ishmael from the tents of Abraham, and found a habitation among nations which comprise one-third of the population of the world? Religious error is always difficult to define. Chameleon-like it varies with the change of circumstances. It is controlled, not by principle, but by expediency, and therefore its faithful delineator oftentimes has to record paradoxes and contradictions which it is vain to attempt to combine in one homogeneous system. We believe it is in the writings of Archbishop Whately, that we have met with the remark, that before the introduction of Christianity, excepting among the Jews, no people had ever thought it was absolutely necessary that the dogmas of a religion should be believed on the simple ground that they were true. Had this obvious principle been acted on, how much of the ancient forms of Polytheism would never have been dreamt of, or if dreamt of, rejected at once, and for ever. Man, however, is no ardent lover of pure religious truth, and is therefore easily led into error. "The people imagine a vain thing," and are too ignorant, or too indolent, or too superstitious, not to believe their own lie. The priest winks at the delusion, for religion is not with him a thing that is true, but a thing which is profitable. The philosopher cares not to correct the error, as long as it cherishes a false tranquillity. And thus every false system has been liable to endless mutations, which, whilst indicating the weakness and ignorance of man, as really show that he feels his need of something more divine than he has yet attained. The classical scholar need not be reminded of the difference existing between the Polytheism of the ages of Romulus, of Augustus, and of Julian, nor of its diverse aspects as viewed by the peasant, the politician, and the priest. Still more various have been the forms of that indescribable thing called Hinduism. Nor is this surprising! A religion which comes not to man with the lofty demands of divine right, requiring absolute and unconditional submission to its claims, because founded on truth, instead of moulding man's na-

ture, according to its own abstract form and spirit, will itself be modified and changed in obedience to the capricious will of its adherents. Buddhism illustrates these remarks. The principles taught by Sakya, twenty-three centuries ago in North-eastern India, have been singularly developed during their chequered history of conflict, defeat, and triumph. The most debasing polytheism, the most subtle philosophy, positive atheism, servile hero-worship, and the grossest pantheism, have become identified with Buddhism in the various states where it is paramount. Nevertheless, there are certain ideas which lie at its basis, whatever form it may have assumed, and to these, rather than to the discrepancies and minutiae of the system, we shall now address ourselves.

Adi-Buddha is the supreme self-existent god. He is infinite, eternal, without members or passions, dwelling in unbroken peace and boundless happiness. The relation of Adi-Buddha to the universe, it is not so easy to define, for whilst some say "he delights in making happy every sentient being," he tenderly loves those who serve him,—his Majesty fills all "with reverence and awe. He is the assuager of pain and grief,"—there are others who tell us that he dwells altogether apart from mundane affairs, and has never awoken from the profound repose in which he ever exists, but to perform one single act of creative power.

It is one of the peculiarities of Buddhism and Brahminism, that, whilst acknowledging a Supreme Being, they practically ignore his existence, by recognising others as the creators of the universe, the objects of worship, and the awarders of man's destiny. Brahma has not a temple in India. He is too abstract—perhaps too great, to be worshipped by those who delight in contemplating the more palpable qualities of Ram, Krishna, and Shiva. Adi-Buddha is equally a sublime, impalpable, undefined creation of the oriental mind, imagined rather than conceived of, the apex of a grand religious theory, but too abstract a conception of the human intellect in its most subtle development to be either devoutly feared or deeply loved. Some philosophical systems, indeed, divest him of all sentient qualities, and attribute to the material universe those active endowments and forces which develop the varied phenomena which we see around us.* Even those who

* Though popular Buddhism is certainly theistic, there can be no doubt that its philosophy—as for instance the Swabhavika system described by Hodgson—is mostly atheistic and pantheistic. The denial of immateriality, the assertion that matter is the sole substance, the attribution to matter of the qualities of activity, intelligence, and organization, can only tend to one conclusion. Yet the pantheistic philosopher, who believes that matter thinks, possesses merit, resolves to develop

believe him to be the self-existent one, take very different views of the relation subsisting between him and the creation, although the orthodox generally agree in regarding him as the primal cause of existence to all things. Sambhu, or the self-existent, was before all, and alone, he conceived the desire—*Prajnya*—of creating, that desire at once led to the thing desired.* This creation, however, was not ultimate, but the first step of a series, which was to result in the gift of existence to inferior intelligences. The desire of *Adi-Buddha* brought into existence five *Dhyani-Buddhas*, or divine intelligences. So inherent is the conception of listless repose to the oriental idea of divinity and happiness, that even the *Dhyani-Buddhas* must delegate the task of creation to others. Each one therefore produced, by means of his divine energy, another being called his son, or *Buddhisatwa*. According to one theory the *Buddhisatwas* were the actual creators of the universe, each one being the framer of a certain number of worlds, but the more popular view is, that four of these took no active part in the production of nature, being absorbed in the worship and the contemplation of the Supreme, and that the work of creation was accomplished by the fifth, named *Padma-Pani*. But here again a difference of opinion prevails, for it is alleged by some that *Padma-Pani* was only the creator of the creators, having called into existence *Brahma*, *Vishnu*, and *Shiva*, to whom he delegated the task of creating, preserving, and destroying the universe.

It does not fall in with our design, neither does it accord with our inclination, to enter fully on the subject of Buddhist cosmogony. Our readers certainly would not thank us for our pains in endeavouring to enlighten them on a subject so confused, elaborate, and worthless, to those who have a taste for such knowledge, we recommend the first chapter of Mr Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*. The creation is

itself in all these forms of beauty and of harmony, which our world displays, may speak of *Adi-Buddha*—supreme intelligence—as easily as the most devout of Bonzes, but they do not mean the same thing.

* A different theory is taught by some. *Buddha*—intelligence, operated upon *Dharma*—matter, which led to the production of *Sangha*—the actual creative power which develops all the phenomena of the existent universe. This triad, of Intelligence, Matter, and an Influence produced by the former upon the latter, or according to some, by the latter upon the former, has no resemblance to the Hindu triad. It is a much more profound conception, and whilst it is more philosophical, it is at the same time more dangerous, for in the case of *Buddha*—by which term is often meant in such a connexion the abstract idea of intelligence conjoined with matter—being regarded as the first of the triad, its tendency is pantheistic, whilst, when *Dharma* is held to be supreme, *Atheism* is likely to be the Charybdis upon which the refined speculator is wrecked.

composed of a great variety of worlds or mansions. The highest, called Agnishtha-Bhuvana, is the abode of Adi-Buddha. Next to this are ten, (some say thirteen,) Bud-dhisatwa-Bhuvanas, into which, according to their merits, the followers of Buddha are admitted when they die. Ranking next to these are eighteen mansions, called collectively Rupya-Vachara. These belong to Brahma, and his devout worship-pers are eventually received into them*.

Below these are six mansions, called Kama-Vachara, subject to Vishnu, and prepared to receive his followers. Next to these are the three mansions called Arupya-Vachara, over which Maha-deva presides. After these are the Bhuvanas or mansions of Indra, Yama, Surya, Chandra, the stars, the planets, Agni, Vayu, and the earth, the physical features of which are much the same as those described in the Hindu Puranas. Below the earth are the infernal regions, called Patalas, six of these are the abodes of various supernatural beings, chiefly of a malignant nature; whilst the seventh is divided into eight parts, in which punishment is inflicted according to the demerits of the condemned†. These punishments extend through periods of incalculable duration, and are of every variety. Dante even might have gathered from them conceptions of horror and of agony, which would have deepened the gloom of his *Inferno*. Four of the great hells are intensely cold, and four intensely hot, and some of the victims will alternately endure the agonies of both. To be torn to pieces with red hot irons, ground to atoms between fiery mountains, transfixed on iron spikes, to be cut and torn by the swords and spears of demons, and woes yet more unendurable, are reserved for the guilty. These punishments, as might be expected, are not always inflicted on the principles of rigid justice, sometimes actions of the most dissimilar kind are punished in the same degree, and frequently an offence of a very trifling nature is visited with tortures of the severest kind, whilst deeds of moral delinquency are passed slightly by.

The following extract illustrates this, as well as other observations we have made —

The infernal days and years differ from those on earth for every day in the great hells is equal to a thousand terrestrial years, whilst in some of the small hells it equals 600 years, in others 700, and in others 800 1st

* It will be remarked how extensively the mythology of India has infused itself into Buddhism. It is simply our business to state such anomalies as Brahma and his worshippers having supernatural abodes amidst the heavens of Buddhism, not to explain them.

† Hodgson's *Illustrations of the Literature and Religion of the Buddhists*. A very minute and extensive description of the heavens and hells of Burmese Buddhism will be found in the sixth volume of the *Asiatic Researches*. On this subject there is considerable uniformity in the descriptions of native authorities.

Those who are irascible, or cruel, quarrellous, or drunken, who are dishonest in deed, word or thought, or who are lascivious, will, after death, in the great hell Seinzi be torn to pieces with glowing hot irons, and then exposed to the cold, after a time their limbs will again unite, and again will they be torn asunder, and exposed to the cold, and this alternation of misery will endure for 500 infernal years *2ndly*—Those who, either by action or speech, ridicule their proper parents or magistrates, or Rahans, or the old men, or the studious of the law, those who, with nets or snares, entrap fish or other animals, all those will be punished in the great hell Chalafof for 1,000 infernal years on a bed of fire they will be extended, and like so many trunks of trees, with burning iron saws and hooks, they will be cut into eight or ten pieces *3rdly*—Those who kill oxen, swine, goats, or other such animals, and who are by profession hunters warlike kings, ministers and governors, who oppress the people, all such will, in the great hell Singate, be ground between four burning mountains for 2,000 years *4thly*—Those who do not mutually assist their neighbours, and who, on the contrary, deceive and vex them, those who kill animals by immersing them in boiling oil or water, those who are drunkards or who commit indecent and forbidden actions, those who dishonor others, all such will have their bowels consumed by fire entering their mouths, This punishment will last for 4,000 infernal years' (*On the Religion and Literature of the Burmans,* Asiatic Researches, vol vi, p 219)

The punishments of the guilty, though long, are not eternal, there is hope even for him who suffers for a period far beyond our powers of calculation. He may, by the commission of new guilt, extend the period of his doom, or sink into a place of suffering yet more terrible, or by submission, penitence, and the cultivation of a devout nature, he may rise to worlds of suffering less and less abhorrent, nay, he may not only purge away the stains of his pollution, but ultimately acquire an amount of merit which will entitle him to all the bliss of Nirvana itself

Like Hinduism, Buddhism teaches the successive destruction, formation, and existence of the world through periods of immense duration. Fire, water, and wind are the material causes of these changes, but the Burmese say that there are three evils, luxury, anger, and ignorance, which induce the operation of these three agencies

"There are three modes of destruction" says Mr Hardy "The sakwalas—the space to which the light of a sun, or moon extends is a sakwala—are destroyed seven times by fire, and the eighth time by water. Every sixty-fourth destruction is by wind

When the destruction is by the agency of fire, from the period at which the fire begins to burn to the time when the destruction is complete, and the fire entirely burnt out, there are twenty antah-kalpas.*

* To convey an idea of the immense duration of these periods, the following illustration is used —"Eighty antah-kalpas make a maha-kalpa. There is a species of cloth, fabricated at Benares, of cotton that is unequalled in the delicacy of its fibre

From the period at which the fire ceases to burn, to the falling of the great rain by which the future world is to be formed, there are twenty antah-kalpas

From the first falling of the seminal rain to the formation of the sun, moon, rocks, oceans, &c, there are twenty antah-kalpas

After the lapse of twenty kalpas more, a great rain begins to fall

Thus there are four great cycles of mundane revolution
1 Of destruction 2 Of the continuance of destruction* 3 Of formation 4 Of the continuance of formation These asen-
kya-kalpas make a maha-kalpa *

Besides the beings we have named, there is a large intermediate class between the *du mayores* and mankind Like the fanciful creations of other peoples, they are very varied in their attributes, some of them preside over particular worlds, and possess amazing power, others of them are fallen beings who yet retain some of their original brightness, some are the attendants of the Buddhas, and not a few resemble the elves and fairies of the western world, generally, however, they are much akin to the asuras, ghandarvas, and giants of Hinduism

We now come to the distinguishing peculiarity of Buddhism—the finite nature of man may develop itself into the infinite nature of God Besides the divine Buddhas we have mentioned, who form but a part of the speculative theory of the system, there is another class, the mortal Buddhas, who occupy a much more prominent and important position Their number is variously stated, although only seven are particularly named, and of these Sakya was the last † This state is only to be attained after the practice of rigid virtue, extreme self-denial, and profound meditation for innumerable ages Sakya Sinha, before he was born as Prince Sidhanto, had been a Buddhissat, or candidate for the supreme Buddhaship, through many a transmigra-

* Its worth, previous to being used, is unspeakable, after it has been used, it is worth 30,000 mila-karsahas (of the value of twenty or thirty small silver coins), and even when old, it is worth 12 000 karshas Were a man to take a piece of cloth, of this most delicate texture and therewith to touch, in the slightest possible manner, once in a hundred years, a solid rock, free from earth, sixteen miles high, and as many broad, the time would come when it would be worn down, by this imperceptible friction, to the size of a mung or undu-seed. This period would be immense in its duration, but it has been declared by Buddha that it would not be equal to a maha-kalpa"—*Hardy's Manual of Buddhism*, p 1

* *Hardy's Manual of Buddhism*, p 5

† These have reached their high dignity during the successive yugs of the existing world, another has to appear before the end of the Kalyug In previous worlds numerous beings became Buddha.

tion, and the legends of the superstition are full of stories of the various events which occurred, not only during the eighty-three times he was an ascetic, and the fifty-eight times he was a king, but whilst he was a thief, a pig, a devil-dancer, and a frog! It must, however, be remembered, that many of these states of existence were not essential to the attainment of supreme beatitude, but assumed as the necessary result of demerit, for even the Buddhisats are not free either from guilt or its penal consequences

The following passage will give an idea of the various steps by which alone the supreme state can be attained —

For the space of twenty asankya kap lakshas that is to say, from the time that the Manopranidhana, or resolution to become a Buddha, was first exercised, the thirty Paramitas by Guatama Buddhisat (1) He gave in alms, or as charity, his eyes head, flesh, blood children, wife, and substance, whether personal or otherwise, as in the Kadrangara birth. In this way he fulfilled the three kinds of dana viz, dana paramita dana upa paramita, and dana paramarthu paramita (2) In the Bhusidatta birth, and in others of a similar description, he practised the sila paramita, or observance of the precepts, in the three degrees (3) In the Chulla Suttasama, and other similar births, he abandoned vast treasures of gold and silver, and numberless slaves, cattle, buffaloes and other sources of wealth, and thus fulfilled the naiskrama-paramita, which requires retirement from the world (4) In the Sattubhatta, and other births, he revealed to others that which he saw with his divine eyes, and thus fulfilled the praguya paramita, or the virtue proceeding from wisdom (5) In the Mahajanaka, and other births, he performed things exceedingly difficult to be done, thus fulfilling the mirya paramita, or the virtue proceeding from determined courage (6) In the Kshan tiwada, and other births, he endured with an equal mind the opposition of unjust men, regarding it as if it were the prattle of a beloved child, thus observing the Kshanti paramita, or virtue proceeding from forbearance (7) In the Mahasuttasama, and other births, he spoke the words of truth, thus exercising the satta paramita or virtue proceeding from truth (8) In the Terva and other births, he set his mind to that which is excellent, in the most resolute manner never giving way to evil in the least possible degree, thus fulfilling the adhishtana paramita, or virtue proceeding from unalterable resolution (9) In the Nigrodhaniga, and other births, he gave away that which he enjoyed to aid the necessities of others, and took upon himself the sorrows of others, thus observing the maitri paramita, or the virtue proceeding from kindness and affection (10) In the Sara, and other births he regarded with an equal mind those who exercised upon him the most severe cruelties, and those who assisted him and were kind, thus fulfilling the upaksha paramita, or virtue proceeding from equanimity, *

Negative rather than positive results are the reward of the being who raises himself to the condition of a Buddha. By means of his mighty efforts, he attains to a state in which desire, anger, ignorance, and every imperfection becomes extinguished. The sorrows of life, and—what is far more

pleasing to the oriental imagination—its agitation and restlessness, are passed, an immortality of peaceful repose is the loved inheritance of the thrice-honoured and happy Buddha, and his intelligence is enlarged almost to the extent of a boundless knowledge.

Guadama was the last who reached this state of coveted dignity. Though practically the supreme head of the system, it is nevertheless difficult to define the relation he sustains to our world. It is true that he is represented as the paramount lord of the earth and man, it is true that he fills a space in the Buddhist mind, which neither his six predecessors, nor the Buddhisatwas, nor the Dhyanī-Buddhas, nor even Adī-Buddha himself occupies, but whether they have delegated their power and their prerogatives to him, or whether, on the ancient Hindu theory of sacrifices and austerities being sufficient to secure a power not only superior to the gods, but over them, he has become lord of the ascendant, or whether an irreversible destiny, to which both himself and even beings more divine must bow, has fixed him on his elevated throne, or whether his Buddhahship is a position of honour rather than of power, we find it difficult to decide, in fact, traces of all these ideas are to be found in the crude mass of Buddhist opinion.

The bliss to which every Buddhist is encouraged to aspire, seems closely related to that attained by Budaha. Two points of difference, however, at once present themselves—the latter maintains an individual existence, the existence of the former is merged in that of another, the state of the latter is one of influence, that of the former is one of inactivity and passiveness. The belief in this peculiar form of final beatitude is based on the idea, that the soul is not a distinct individual existence, but a part of the essence of Adī-Buddha, allied to the material creation by misfortune and error, and only awaiting the period when it shall have expiated its guilt, to become free from the thralldom of humanity, and allied again to the supreme essence from which, in sorrow it has been separated. To become free, therefore, from all the mutations and lapses necessarily contingent on an imperfect and sinful state of being, to vanquish those sympathies and associations which ally the soul to earth, and prevent its rising upward, is the highest aim of every devotee, and the hope of every follower of Guadama. The primary elements of Nirvana are, deliverance from the perils and the sorrows of transmigration, and absorption into the divine essence. But the precise nature of this coveted state of existence—or non-existence, it is difficult to ascertain. “In its ordinary ‘acceptation it means ‘extinct,’ as a fire that has gone out.

' Its etymology is from *va*, to blow as wind, with the preposition
 ' *ni* used in a negative sense It means calm and unruffled
 ' The notion which attaches to the word is that of perfect apa-
 ' thy Other terms distinguish different gradations of pleasure,
 ' joy, and delight But a heaven of *imperturbable apathy* is the
 ' ultimate bliss to which the Indians aspire, and in this the Jains,
 ' as well as the Buddhists, concur with the orthodox Vedantists *
 " The nature of Nirvana, or cessation of being, " says one well
 able to give an opinion, " is obvious from this, it is not the des-
 ' truction of an existent being, but the *cessation of his existence*
 ' It is not an absorption into a superior being, as the Brahmins
 ' teach, it is a retreat into a place of eternal repose, free
 ' from further transmigration, it is not a violent destruction of
 ' being, but a complete and final cessation of existence "† Most
 Buddhists, however, do not attach the latter idea to Nirvana.
 The following definition by a Burmese chief priest gives the
 more popular interpretation of the term — " When a person is
 ' no longer subject to any of the following miseries, namely
 ' to weight, old age, disease, and death, then he is said to have
 ' attained Nirvana No thing, no place can give us an adequate
 ' idea of Nirvana, we can only say that to be free from the four
 ' above-mentioned miseries, and to obtain salvation, is Nirvana
 ' In the same manner, as when any person labouring under a
 ' severe disease, recovers by the assistance of medicine, we say
 ' he has obtained health, but if any person wishes to know
 ' the manner or cause of his thus obtaining health, it can be
 ' answered that to be restored to health, signifies no more than
 ' to be recovered from disease In the same manner only can we
 ' speak of Nirvana, and after this manner Gaudama taught "‡
 The extinction of existence can never become a popular be-
 lief, much less can it become the object of strong desire and
 devout hope From the dark unfathomable abyss of annihila-
 tion, the spirit turns abhorrently away But the Buddhist
 does not turn away from Nirvana, on the contrary, he antici-
 pates it as a delightful repose from all the ills of life, and as the
 happy recompense of meritorious effort It is a prize worth
 struggling for, not a gulf to be shunned Annihilation, there-
 fore, though a correct definition of the word Nirvana, is not of
 the thing itself But separate existence is lost, yet that loss
 is not the cessation of enjoyment In what way the individua-
 lity of the soul can cease by being merged into the higher life

* Colebrooke's *Essays on the Philosophy of the Hindus*, sec v, chap v

† Notes on Buddhism, in the Appendix to Lees Translation of *Ribeyro's Ceylon*, by the Rev D J Gogerly, p. 264.

‡ *Anatic Researches*, London Edition, vol. vi., p 266

of the Supreme, and yet its perfection and bliss be enlarged, is one of these fine imaginings which can delight and satisfy the highly speculative mind, but how many minds there must be, which find no firm footing on such a refinement, and are forced downward into the abyss of a dark cold Atheism! Perfect and unassailable repose, then, is undoubtedly the chief element in the conception of Nirvana, yet not such repose as may be illustrated by the calm peace of the soul, when the truth is known and loved after many a weary effort to find it, rather it may be compared to the effects of some strong opiate, when, in a state of profound apathy, the mind, incapable of vigorous thinking, indulges in vague day-dreams and fitful imaginings, which cost it not an effort.

The attainment of Nirvana is deliverance from the eddying vortex of transmigration. That, like most oriental opinions, has both a popular and a philosophical aspect. It is the general notion, that the same soul passes through an indefinite number of births, the nature of which depends on the moral qualities of the one immediately preceding. Another view differs somewhat from this. The state in which any soul may be at present, it is said, is not necessarily the result of what happened in the state just before it, but it may be the consequence of some actions performed in a state long since passed.* Speculative Buddhism is much more refined than even this. "The general mass of the Buddhists of Ceylon," says Mr Gogerly, "are not orthodox in their view of transmigration, as they believe that the same soul migrates into different bodies. But this is contrary to the teaching of Buddha, and of this the learned priests are fully aware, but they do not attempt to correct the error, regarding the subject as too difficult to be understood by the unlearned. His—Buddha's—doctrine is that of a series of existences, which he illustrates by the metaphors of a tree and a lamp. A tree produces fruit, from which fruit another tree is produced, and so the series continues. The last tree is not the identical tree with the first, but it is a result, so that if the first tree had not been, the last tree could not have existed. Man is the tree, his conduct is the fruit. The vivifying energy of the fruit is *desire*. While this continues, the series will proceed the good or evil actions per-

* The Cambojans have an opinion somewhat different from this. When the soul quits the body, they say, that it departs into heaven or hell according to its earthly qualities, after it has enjoyed an amount of happiness equivalent to its merit, or suffered the just punishment of its guilt, it will return to inhabit a new body on the earth. This body will depend upon the state of the soul in its previous earthly condition, so that innumerable ages of happiness or misery may intervene between one transmigration and another.

' formed give the quality of the fruit, so that the existence springing from these actions will be happy or miserable, as the quality of the fruit affects the tree produced from it. According to this doctrine, the present body and soul of man never had a previous existence, but a previously existent being, under the influence of desire, performed virtuous or vicious actions, and in consequence of this, upon the death of that individual, a new body and soul is produced. The metaphor of the lamp is similar. One lamp is lighted from another, the two lamps are distinct, but the one could not have been lighted had not the other existed.* It is unnecessary to point out the injustice of this theory, or the irresponsible position in which it leaves every individual.

Vague and mysterious as Nirvana may be, the means by which it is attained are more definitely made known, nor are those means without such qualities as the mind complacently contemplates after the dreamy abstractions and useless speculations we have been considering. The heart, as well as the eye, is gratified with the verdant beauty of the oasis after weary travel over the barren dreary desert. Voluntary poverty, chastity, knowledge, energy, patience, humility, and self-sacrifice for the good of others, were characteristics of primitive Buddhism. These characteristics still exist in the five commandments and ten sins of its moral code—From the meanest insect up to man, thou shalt kill no creature whatever. Thou shalt not steal. Thou shalt not commit either fornication or adultery. Thou shalt tell nothing false. Thou shalt drink neither wine nor anything that will intoxicate, nor eat opium, nor any inebriating drug. These are its positive prohibitions. Its ten sins are cognates of these—to kill animals, to steal, to commit adultery, to lie, to quarrel, to use harsh and indignant language, to indulge in idle talk, to covet the property of another, to envy the prosperity of others, to rejoice in their misfortunes, and to worship false gods. Besides these, various precepts are inculcated. Covetousness, scepticism, gambling, idleness, improper company, frequenting places of amusement, are forbidden, kindness on the part of parents, obedience on the part of children, are commanded, honour and deference must be paid by the pupil to the teacher, the husband must act so as to promote to the highest degree the happiness of his wife, † the master is to be kind and forbearing to the meanest of his servants, friendship must be characterised by

* *Lee's Translation of Ribeyro's Ceylon*, p. 246

† The following extract from a Singhalese work affords a pleasing view of the social tendencies of Buddhism, and contrasts favourably with the sentiments of Hindu and Moslem moralists on the same subject—"There are five ways in which the husband

the utmost generosity, candour and confidence. These precepts are enforced in every variety of manner—"As the jipānese is the chief among flowers, and as the rice called rat-hal is the chief among all descriptions of grain, so is he who is free from evil desire the chief among the wise" They who abstain from these sins, and practise these virtues, will increase in virtue, until at length purified, elevated, and enlightened, they are worthy of looking on the face of a Buddha, "of hearing his voice," and at length fitted for Nirvana, they shall never feel the miseries of life again, but young and immortal exist for ever in the untroubled calm of the highest heaven

The superiority of this morality to that of Mahomedanism and Hinduism, is very manifest. There is an elevation, completeness, and purity characterising it, which is no where surpassed in the east. Even if contrasted with the ethics of the Zendavesta, it will not suffer. None will deny that the Koran gives utterance to sentiments of great purity and righteousness, and that even Hinduism is not without its pure aphorisms, though they are few and feeble in their influence, as are the stars in a dark and stormy sky, nevertheless, the morality of the former—if, indeed, it should be honored by that name,—is cold, stern, and incomplete, whilst to speak at all of the morality of the latter seems to be but burlesque. But we can speak of the ethical *system* of Buddhism. Its uniform utterances on the subject are gentle, benevolent, and pure. But it is destitute of life and warmth. It is mild, cold, and fair like the moon. It lacks both spirit and power. Our observations in succeeding pages will shew, to a great extent, how its moral tendencies are neutralised, but it is proper here to remark, that man needs something besides correct moral precepts to check his passionate tendency to irreligion and to vice, nor does Buddhism supply the want. It is destitute of nearly all those qualities, which lead to obedience. It does not work powerfully either on the love, the fear, the hope, or the gratitude of the heart. "Its cold philosophy and thin abstractions," prevent the exercise of a strong and active faith. Neither the intellect nor the heart is at all likely to find in it anything

* ought to assist the wife.—1 He must speak to her pleasantly, and say to her, 'Mother, I will present you with garments, perfumes, and ornaments. 2 He must speak to her respectfully, not using low words, such as he would use to a servant or slave. 3 He must not leave the woman whom he possesses by giving to her clothes, ornament, &c., and go to the woman who is kept by another. 4 If she does not receive a proper allowance of food, she will become angry, therefore, she must be properly provided for that this may be prevented. 5 He must give her ornaments, and other similar articles according to his ability (Singalovada Sutra—Savime) (Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, p. 480)"

which can powerfully affect the sympathies of the one or the convictions of the other "In confiding all to the mere strength of the human intellect, and the enthusiastic self-reliance and determination of the human heart, it makes no provision for defence against those powerful temptations before which ordinary resolution must give way, and it affords no consoling support under those overwhelming afflictions by which the spirit is prostrated and subdued, when unaided by the influence of a purer faith, and unsustained by its confidence in a divine power From the contemplations of the Buddhist, all the awful and unending realities of a future life are withdrawn—his hopes and his fears are at once mean and circumscribed, the rewards held in prospect by his creed are insufficient to incite him to virtue, and its punishments too remote to deter him from vice Thus, insufficient for time, and rejecting eternity, the utmost triumph of his religion is to live without fear and to die without hope"*

The philosophy of Buddhism is to us, at present, forbidden ground To treat it as briefly as were consistent with literary justice, would occupy more pages than we have already done Our readers, therefore, we doubt not, will complacently acquiesce in our silence Suffice it then to say, that the grand and solemn mysteries, which have ever engaged the attention of the most thoughtful and devout intellects, seem to have pressed heavily on the mind of Guadama himself He attempted to spell out the meaning of the dark oracle, whose voice we all hear, but cannot understand His religion vainly essays to popularise many of these mysteries, and its genius is well fitted to stimulate speculators, like the fallen ones of Pandemonium—

————— to reason high
Of providence, fore-knowledge, will, and fate,
Fix'd fate, free-will, fore knowledge absolute,
And find no end in wandering mazes lost.
Of good and evil much they argued then,
Of happiness and final misery,
Passion, and apathy and glory and shame,
Vain wisdom all and false philosophy

It is indeed astonishing that so much should have been written on professedly philosophical questions, and written too with such acuteness and labour, yet be so worthless and perplexing The complaints of Remusat over the prolixity, obscurity and uselessness of Mongol Buddhist philosophy, may be taken up in relation to that of Nepal, Ceylon, Tibet and Burmah as well From causes which we cannot now stop to explain, it has

taken a thoroughly negative direction. Even the abstractions it professes to establish cannot lead to any positive or beneficial result. Its tendency to deal with questions of pure opinion where certainty cannot be attained, and if attained, would be worthless, induces a habit of scepticism and indifference which is fatal to all devoutness of heart and earnestness of purpose. Its necessary course is to nihilism in philosophy and disbelief in religion.

We now come to the TENDENCIES of this system. One of the most striking of these is its *exaltation of human nature*.

It recognizes no just and philosophical distinction between the human and divine. That which Hodgson distinguishes as one of the most diagnostic tenets of the Svabhavika school of philosophy, is rather one of the most singular characteristics of Buddhism generally—"man is capable of enlarging his faculties 'to infinity'." All souls, it is believed, both by those who hold the principles of materialism, and immaterialism, are portions of the divine essence, separated, it may be, for a season from their great source, but destined ultimately to be absorbed into it again, unless, like the mortal Buddhas, the divinity within assumes a more individual manifestation. Now this idea cannot but invest every man, in the view of the devout disciple of Guadama, with a peculiar form of sanctity and dignity. We are not now, be it remembered, giving our opinion of human nature, else we might put its claims to dignity on very different grounds from those we have mentioned, but as expounders of a faith far different from our own, we state, that he who believes that any man, however vile, may ultimately become absorbed into the essence of the Infinite One, nay, that he is a part of that Infinite One, and beyond this even, who believes that the spirit which will become the next or eighth Buddha, is now, it may be, inhabiting his own frame, cannot be indifferent to all the claims which humanity has on our reverence, hence the scrupulous regard inculcated by the system for every form of life and hence the following tendencies.

If between the divine and human nature there be but a difference of degree, then that nature, even under its lowest form, should be *revered*. Such a dogma, it is true, degrades our conceptions of God, just in the proportion that it invests man with a dignity which is not his own. But when did a people, without the light of revealed truth, manifest any jealousy lest the peculiar prerogatives of the Supreme One should be questioned or denied? To some minds, which admitted this postulate, Atheism would be inevitable, to others Pantheism, to others Lamaism, but in all cases, the essential distinction between

God and man would be lost, whilst the latter would receive a reverence which was as dangerous as it was false, for who can know, the speculatist might suggest, how far any mind may have advanced toward the divine nature! If Guadama, in passing through five hundred and fifty states of existence, was a dog at Benares, a cuckoo and a fish in Oude, and things yet viler still, who can tell the destiny of the spirit which now abides in some poor wretch who performs the meanest offices in our house? May not even the soul destined to become the eighth Buddha, now inhabit the frame which lies before us stricken with disease and sorrow!

If all souls are emanations from the soul of the universe, and equally capable of restoration to their great original, then Brahminical caste is both untrue and unjust

For, what is caste but the belief in an essential difference of nature between the Brahman and the Shudra? No conceivable changes can enable the latter to become the former. That which has proceeded from Bramha's foot can never be that which came from Bramha's mouth. The Shudra can never cease to be the servant of his proud and sacred master. This is not a humiliation to be eradicated by penance, by prayer or by pilgrimage. But if the soul, in its upward and onward progress, sees no impassable limit to its development,—if it is so akin to the supreme intelligence, that it may rise through all the intervening stages, until it enters Nirvana, then the only allowable distinction between man and man is that which arises from merit and demerit, from difference of position on the pathway which leads from alliance with the earthly to alliance with the divine, or rather, we might say, from the imperfect to the perfect development of our nature. The genius of Buddhism, therefore, has ever been antagonistic to caste.

Neither could the receivers of this first postulate of Buddhism acknowledge the claims of an *hereditary priesthood*.

For such claims must be founded on the assumption that the class thus honoured are the peculiar favourites of heaven, as with the Brahmins, or, that existing priests alone have the power of making others priests, as with the Romanists. A denial of caste, the assertion of the principle that all men are naturally equal, involved in it therefore a repudiation of Brahminical usurpation for, not to speak of the probability—a probability supported by facts—that popular reaction would now and then lead to resistance of Brahminical tyranny and exclusiveness, it was not possible to admit the first principles of Sakya, without denying the right and the necessity of priestly

interference For, was not every *true worshipper a priest*? He who himself anticipated becoming divine, surely needed not another to aid him in approaching that intelligence which, though infinite, was yet but the higher manifestation of himself! To such an one the services of the priest would be an obtrusion and an interruption The tenets of no religion, save Mahomedanism, offer so limited a field for sacerdotal influence It recognises no atonement in any form Since one of its principal features is intense self-righteousness, it necessarily scorns the interference of mediators, both divine and human, and for the same reason, since it dispenses with the doctrine of sacrifices, it also needs not the services of a priest to lay the victim on the altar, and to pronounce the acceptance of the offerer before God Its vaunted spirituality and intellectualism cannot but lead the worshipper to withdraw into himself, that within his own being he may find the means to break through the obstacles which separate him from God, nor could he wish for a third party to aid him in that which must be purely an effort of his own intellect and heart The sacrifice of the priest would give place to intense meditation on that which himself was to be In the monastery, the solemn silent forest, far away from the interruptions of human society, he could best be the priest of his own soul, and alone with the Great Being whom he worshipped, and in part resembled, attain to yet nearer oneness with Him Hence the monastic tendency of Buddhism *

Whilst acknowledging a *Supreme Intelligence*, it denies his interference with the *affairs of the universe*

It is like the Epicurean philosophy, in affecting to elevate the Deity far above the care of interfering in the affairs of the countless worlds which lie at the footstool of his throne, but that philosophy fixes the abode of its supreme intelligence in some bright and blessed region of the universe, where conscious pleasure, almost approaching to sensual delight, flows toward him from the various objects of beauty and of joy which are around him

— As thick as dew-drops,
On the fields of heaven,

and in this they are unlike Adı-Buddha is imagined by the

* Its ministers are "an order of devotees," rather than a "caste of priests." Since their ordination is neither hereditary nor perpetual, they have but few temptations from a *priesthood* to become a *priestcraft* The ministers of no religion have so little influence as they, and this arises not so much from anything in the hierarchical system as from the positive genius of the religion itself The priestly robe, therefore is assumed, not because it opens up the path to wealth and honour, but because it affords an opportunity to gratify a devout and religious tone of mind.

people, who call him god, yet never worship him, as dwelling mysteriously in boundless space and endless time, absorbed in a felicity so profound, spiritual, and impalpable, that it is altogether independent of volition, neither is the slumber of his profound repose ever broken even by a dream. Whence then came the universe? By what power were its palaces and empires built up? What influence is that we see at work wherever we may cast our eyes and direct our thoughts, marshalling the stars of heaven into such glittering forms of grandeur and of harmony, covering the earth with endless manifestations of life, and conducting all things, from the mighty worlds of the universe, to the spiritualized æther which dwells in flowers and lowly plants, through all the stupendous revolutions of renovation, sustentation, decay, and destruction, which stern destiny dooms them to undergo? By the power of *Adi-Buddha*, once exerted to set in motion the machinery of the universe, say some. By *Swabhavo*, says the *Swabhavika* school of philosophy in Nepal, a plastic power springing from god, yet acting without any co-operation of will or design on his part, by which the universe perpetually revolves between *Pravritti* and *Nirvritti*, or creation and annihilation. By *Kusalakusala*—merit, including its privative demerit—say others, which, as an effect existing before a cause, produced through a moral quality all the phenomena of the material universe*. By *Podma-Pani*, say others, who derived his existence from the *Dhyani-Buddhas*, who derived their being from *Adi-Buddha*, and who, after the creations of three *Buddhisatwas*, have been successively created and destroyed, called forth by means of *Dhyan*—divine efficacy—the existing system of creation, which, in its turn, will pass away and be replaced by the creation of *Visu-Pani*, the next of the *Buddhisatwas*.

It is obvious that the followers of a system, which admits of such conflicting opinions on the question of creation, must be wanting in reverence and attachment to the Creator, whatever name he may bear, indeed, it is clear, that the tendency of such diverse speculations must be toward practical Atheism. Mr

* This mode of reasoning, however opposed to the principles of western philosophy, is not confined to Buddhism. In the *Sankhya Kārika*, a Hindu work of some repute, it is written—"Effects subsist antecedently to the operation of causes, for 'what exists not, can by no operation of cause be brought into existence'." It is equally foreign to European reasoning to regard personal merit as a power sufficient to produce physical results. Hinduism, however, as well as Buddhism, presents endless illustrations of this idea. To the *Jogi*, and the *Muni* are attributed miraculous endowments and a power superior to the gods, won by the boundless efficacy of contemplation and maceration; nay, even spheres of existence, and abodes as glorious as those in *Boikanta*, have been created by the power of merit for its happy and favoured possessors.

Hodgson says, that "the epithet, Dhyani, as applied to a class of Buddhas, is obviously capable of an atheistic interpretation," and that this interpretation is attached to the idea of Dhyani-Buddhas and to Adi-Buddha as well, may be shown in various ways. Buddha is without qualities, since his proper and original state is one of quiescence. He is not to be conceived of as doing any thing. "Rest is not so much his attribute as his essence." Human language can only describe him by negative terms. Now if the Buddhist sage ask himself—"What is this I attempt to conceive of? It has no qualities and no positive attributes. It is a pure abstraction. It exists not save in a state of profound unconsciousness. It has not revealed itself to us by any works of grandeur or of goodness. It is known only by name and by the conception of the mind, and it is altogether incomprehensible. Can it then be any thing—his reasoning may suggest—any thing but the dreamy conception of the imagination? Is it a thing, or a being, or only an idea?" Here then is Scepticism, and with a system so wanting in the dogmatic and the proven, Scepticism will usually result in positive unbelief. To ordinary minds, the result is likely to be substantially the same. Even were there no difficulty in conceiving of an abstraction like Adi-Buddha, the ordinary tendency of our race to render homage to the *presens divus* would lead the multitude to forsake the shrine of the Supreme, that they might render homage to the Buddhas, whom they believe to be the more immediate rulers of the earth's destiny, and especially to Guadama Buddha, who is now lord of the ascendant. For if creation—the government of the world—the emanation of law—the execution of judicial sentence on mankind, be attributed to others, and not to the Great God, then must these others come to be regarded as the proper objects of worship, or agitated by conflicting claims, the mind will sink into a state of indifference with regard to the attributes and claims of any super-human power whatever. For what is Adi-Buddha to the poor Singhalese, pressed down by the weight of earthly want and sorrow? Adi-Buddha did not make him, he does not care for his distresses, and he is perhaps unconscious even of his existence. Adi-Buddha does not hear his prayer, nor regard his worship. Adi-Buddha has not given him a law by which he may guide his life and shape his destiny, nay, even if he should ever become a part of Adi-Buddha, it will be purely an accomplishment of his own. Adi-Buddha can be to him but little more than a name. In fact all beings above Guadama,—Buddhisatwas, Dhyani-Buddhas, even Adi-Buddha himself, though of importance in speculative Buddhism, are

practically excluded from any share in popular religious worship. The State of China illustrates our remarks. Dr Medhurst writes—"No first cause characterizes all the sects, and the supreme self-existent God is scarcely traceable through the entire range of their metaphysics, and yet the Chinese manage to combine the apparently irreconcilable principles of Atheism and Polytheism. Gods many and lords many are adopted by every sect, and it is more easy to find a god than a man in China. Though they account no divinity to be eternal, yet they discover a god in every thing. Their temples, houses, streets, roads, hills, rivers, carriages, and ships are full of idols. Every room, niche, corner, door, and window, is plastered with charms, amulets, and emblems of idolatry. So that while they acknowledge no god, they are over-run with gods, and find it their greatest burthen to support and worship their numerous pantheon."

Whilst teaching the doctrine of *fate* or *necessity*, it cherishes a feeling of *enthusiastic self-reliance* *

The difference between mental, moral, and material laws and operations is not recognized by Buddhism. It assumes that there is a principle at once mental, moral, and material, which equally operates in the production of the elements, the formation of worlds, and the development of organized life. Our world and all other spheres pass through the great Kalpas of duration, subject to a law of inevitable re-construction, progress, and decay. Nor is this law the result of the directing controul of the Supreme, but an indestructible, inherent property of matter. But the mind and the moral tendencies are equally subject to its controul, for there is a productive power in matter, which, when developed into being, constitutes the merit of that being, or in other words, that quality of matter which is called productive power, when viewed in relation to being, is called merit. This productive power or merit, from the time it is developed in conscious life, is ever undergoing a series of refining changes, whilst passing along its course of endless transmigrations, so that that which is *now*, is not absolutely that which *was*, but a refinement of it. The progress of being thus originated seems to be traced in the following manner by Guadama to its final destiny—"Absence of knowledge—The want of power to comprehend the sorrows of developed life, permits the free action of material power, which in realized existence we call merit or demerit; thus a consciousness is produced, *this necessitates a bodily frame, that develops organization, that neces-*

* *China, its State and Prospects*, by the Rev Dr Medhurst, p. 319,

' sitates again organic action and impulse, *these* sensibility of
' pain or pleasure, *that* desire of enjoyment; *that* attachment
' to beloved objects, and *this* leads to various states of existence."
All forms of animation therefore, are regarded by the philosophy
of Buddhism as the result of a common principle, and passing
onward through different stages to a common goal. The identity
of all life, therefore, whether of insect, man, or God, necessarily
follows from the doctrines of the system. The Buddhist ascetic,
therefore, who cherishes a tender love and reverence for all
living things, manifests but an appropriate consistency.

The great design of Sakya's system was not to teach
cosmogony, nor philosophy, but how to obtain final deliverance
from the sorrows and imperfections of our present state. In
developing the means by which this great end may be con-
summated, it was necessary to refer to various other mat-
ters, but they are all the accidents of a great idea—an all-
absorbing thought, just as Homer's description of the sword,
the shield, the casque, and the greaves of his warriors, though
no parts of their personal qualities, are yet given to enable
his readers to form an adequate conception of them. Wis-
dom and virtue constitute *kusalakusala*—merit,—and by its
possession alone can the vicissitudes of being come to an end,
and the peace and perfection of Nirvana be secured. Nor does
personal merit tend merely toward a state of mental and moral
exaltation and power—it is equally efficacious in conferring
supremacy over material agencies. A highly advanced class of
persons, therefore, are said to be endowed with a miraculous
energy, which can overcome multitudes of physical obstacles,
even invest its possessors with vast physical strength, and en-
able them to accomplish deeds far beyond the ordinary powers
of our nature. It is thus that the passivity of Buddhism is
neutralised, and its leading principle established, that "the last
' refuge of mankind is man." He must tread alone and unaided
the interminable pathway of being, and though destiny forces
him on his course, it is himself only who can make that path-
way to lead directly to untroubled rest, or tortuous as the laby-
rinth in which Theseus wandered dangerously. He is the
framer of his own destiny. The god whom he acknowledges
cherishes no loving interest in his well being, nor will come
forth at the voice of his piteous cry to succour and to save.
His creed recognizes neither forgiveness nor atonement. "An
' eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," will be exacted with
relentless severity. If he offends, there is no escape from
the inevitable penalty of transgression, and in vain will he
cast his eyes around, searching for one to bear his heavy

load of guilt, the prison-house he must enter, and there is no escape "till he has paid the very last mite." No kindly influences from superior beings will visit him in the hour of weakness and of darkness, like the pleasant dews which the heavens drop on the earth, for, from the fountain of his own being, not from that of another, must he draw the water which will renew and invigorate his powers, or the poison which maddens him to despair. Even Guadama Buddha is to him only an example of what human nature is capable of achieving. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Buddhist mind falls back upon itself, and seeks in its own native powers, the strength and the wisdom which are to fit it for its solitary walk through the mysterious pathways of transmigration—pathways dark, dismal, and dangerous as the valley of the shadow of death, through which poor Christian tremblingly went—or he sinks into a state of hapless apathy and fatalism.

The *popular and latitudinarian* characteristics of this system cannot fail to strike the careful observer.

It was originally the revolt of the intellect against the lofty intolerant assumptions of a priesthood, which sought to perpetuate and strengthen its power by the most impious and singular of claims, and so strong has proved the law of antagonism, that the lapse of twenty-three centuries has witnessed no approach in this respect of the two systems, one to the other. The reason for this immutability on the part of Buddhism is easily explained. It denies that men are naturally unequal, and consequently it repudiates the exclusiveness of a class. If Nirvana be attainable by any one, then surely any one may become a priest, neither can we expect that the priestly office under such restrictions will be invested with circumstances either of splendour or power. Any one free from bodily infirmity and disease, who has arrived at twenty years of age, and who is willing to submit to the rules of the priesthood, may become a member of the order. But he can relinquish the clerical character at pleasure, and even whilst he retains it, his office much more resembles that of the regular than of the secular priests in a Roman Catholic country, and let him choose to renounce his vow of celibacy, or take the life of any animal,* or even "extol himself as a saint, or a person endowed with any preternatural gifts," and his priestly character is forfeited. "The priest who, prompted by ambition, falsely and impudently pretends to have

* The prohibition to take away life is binding only on the priests, though they are at liberty to eat whatever is offered to them. The laity may use animal food, but it is thought meritorious to waive the permission. In this as in other respects the rigidity of the ancient faith has been relaxed.

' obtained the extraordinary gifts of *Zan and Mape*, or to have arrived at *Nirvana*, is no longer a priest of the divine order To what can he be compared? In the same manner as a palm-tree, cut through the middle, can never be rejoined, so as to live, in such manner shall this ambitious priest be unworthy of being esteemed as belonging to the sacred order."* As a class they are influenced by none of those selfish motives which influence the Brahman in relation to the Sudra, and the priests of a purely catholic country in relation to the laity The priest is from the people and of the people No broad line of separation is drawn between the two, he has no strong motive to stand by his order, because his order have little to stand by, and whenever interest or inclination prompts, he can, without dishonour and without sin, abandon the tonsure and resume his place in secular society Buddhist countries are at least free from one of the evils which more or less has troubled the peace of most civilized and semi-barbarous nations—the unreasonable and ambitious pretensions of the priesthood

Of all false creeds, this is the least jealous and bigoted. Never has a sacred order guarded its usurped powers as have Brahmans against Kshetryas, Vaisyas and Sudras, nor ever has its iron heel been withdrawn, although fierce and frequent have been the contests between the rival castes and rival creeds of Hindostan Mohammedanism, whenever it has come into contact with another faith, has given indications of a strongly defined intolerance, and that intolerance is seen in the hostility of Sunnite to Shute, as really as in the law which dooms to death the Persian or the Turk who dares to exchange the faith of the Crescent for that of the Cross And Romish intolerance has seldom foregone a favourable opportunity of pressing forward its proud claims, even to the extent of conquest, imprisonment, and death. But Buddhism is essentially tolerant and mild. Even in the days of its youthful vigour, when it could command the power of Hindu kings, its thirst for propagandism was displayed only through the medium of embassies and preaching, nor since then, in its diffusion amongst the numerous nations and tribes of South-eastern Asia, has it resorted to violence or shed blood Its internal variations give rise to none of that party spirit and virulence which too frequently disgrace the sectaries of other creeds, nor is it inclined to meet aggressors with the stern hostility of Moslemism, or the compact passivity of Hinduism It is true the Chinaman will reject Christianity, but his natural exclusiveness has much more to do with the act than either his strong love for his

* The *Kammua*, a Burmese book, relating to the ordination of priests

own system, or his abstract dislike of the religion of the foreigner. On this account, we feel convinced that, if political jealousy could be overcome, Buddhist countries would offer the most favourable spheres for the exertions of the Christian Missionary, and we should see the lofty principles of our holy faith received with a facility, compared with which all modern success would seem to be insignificant.

This latitudinarianism, we must remark, is far removed from high-principled liberality of sentiment. The Buddhist is so tolerant, because he is so indifferent. He cares little about opposing other religions, or the sectaries of his own, because he is destitute of all strong convictions and sympathies for the faith of Guadama. It does not come to him as a revelation of unspeakable love and mercy, as a much needed message of peace from the Sovereign of all worlds, it is rather the belief of certain facts in relation to invisible beings and the theory of the universe, with which he has little or no concern, it excites his dread, but it cannot call forth his love. Vague, dreamy, ungenial, and dreaded, it is like poor Genevra —

Wild, pale, and wonder stricken, even as one
Who staggers forth into the air and sun,
From the dark chamber of a mortal fever,
Bewildered, and incapable, and ever
Fancying strange comments in her dizzy brain
Of usual shapes, till the familiar train
Of objects and of persons passed like things
Strange as a dreamer's mad imaginings

The *intense individuality* induced by this faith necessarily leads to *selfishness*

The Buddhist has no strong inducements to love any beings in the universe, or to sympathise with them. There is no connecting link, either of love, gratitude, or duty, between him and superior intelligences, whilst not one element of his creed tends to identify him with his fellow-men. It reveals no grand and comprehensive truths to awaken the hopes or the fears of the world. It is a thing not for humanity, but for man. It ignores society, much in the same way as though we were to think of the world, not as a wonderfully beautiful combination of parts forming a perfect whole, but as a mass of distinct atoms, and just as such a view would indicate the want of all appreciation of what is philosophical, beautiful, and comprehensive, does Buddhism display its inability to understand humanity, either in relation to its wants or its aspirations. Its only attempts at generalization are when constructing theories of the physical universe, and here it is as absurd and false as Hinduism. But it deals not with any broad views of truth, and the application of truth to the existing conditions of mankind. We might, indeed, almost say that it makes no pretension

to be an authoritative revelation from God to man, and that its only claim to be called a religion springs out of the fact that each individual man feels it absolutely incumbent on him to do something, not because it is morally right, but necessary to secure his own happiness. It teaches nothing of the relations subsisting between God and man,—the designs of creation—the principles of the divine Government—the manner in which all events must ultimately work out the highest glory of the infinite God, and the largest amount of good to His creatures,—and thus it necessarily follows that some of the truths most calculated to elevate the mind; to enlarge its conceptions, to teach it to think worthily and lovingly of God, to draw out its sympathies toward whatever is holy, divine, and true, are altogether ignored by this cold and selfish system. It follows of course that the Buddhist is as destitute of benevolence toward man as he is of love toward God. There is nothing in his creed to call forth strong sympathy in their behalf. It forms in him the pernicious habit of viewing himself exclusively as an individual, and thus it induces a frigid calculating selfishness, most prejudicial to all that is kindly, generous, and expansive in our nature.

We know nothing so admirable as the manner in which a gracious Providence prevents man reaping to the full the effects of wicked and false principles. Whilst such principles most certainly indicate by their consequences, that they are under the ban of divine justice, the way in which the Moral Governor counteracts their worst effects is no less indicative of his pity and love. The ideal of Hindu society could not be realized. The communistic arch formed on such a model would fall to pieces ere it were finished. The necessary conditions of human society are incompatible with entire and universal wickedness. A large amount of the good man does to his fellow-man, springs out of motives in no respect characterized by benevolence. The Buddhist abstains from evil, not because it is evil, but lest his entrance on Nirvana should be retarded. His faith is ever appealing to his self-interest, and therefore we find that it is negative rather than positive, it tells him much less of what he should do than of what he should not. And thus it happens that Buddhist society is characterized neither by great virtues nor great vices. It is a stranger to that benevolence which produces the former, whilst its self-interest leads to the latter. It is moderately bad, because it cannot be magnanimously good, and dares not be recklessly wicked.

The *peaceful tendencies* of this system are among its most striking characteristics.

For centuries there has been less war in South-eastern Asia than in any other part of the world. The terrible struggles which have disgraced and devastated, not only Africa, America, and Western Asia, but even civilized and professedly Christian Europe, have no parallel in the farthest East. Among such a variety of nations, continual peace of course is not to be expected. We, in India, who live under a Government which is almost always at war, and yet always wishing for peace, may well understand how various events may precipitate hostilities among nations who delight not in them. What is to be expected then among such nations is, that wars will be infrequent and speedily brought to a close, and thus we find to be the case. The weakness of a reigning dynasty, the oppressions of a cruel tyrant, the smiling verdure of a well-cultivated province, wrong unrepented of, and insult followed by haughtiness, will of course tempt the powerful, the ambitious, the needy, and the down-trodden, to take up the sword and the spear, and yet the comparative infrequency of war can only be accounted for by admitting that there is some strongly counteracting cause — A creed which, more than any other, holds all life to be sacred, cannot but discourage the shedding of human blood.

The mildness induced by Buddhism leads to this peacefulness, and the "love of order" peculiar to it, tends in the same direction. It is essentially conservative, and therefore inclined to mould society into such a form, as that it shall exist free from violent shock and change. China affords the best illustration of this. Its philosophers assert, that a principle of "order" is every where discoverable in the arrangements of the world, and that this principle should be the object both of our reverence and of our imitation. And the operation of this idea is seen everywhere. Even the conception of Government and society is based on it, the emperor professedly sustains a closer relationship to his people than any other Asiatic prince. He is the head of the state, for its sake, not for his own, and throughout all the departments of Government, and all the orders of society, it is manifest that a *principle*, rather than a *will*, presides.

The tendency of Buddhism to *deadens the intellect* demands a more extended notice than we can now give.

It represses the mind within a very limited range of ideas. It is favourable neither to strength nor energy of thought. Subtle speculation, the dreamy play of the fancy with metaphysical abstractions, contemplations which lead to no practical result, are what the Buddhist delights in. His faith acts upon him like a strong narcotic. The half-despairing, indolent,

sensuous language of Tennyson's "Lotos Eaters" is strikingly expressive of the Buddhist's aspirations :—

Let us alone Time driveth onward fast,
And in a little while our lips are dumb
Let us alone. What is it that will last ?
All things are taken from us, and become
Portions and parcels of the dreadful past
Let us alone What pleasure can we have
To war with evil? Is there any peace
In ever climbing up the climbing wave ?
All things have rest, and ripen towards the grave ;
In silence ripen, fall, and cease ,
Give us long rest, or death, dark death, or dreamful ease.

Under such influences, the intellect could not be expected to flourish. It has never been creative and suggestive. Genius has not been one of its attributes. This faith has produced fewer great minds than any other. Even Hinduism can boast of no mean array of poets and philosophers, whose names have lived long, and will survive through many a future age, but Buddhism has hardly a single name which suggests aught that is great and good. Perishable as the vegetation of an Indian jungle, its generations have successively sunk into oblivion, leaving no memorial behind them. They present to the sad gaze, nothing but a dead level of mediocrity. Since nearly all onward movements are led by superior minds, which alone seem to have the power of originating and directing them, we find that Buddhist nations, being destitute of such minds, have made no progress. Their civilization has been both peculiar and limited, nor will they ever be able to stand conspicuous among the great family of nations, until they discard the dreamy sceptical faith which has so long been their bane.

The facts we have just stated will be all the more striking, if we remember the manner in which this faith glorifies the intellect. "The one infallible diagnostic of Buddhism is 'a belief in the infinite capacity of the human intellect.' The very signification of the name it gives to deity is "Supreme Intelligence." And yet it has not caused the intellect to grow. Nowhere, perhaps, is there less intellectual life than where it is dominant, it is like the enchanted prince of the *Arabian Nights*, "a dead man among the living, and a living man among the dead." Whilst it is incompatible with a state of barbarism, it is clearly incapable of elevating mankind to a high state of civilization. The nations who honour Guadama, whose chief characteristic is intelligence, have for centuries made no progress. Perhaps one great reason why the King of Heaven has permitted this system to exist for so many ages, is to give a fresh illustration of the fact, that "the world by wisdom knows not God."

- ART III —1** *The Administration of Justice in Southern India.*
By John Bruce Norton, Esq., Barrister-at-Law Madras, 1853
- 2** *A Scheme for the Administration of the Government of India.*
By George Campbell.
- 3** *Selections from Public Correspondence, published by the Governments of Bengal and Agra by the Home Department of the Government of India, and by the Board at Lahore*

ENGLAND is a great country She is great not merely in what she has done, but even in what she has left undone, great in warlike traditions, historical associations, commercial enterprise, and peaceful triumphs She is great too even in her very faults, and in the vices which have inevitably been generated by a long course of progressive civilization Every genuine Englishman has settled down into a comfortable belief of this kind An axiom which has been repeatedly thundered forth on the hustings, within the walls of Parliament, and at convivial entertainments, which has been transmitted over the whole world by the press and retailed by the fireside, is not likely to be assailed, in its main points, by any one but a discontented or factious demagogue The true greatness of England, her unbounded wealth, her social system, her well-balanced constitution, the reverence of her citizens for law, order, and discipline, the liberty blent with obedience, and the equality which is not incompatible with privilege—all this, within the last five years, has repeatedly drawn forth the undisguised admiration of statesmen in and out of place, of chiefs out of war, and of stranded exiles. There can be no reasonable doubt in the minds of all educated Englishmen of a fact so gratifying to the national pride, as the moral and social greatness of England. Still, for a captious observer, who wished to prove all our grandeur a sham and a delusion, it would be no difficult task to make such a selection of national blots and fundamental errors, of gross vices in the very frame-work of the machine, of moral diseases tainting the very atmosphere and poisoning the life-blood, of crimes created by the legislation or by that law of society which is more powerful than any written code, as should fill the mind of every politician with apprehension, of every calm and observant Christian with awe A Ledru Rollin, a Louis Blanc, even a quiet and dispassionate writer, with property in the three per cents, in no anxiety for either his personal comforts or his daily meal, would have not far to cast a-gance, ere he would find ample materials for the composition

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

ART I—*A Manual of Buddhism, in its Modern Development*
Translated from Singhalese MSS By R Spence Hardy,
Author of Eastern Monachism, &c London Partridge and
Oakey 1853

IN our Twenty-second Number, we inserted an article on a work published by Mr Hardy, entitled *Eastern Monachism*, on which occasion we presented an analysis of each chapter. It is our intention to follow the same plan in the present instance, as by this method our readers will be furnished with a brief, but connected, epitome of the leading features of modern Buddhism. We may remark that the *Manual* is more exclusively Indian in its character, and that the digressions are omitted which made the *Monachism* less acceptable to those who wish to confine their attention to the system of Gotama *per se*.

I *The System of the Universe*—The first chapter treats of the cycles of chronology, the clusters of worlds that are called *sakwas*, and the periodical revolutions of the universe.

The normal number of the Buddhists is an *asankya*, which, according to Csoma Korosi, requires a unit with 140 cyphers to express it*. Were a solid rock, a cubic *yojana* in bulk, to be slightly touched, once in a hundred years, with a piece of cloth of the softest texture, the time would come, when, by this almost imperceptible mode of attrition, the rock would be worn down to the size of a small seed; but even this immense period would not be equal to an *asankya*. From the time that the age of man increases from ten years to an *asankya*, and decreases from an *asankya* to ten years, thus completing the entire series, from limited to vast, and from vast to limited, is an *anta-kalpa*. In each *anta-kalpa* there are eight *yugs*, similar to the *yugs* of the brahmans in character, but more extended in duration. The Supreme Budhas are never born in a *kali-yug*. Twenty *anta-kalpas* make an *asankya-kalpa*, and four *asankya-kalpas* a *maha-kalpa*.

* It may help such of our readers as have some knowledge of mathematical notation not indeed to form any apprehension of the magnitude of this number, but to remember it, if we remind them, that it is 'the number whose logarithm is 140 —F.D. C. R.

There are innumerable systems of worlds. The space to which the light of one sun extends is called a *sakwala*. The *sakwalas* are scattered throughout space, in sections of three, and between the three *sakwalas* is the *Lôhántarika* or hell. Each *sakwala* contains an earth, with four continents, a mountain in the centre called Maha Méru, six *déwa lókas*, and twenty *brahma-lókas*. Attached to each continent there are 2,000 islands. The *sakwala* is bounded by a wall of rock. At the base of each *sakwala* is a vacuum, called *Ajatákása*, above which is the *Wá-polowa*, or world of wind, above this, the *Jala-polowa*, or world of water, and above this, the Great Earth, 240,000 *yojanas* in depth. In the centre of the earth is Méru, 168,000 *yojanas* in height, its base resting upon a rock with three peaks, *Tríkúta Parwata*. Between this mountain, and the wall at the limit of the *sakwala*, there are seven concentric circles of rocks, each circle diminishing in elevation as it increases in circumference. Between the circles of rock there are seas, the waters of which are agitated by the continued uprising of the flames from the internal regions. The circumference of the entire *sakwala* is 3,610,350 *yojanas*.

The inhabitants of the earth have faces of the same shape as the continents in which they are born. *Uturukuru* is at the north of Méru, in shape like a square seat. Its inhabitants are a privileged race, free from anxiety and want. *Púr-wawidésa*, on the east, is in shape like a half-moon. *Aparagó-dána*, on the west, is like a round mirror. *Jambudwípa*, on the south, is angular, and is the continent in which the *Budhas* appear. At its northern part is the great forest of *Himála*, in which is the *Ano'atta Lake*, whence proceed four rivers, one of which is the *Ganges*. It contains a *jambu tree*, 100 *yojanas* high, from which it receives its name.

The sun, fifty *yojanas* in diameter, and the moon, forty *yojanas*, move through the heavens in three paths, and at regular intervals of time are seized by the *asurs*, *Ráhu* and *Kétu*. The declination of the sun is caused by its annual progress from Méru to the limit of the *sakwala*, and from the limit to Méru. The path of the moon is about a *yojana* lower than that of the sun. The sun moves, in one day, 2,700,000 *yojanas*, and the moon, 2,600,000 *yojanas*. On the day of the dark moon, the two luminaries are together, when the moon cannot be seen, as it is overpowered by the superior light of the sun, but on the second day, the sun has moved 100,000 *yojanas* further than the moon, which can then be partially seen like a narrow line. On the day of the full moon it is at the greatest distance from the sun, and the whole

of its disk can be seen. There are nine grahas, or planets, and the heavens are divided into twelve rásis, or signs, and twenty-seven nekatas, or lunar mansions.

The inhabitants of the six dewa-lókas are in the possession of sensuous enjoyments, and delight in crowns, gems, music, and beautiful companions. In the sixteen rúpa-brahma-lókas the enjoyments are entirely intellectual, there is bodily form, but no sensuous pleasure, and in one of them there is a state of unconscious existence. In the last of the arupa-brahma-lókas, the inhabitants are neither conscious nor unconscious. This is the nearest approach to nirwána, or the cessation of existence. There are eight principal narakas, or places of suffering, all situated in the interior of the earth.

The earth, as well as the various worlds connected with it, is subject alternately to destruction and renovation, in an endless series of revolutions. There are three modes of destruction—by fire, by water, and by wind. The first of the four asankya-kalpas is the period of destruction, the second, of nihility, the third, of formation, and the fourth, of continued existence. The four complete the maha-kalpa. Previous to the coming of the destruction, the calamity is announced to men by a déwa. When fire is the agent of destruction, seven suns successively appear, which burn up all that exists. This destruction is entire, so that the place where the world formerly stood becomes utterly void, like the inside of a drum. The beings that have no merit appear in the naraka of some other system, and those that possess merit are born in one of the superior worlds of the same system, some of the superior worlds not being affected by the agencies that destroy all the worlds beneath them.

II *The Various Orders of Sentient Existence* —“As all the systems of worlds,” we are told, “are homogeneous, so are the orders of being by whom they are inhabited, the various distinctions that are now presented being only of temporary duration. With the exception of those beings who have entered into one of the paths leading to nirwána, there may be an interchange of condition between the highest and the lowest. He who is now the most degraded of the demons, may one day rule the highest of the heavens, he who is at present seated upon the most honorable of the celestial thrones, may one day writhe amidst the agonies of a place of torment, and the worm that we crush under our feet may, in the course of ages, become a Supreme Budha. When any of the four paths are entered, there is the certainty that, in a definite period, more or less remote, nirwána will be obtained, and they who have

' entered into the paths are regarded as the noblest of all the
' intelligences in the universe Hence our earth, in the time of
' a Supreme Budha, or when the sacred dharma is rightly
' understood and faithfully observed, is the most favored of all
' worlds, the priests, or those who observe the precepts, assume
' a higher rank than any other order of being whatever, and
' there is an immeasurable distance between even the most
' exalted of the Déwas or Brahmas, and the teacher of the three
' worlds, who is supreme "

The various orders of intelligence described in this chapter include—

1 Pasé-Budhas 2 Rahats, 3 Déwas. 4 Brahmas
5 Gandhárwas 6 Garundas 7 Nágas 8 Yakás 9 Khumbandas
10 Asúrs 11 Rákshas 12 Prétas, and other monsters 13 The inhabitants of the narakas In addition to these intelligences, we have the beast of the fields, the fowls of the air, the fish of the waters, and beings engendered from filth and excrement All orders of being are included in one or other of the five zati, or conditions —

1 Déwa, divine 2 Manusya, human 3 Préta, monstrous 4 Tirisan, brute 5 Nirya, infernal

There are two orders that are more essentially buddhistical than the others, the Pasé-Budhas and the Rahats The Pasé-Budhas are inferior to the Supreme Budhas, and never appear in the same kalpa They learn the way in which nirwána is to be obtained by their own unaided power, but they cannot teach it to others, even as a dumb man, though he may have seen a remarkable dream, cannot explain it In previous births, they must have practised certain prescribed virtues

The being who has entered the last of the four paths leading to nirwána is called a Rahat He is free from that which is regarded by the Buddhists as the root of all evil, the cleaving to sensuous objects He possesses powers of the most stupendous description, and his knowledge upon religious subjects is free from the least admixture of error In some cases, the Rahatship was received in an instant, but in every case there had been the exercise of the prescribed course of discipline, in previous states of existence. The cleaving to sensuous objects being the cause, physical as well as moral, of re-production, when this principle becomes extinct, the results it previously produced are no longer presented. Therefore, at the death of the Rahat, existence ceases for ever.

III *The Primitive Inhabitants of the Earth* —After the last destruction of the Great Earth, another earth was produced, by the united merit of the sentient beings that existed in the

superior worlds. In process of time, some of the Brahmas came from these worlds to inhabit the earth. They were, at first, of most splendid appearance, enlightening the earth by their own brightness, so that there was no need of any heavenly luminary, and they lived together in purity and peace. But one of the Brahmas having tasted of a substance that began to form on the surface of the earth, found it to be so delightful to the palate, that he was tempted to taste again, and as others imitated his example, the glory proceeding from their persons was gradually lost*. By the power of their merit, they now created the sun, moon, and planets. From continuing to eat of the terrene production, their bodies became gross, and a difference began to appear in the colour of their skin, some being dark and others fair. Other edible substances appeared in succession, each more gross than the preceding, and from subsisting upon them, the apertures of the body were produced, the generative organs were developed, and then followed passion and sexual intercourse. By this time the substances had ceased to arise spontaneously, and that the means of substance might be procured, the cultivation of the ground was commenced, whence arose the idea of property, and the necessity of territorial division. This was followed by contentions relative to personal rights, and the commission of theft, and a general wish was expressed that some mode of government should be appointed, to restrain the evil-doers. Accordingly, the Brahmas assembled, and chose one of their number to be then king, from whom proceeded the race of the sun and the caste of kings. Some of the Brahmas, grieved by the wickedness of others, began to reprove them, on which account they were called *Brahmaná*, (Suppressors,) and from them arose the caste of brahmans. Others applied themselves to agriculture and commerce, and from them proceeded the caste of merchants. Others, again, began to hunt in the forest, whence they were called *ludda*, or *sudda*, and from them came the *Sudras*. The observances of the *sramana*, or asceticism, were indiscriminately practised by all the castes. Thus, all men were originally of one caste, and the difference that was afterwards presented arose from acts that were voluntarily exercised, so that caste is not, as with the brahmans, an essential and immutable ordinance, but the result of circumstances.

IV *The Budhas who preceded Gótama* —The succession of the Budhas is infinite in its duration. There ever have been Budhas, and there ever will be, after certain intervals. The

* This seems clearly to be a mythical legend derived from the history of Adam and Eve.—Ed. C. R.

Singhalese suppose, that all traces of the Budhas, who preceded Gótama, are lost, with the exception of such particulars as were revealed respecting them by the great sage and his Rahat, who spoke from intuition. But it is thought by many orientalists, that Gótama was only the reviver of a system that had previously existed. The Budhas differ in caste, size, age, and other personal attributes, but as they are all equally limitless in power and in knowledge, their doctrines are necessarily the same. In the present kalpa, there have been four Budhas, viz Kakusanda, Kónágamana, Kásyapa, and Gotama, and another Budha is yet to appear, who will be called Maitrí. We have little information relative to the innumerable Budhas who have appeared, until we come to the twenty-four who have immediately preceded Gótama, of each of whom we have a few particulars, and a detail of names and offices connected with their mission.

V *Gótama Bodhisat*—The beings who will afterwards become Budha are called, in their incipient state, or during their preparatory births, Bódhisat. We have the history of Gótama Bódhisat in various states of existence, which are divided into three eras—of resolution, of declaration, and of nomination. The narrative of these by-gone births is contained in a popular work, called *The Book of the Five Hundred and Fifty Births*. In each Játaka, there is a legend of Gótama, of more or less extent, setting forth some act that he did, or some virtue in which he excelled. A great part of the reverence with which Gótama is regarded, arises from the supposition, that in numberless births he voluntarily endured untold afflictions and trials, that he might thereby obtain the power to teach sentient beings the path to nirwána, and release them from the troubles of successive existence. Myriads of ages ago, he might have become a Rahat, and thereby ceased to exist, but he chose rather to continue in the stream of births, that he might become the light of the three worlds. The ten primary virtues of the Bódhisat are called Páramitás, and of these virtues, one is prominently presented in each birth. As an instance, we may record the example illustrating the virtue of determined resolution—"At a certain time, Gótama Bódhisat was born
 ' as a squirrel, on account of some demerit of a former age
 ' In the forest, he was attentive to his young ones, providing for
 ' them all that was necessary, but a fearful storm arose, and
 ' the rivers overflowed their banks, so that the tree in which he
 ' had built his nest was thrown down by the current, and the
 ' little ones were carried along with it far out to sea. But

‘ Bódhisat determined that he would release them, and for this purpose he dipped his tail in the waves, and sprinkling the water on the land, he thought in this manner to dry up the ocean. After he had persevered seven days, he was noticed by Sekra, who came to him and asked what he was doing. On being told, the déwa said, ‘ Good squirrel, you are only an ignorant animal, and therefore you have commenced this undertaking, the sea is 84,000 yojanas in depth, how then can you dry it up? Even a thousand, or a hundred thousand men, would be unable to accomplish it, unless they were Rishas.’ The squirrel replied, ‘ Most courageous of men, if the men were all like you, it would be just as you say, as you have let the extent of your courage be known by your declaration, but I have no time just now to spend with such imbeciles as you, so you may be gone as soon you please.’ Then Sekra caused the young squirrels to be brought to the land, as he was struck with the indomitable courage of the parent. Thus was fulfilled the wírya-páramitá.” In the various ages in which Gótama was a candidate for the Budhaship, he gave, in vicarious acts of charity, more blood, from his own person, than there is water in the great oceans, more flesh than the bulk of a thousand worlds, more eyes than there are stars in the heavens, and more heads than there are atoms in Méru.

It was not always in the world of men that Gótama was born, but he avoided the superior brahma-lókas, as the age to which their inhabitants live is so great, that it would have postponed to too distant a period the reception of the Budhaship, had he entered upon any of these states. When in the present world, he was not always born of the human species, but he was never any kind of vermin, and never smaller than a snipe. As the *Sujáta Játaka* is translated without abbreviation, and is of a convenient length for our pages, we select it for insertion, though not of equal interest with some of the other Játakas that appear in the *Manual* —

“ It came to pass, that whilst Gótama resided in the Wihára called Jetawana, near the city of Lewet, he related the following Játaka, on account of an ascetic who had lost his father. In what way? Budha having perceived that an ascetic, who had lost his father, endured great affliction in consequence, and knowing by what means he could point out the way of relief, took with him a large retinue of priests, and proceeded to the dwelling of the ascetic. Being honorably seated, he enquired, ‘ Why are you thus sorrowful, ascetic?’ to which the bereaved son replied, ‘ I am thus sorrowful on account of the death of my father.’ On hearing this, Budha said, “ It is to no pur-

‘ pose to weep for the dead , a word of advice is given to those
 ‘ who weep for the dead thing that is past and gone.’ In
 ‘ what manner? That which follows is the relation —

“ In a former age, when Brahmadata was king of Benares,
 ‘ Bódhisat was born of a wealthy family, and was called Sujáta
 ‘ The grandfather of Sujáta sickened and died, at which his
 ‘ father was exceedingly sorrowful , indeed, his sorrow was so
 ‘ great, that he removed the bones from their burial-place, and
 ‘ deposited them in a place covered with earth, near his own
 ‘ house, whither he went thrice a day to weep The sorrow
 ‘ almost overcame him, he ate not, neither did he drink. Bó-
 ‘ dhisat thought within himself, that it was proper to attempt
 ‘ the assuaging of his father’s grief, and, therefore, going to the
 ‘ spot where there was a dead buffalo, he put grass and water
 ‘ to its mouth, and cried out, ‘ Oh, buffalo, eat and drink!’
 ‘ The people concluded that he was out of his mind, and went
 ‘ to inform his father, who, forgetting his parent from his affec-
 ‘ tion for his son, went to the place where he was, and enquired
 ‘ the reason of his conduct Sujáta replied, “ There are the
 ‘ feet and the tail, and all the inferior parts of the buffalo
 ‘ entire , if it be foolish in me to give grass and water to a
 ‘ buffalo, dead, but not decayed, why do you, father, weep for
 ‘ my grandfather, when there is no part of him whatever to be
 ‘ seen?” The father then said, ‘ True, my son, what you have
 ‘ told me is like the throwing of a vessel of water upon fire, it
 ‘ has extinguished my sorrows,’ and thus saying, he returned
 ‘ many thanks to Sujáta

“ This Sujáta Játaka is finished I, Budha, am the person
 ‘ who was then born as the youth Sujata ”

VI *The Ancestors of Góhama Budha* —The ancestry of
 Sudhódana, the father of Gótama, is traced in this chapter
 from Maha Sammata, the first monarch chosen by the brah-
 mans This king, and twenty-seven of his lineal descendants,
 reigned each an Asankya, and retained, in a considerable de-
 gree, the original splendour of their race There then fol-
 lowed 84,000 kings of the Mahádéwa race, of inferior digni-
 ty, each of whom reigned 336,000 years. The Okkáka race
 succeeded, of which there were two dynasties, and in each
 100,000 kings During the existence of this race, the age
 of man gradually decreased, until it arrived at its present
 length The last of the kings of this race, who reigned at
 Benares, was called Amba, and his principal queen Hasta, by
 whom he had four sons and five daughters After the death of
 Hasta, Amba married a young maiden, by whom he had a son,
 Janta , and as this queen, by her wiles, prevailed on him

to grant the succession to her son, the other princes were sent from the city, accompanied by their sisters, to seek their fortune in some other part of the world. The banished princes were led to choose Kapilawastu, or Kimbulwat, not far from the borders of Nepaul, as their residence, they married their sisters, making the elder sister the queen-mother, and from these progenitors, and at this place, arose the race of Sakya. After 222,769 princes had reigned at Kapila, the kingdom was received in hereditary succession by Jayaséna, after whom came Singa-hanu, and then Sudhódana, the father of Gótama Budha. It is said, that from Maha Sammata to Sudhódana, in lineal succession, there were 706,787 princes, but how this result is worked out does not appear. There are various legends in the chapter, some of which have a striking parallel in the fabulous histories of ancient Europe.

VII *The Legendary Life of Gotama Budha*.—In our Number already referred to, (December, 1851,) we have noticed the principal circumstances in the earlier part of the life of Gótama, and shall, therefore, to avoid repetition, omit some details that it would otherwise have been necessary to transcribe.

The last state of existence, in which Gótama lived, previous to his birth, as the son of Sudhódana, was in one of the Déwalókas. His conception was attended by the occurrence of thirty-two great wonders, by which his expected appearance became known to 10,000 other sakwalas. His mother, on her way from Kapila to Kóli, the residence of her royal parents, turned aside to visit the garden of Lumbini. Admiring its beauties, she approached a sal tree, which bent its branches around her of its own accord, and whilst she was in this sylvan retreat, the birth of her wonderful child commenced. He was received by Maha Brahma in a golden net, who said to his mother, "Rejoice, for the son you have brought forth will 'be the support of the world'." The principal déwas and brahmas of 10,000 sakwalas immediately assembled, and presented to the future Budha an offering of flowers, exclaiming, "Thou art the greatest of beings, there is here no one like thee, no one greater than thee, thou art supreme." The destiny of the child was foretold by Káladéwala and other brahmanas. Every precaution was taken by his father to prevent his becoming a recluse, as he wished that he should forego the Budhaship, and enjoy the honours to which he was born as a prince. Five days after his birth, he was named Sidhártta, and in his sixteenth year he was married to the princess Yasódhara. On the day of the birth of his first-born, he sported in one of the

royal gardens, and was unusually cheerful and merry, but when the birth of his son was announced to him, he resolved to put into practice the wish he had previously formed, to abandon the world and all its pleasures for ever. On returning to the palace, he had a parting glance at his wife and child, who were both asleep at the time, and then retired into the wilderness. He cut off his hair with his own hand, that he might assume the appearance of a mendicant, but the robe, and the other requisites for a course of asceticism, were brought to him by supernatural means. Seven days he remained without food, but afterwards went to the city of Rajagaha (Rajagriha), which he entered by the eastern gate, and went in regular order from house to house with the alms-bowl.

We insert the account of his visit to Rajagaha, at that time the capital of Magadha, that the manner of the legends that are connected with this part of Gôtama's history may be the better understood.

"At this season," we are told in the *Manual*, "there was celebrated in the city a nekata festival, caled *Æsala keli*, which commenced on the seventh day of the moon, and as all the citizens had left their usual employment to see the sports, not fewer than sixteen *kelas* of people gathered around him to gaze upon his beauty. Some said that the regent of the moon, through fear of the *asur Râhu*, had come down to the earth, others, that it could not be the regent of the moon, but that the *Déwa Ananga* had come to see their festival, but others said, that it could not be the *Ananga*, as his body was half-burnt by *Maha Jowara*, but upon this recluse they could see no fire. It was then argued, that he was *Sekra*, but others replied, 'How you talk? How can it be *Sekra*? Where are his thousand eyes? Where are his elephants, his discus, and his throne? It must certainly be *Maha Brahma*, who has come to see if the brahman ascetics are diligent in the study of the four *vedas*.' Others again maintained, that it was neither one nor other of these beings, but a holy personage who had appeared to bless the world. The citizens informed the king *Bimsara* (*Vimbāsara*), that a mysterious being was seen, but whether he were a *Yaká*, a *Déwa*, a *Brahma*, or *Vishnu*, they were unable to tell. The king went to look at him from one of the towers of the palace; but he said to his courtiers, 'I cannot decide whether it be a *déwa* or not, but let some one follow him when he leaves the city, and watch him; if he be a demon (one not a man), he will vanish, if he be a *déwa*, he will ascend to the sky, if a *nâga*, he will descend into the earth, if a *garunda*, he will fly away like a bird, but

‘ if a man, he will eat the food he has received, in some convenient place ’ When the prince had received as much food as was sufficient, he retired from the city of the rock Sándhawa, and under the shade of a tree began to eat the contents of his alms-bowl. Previous to this time, he had always been accustomed to the most delicate fare, but even the sight of what he had now to eat, was enough to turn his stomach, as he had never seen or touched such food before, but he reflected that it was necessary he should endure such hardships, if he wished to become Budha, and that he must conform in all things to the precepts. Thus he spake unto himself, ‘ Sidhártta, thy body is not of polished gold, it is composed of many elements and members, this food, entering into the house of my body, will be first received into the mortar of my mouth, when it will be pounded by the pestle of my teeth, sifted by the winnow of my tongue, and mixed with the liquid of my saliva, after which it will descend into the vessel of my abdomen, and pass into the oven of my stomach, there to be again mixed with the water of my gastric juice, and reduced by the fire of my digestive faculty, the fan of my wind will blow this fire, in sixty hours (a day) this food will turn to excrement, and be expelled. This food is, therefore, clean and pure in comparison with that into which it will be converted. Sidhártta! thy body is composed of the four elements, and this food is the same, therefore, let element be joined to element ’ By these meditations, he overcame his antipathy to the food and swallowed it.

“ The messengers informed the king, that the recluse had eaten the food, whereupon, Bimsara went to the rock, and enquired what was his name and family, when he discovered that in former years he had been his own friend. On learning the dignity of the prince's character, he expostulated with him, and said, ‘ What is this that you are doing? No prince of your exalted race was ever before a mendicant. There are connected with Bajagaha 80,000 inferior towns, and eighteen kelas of people, the countries of Anga and Magadha are 300 yojanas in extent, and bring me in a countless treasure. The city was once the residence of a Chakrawartti, and even now there are the five grades of nobles, therefore come, and divide the kingdom with me ’ But the prince replied, ‘ In seven days I shall reject the Chakrawarttiship, so that if I were to take the half of your kingdom, it would be like throwing away the magical jewel, chinta-mánikya, for a common pebble. I want not an earthly kingdom, I seek to become Budha.’ The king tried in many ways to overcome his objections, but as he could not prevail, he received from him

' a promise, that when he began to promulgate his doctrines, his first discourse should be delivered in Rajagaha. The king then returned to the city "

Soon afterwards, Gótama retired to the wilderness, where he remained six years, practising austerities, but the object of his ambition was not thereby gained. At the end of this period, he had a severe contest with Wasawartti Mári, said to be the ruler of one of the déwa-lókas, but evidently a personification of the power of evil.

The sun had not gone down, when the prince overcame Mára. At the tenth hour, he received the wisdom by which he knew the exact circumstances of all the beings who have ever existed in the endless and infinite worlds. At the twentieth hour he received the divine eyes by which he saw all worlds as clearly as if they were close at hand. At the tenth hour after midnight, he received the knowledge that unfolds the causes of the repetition of existence. At the dawn of the day, every remain of evil desire being destroyed, a Supreme Budha was revealed to the wondering world. The moment that the prince became Budha, like a vessel overflowing with honey, his mind overflowed with the ambrosia of the truth, and he uttered certain stanzas, thus translated by Mr Gogerly —

" Through various transmigrations
I must travel, if I do not discover
The builder whom I seek ,
Painful are repeated transmigrations !
I have seen the architect (and said)
Thou shalt not build me another house ,
Thy rafters are broken,
Thy roof timbers scattered ,
My mind is detached (from all existing objects)
I have attained to the extinction of desire

By the builder, as we shall afterwards more clearly see, we are to understand *upadána*, the cleaving to sensuous objects, and *karma*, moral action.

The first offering that he received after he became a Supreme Budha, was from two merchants, from whom he received some delicious honey. Previous to this, he had not taken any food whatever for the space of forty-nine days. Among his earliest converts were fifty-four princes of Kósala, and a thousand fire-worshippers. Serizut and Mugalan, who afterwards became his two principal disciples, were led to embrace his faith, by hearing one of his priests repeat the well-known stanza —

" All things proceed from some cause ,
This cause has been declared by the Tathá Gata ,
All kings will cease to exist
This is that which is declared by the Maha Sramaññi "

Not long afterwards, Gótama held a convocation, at which 1,200 Rahats were present, when he repeated the stanza which is frequently seen in connexion with the above *confessio fidei*.

" This is the advice of the Budhas,
Avoid all demerit,
Obtain all merit
Cleanse the mind from all evil desire. "

On a visit that Gótama paid to his native city, his father confessed his faith in the doctrines of his gifted son, and Ráhula, his own son, and Nanda, his half-brother, embraced the priesthood. In the ninth month after he received the Budhaship, he visited Ceylon, and on two subsequent occasions, he did the island a similar honour, the accounts of which are not confined to the Singhalese, but are known also to the people of Tibet.

One of the most extended of the legends refers to Jiwaka, who gave medicine to Gótama, and it is of some interest, as illustrating the nature of some of the surgical operations that must have been practised at the time it was written. The great sage was not put to much inconvenience by his physician. In this way was the medicine given. Jíwaka, after making the necessary enquiries, discovered that there were three causes of the disease, and in order to remove them, he prepared three lotus flowers, into each of which he put some drug that he had prepared. The flowers were then given to Budha at three separate times, and by smelling at them the desired effect was produced.

An attempt was made to injure the character of Gótama, by a female unbeliever, Chinchí, who, at the instigation of the Tirttaka heretics, accused him of incontinence, but his innocence was fully proved, by the interposition of Sekra.

The visit paid by Gótama, in the course of his ministry, to the celestial worlds, is a favourite subject of illustration among Buddhist authors. " At three steps," the legend informs us, " Budha went to the lóka of Sekra, that he might preach to the déwas and brahmas. The déwa thought within himself, ' when he knew of his approach, ' My throne is sixty yojanas long, fifty broad, and fifteen high, how, then, will Budha appear when seated on it, as he is only twelve cubits high? ' But as this was the principal throne, and no other could be offered to Budha, he prepared it for his reception, and went with a great retinue to meet him. When Budha seated himself upon the throne, it became exactly the proper size, being no higher than his knee. As he knew the thoughts of Sekra, in order to show his great power, he caused his robe to extend

‘ itself on all sides, as the déwas were looking on, until it became
 ‘ more than a thousand miles long and eight hundred broad,
 ‘ and covered the throne, so that it appeared like a seat prepared
 ‘ expressly for the saying of *bana*. Then Budha appeared as
 ‘ if of proper size for the throne, the seat and its occupant
 ‘ were equal to each other. And when the déwas saw this display
 ‘ of his power, the whole assemblage offered him adoration.

“ As the people (in the world of men) did not see Budha,
 ‘ they began to be uneasy, and enquired of Mugalan whither
 ‘ he had gone, but he sent them to Amirudha, that that priest
 ‘ might have an opportunity of exhibiting his great knowledge.
 ‘ By the priest they were informed, that the sage had gone to
 ‘ Tawutisá, where he would keep the ordinance called *wass*,
 ‘ so that three months must elapse before he could return. On
 ‘ hearing this, the people expressed their willingness to remain
 ‘ during that period, and pitched their tents in the same spot.
 ‘ Then Anépidu, the upásika, proclaimed that he would supply
 ‘ the whole company with whatever they might require, whether
 ‘ garments, food, water, or fuel, until the arrival of Budha.
 ‘ During this period Mugalan said *bana*, and answered the
 ‘ questions that were proposed to him. All lived together in
 ‘ friendship and peace, the natural secretions were not formed,
 ‘ they were like the inhabitants of Uturukuru. The multitude
 ‘ extended to thirty-six yojanas. When Budha said *bana* in
 ‘ Tawutisá, they heard his voice, and knowing whence it proceeded,
 ‘ they clapped their hands. By this hearing of *bana*,
 ‘ many were enabled to enter the paths.

“ The déwas, with Mátru as their chief, requested Budha
 ‘ to open the door of Abhidhármma, which had been shut during
 ‘ a whole budhátara, and to agitate the sea of the Abhidhármma,
 ‘ as the fish-king Timingala agitates the ocean, as from
 ‘ the day he became Budha, like men athirst seeking for water,
 ‘ they were continually looking out for the period when the
 ‘ unfolding of the Abhidhármma should commence. Then Budha
 ‘ lifted up his voice, the sound filling the whole Sakwala as with
 ‘ a delightful perfume, and said, ‘ Kusala-dhármma, akusala dhármma,
 ‘ awyakha-dhármma,’ these being the first words of the Abhidhármma,
 ‘ which is divided into eight prakaranas. The full
 ‘ meaning of the Abhidhármma is known to the Budhas alone,
 ‘ even the déwas and brahmas cannot attain to it, when, therefore,
 ‘ it was declared by Gótama to the beings assembled in
 ‘ Tawutisá, it was in a simplified manner, as they were capable
 ‘ of understanding it. When he began, the various beings reflected
 ‘ thus, ‘ Is this the Abhidhármma? we had heard that it
 ‘ was so profound that no one could understand it.’

“ Budha saw their thoughts, and as he proceeded, the manner of his discourse made its meaning gradually deeper. Then the beings were able to understand some parts, and not others, it was like an image seen in the shadow. They said sadhu in approbation, the words still becoming more and more profound. The Abhidhārmama now became to them like a form seen in a dream, its meaning was hid from them, and was perceived by none but Gótama. Not understanding any part, they remained like imagery painted upon a wall, in utter silence. In a little time Budha again simplified his discourse, when they once more expressed their approbation, and began to think, ‘ The Abhidhārmma is not so difficult, it is easy to understand,’ which, when the preacher perceived, he gradually passed to a profounder style. Thus, during half a night, Budha rapidly declared the bana of the Abhidhārmma. In the time occupied by others to say one letter, Ananda says eight, in the time that Ananda says one, Seriyut says eight, in the time that Seriyut says one, Budha says eight, so that Budha can repeat 512 letters as rapidly as the priests can repeat one. When in Tawutisá, he repeated the bana thus quickly, because the apprehension of the déwas was of equal celerity.

“ In one hundred of our years the déwas eat but once, and had Budha taken his accustomed meals in their presence during the period he performed wass in Tawutisá, they would have thought that he was always eating. Therefore, at the usual hours of refection, he caused another Budha to appear and occupy his place, whilst he himself went to the Anotatta lake, and, as his alms-bowl here came to him in a miraculous manner, he took it to Uturukuru, where he received food. At this time Seriyut and 500 priests called Waggula were in Sakaspura, keeping wass. When Budha had eaten the food he received in Uturukuru, he went to the same city, and at the request of Seriyut repeated all that he and the representative of Budha had said to the déwas. It would have occupied too much time to repeat the whole, and it was therefore spoken in an abridged form, but such was the wisdom of Seriyut, that when Budha declared to him one thing, from that one he learnt a hundred. The things he thus learnt, he was commanded by Gótama to teach in full to the 500 Waggula priests, who would afterwards be able to teach others, and thus the words of the Abhidhārmma would be preserved to future ages for the benefit of the faithful. When the rehearsal was concluded, Budha returned to the déwa-lóká, and causing the other form to disappear, took its place. This occurred daily.

‘ commenced his descent, all the worlds from Awichū to Bhāwagra were illuminated by the same light. The characteristic marks upon his person appeared to the multitude assembled at Sakaspura, as plainly as the inscription upon a golden coin held in the hand, and as they looked at him, they said to each other, ‘ Now he is upon the golden step,’ or the silver, or some other. Sekra preceded him on the same ladder, blowing the conch, whilst on the other ladders were the déwas and brahmas. The people who saw him thus honoured, all formed within themselves the wish to become Budhas.

“ The first to pay his respects to Budha on arriving at Sakaspura was Seriyut, and after he had worshipped the déwa of déwas, he enquired if all who had formed the wish to become Budhas would have their wishes gratified. Budha replied, ‘ If they had not performed the páramitās in former births, how could they have exercised the wish? Those who have superior merit will become Supreme Budhas, the next in order will be Pasé-Budhas, and the others will be priests. Thus all will receive one or other of the three Bóddhi.’ After this declaration had been made, Budha resolved upon giving evidence before the people of the superior wisdom of Seriyut. In the first place he asked a question, that those who had not entered the paths could answer, then he asked another, but they were silent, and those who had entered the first path answered. Thus each class was successively silent, and the one above answered as he passed to those in the second path, and the third, and then proceeded to the inferior (kshina,) the middle (triwidyaprapta,) and the chief (shatabhigñy-áprapta) srawakas, then to Mugalan and Seriyut, and to Seriyut alone. Last of all he propounded a question that the Budhas alone could answer. After this exercise, Budha said to Seriyut the words bhuta-midang, which the priest explained in a kóti of ways, though none of the other srawakas, who were present, understood the meaning. As Seriyut proceeded, Gótama listened with the pleasure a father feels when witnessing the cleverness of his son, and then declared that in wisdom he was the chief of his disciples. All this honour was received by Seriyut, because in a former age he had given in alms a stylus and a blank book for the writing of the bana.”

More than one attempt was made to assassinate Gótama, which failed, necessarily, as it is not possible to take the life of a Supreme Budha. His brother-in-law, Déwadatta, envied him on account of the honours he received, and entered into an alliance with Ajásat, the wicked son of Bimsara, that by their

united power they might accomplish his destruction. They first employed a number of archers, but the intended assassins became priests, and their design was thereby frustrated. On another occasion, Déwadatta hurled an immense stone at Budha, by the help of a machine, but in its passage through the air it broke into two pieces, and a small portion, rolling towards the sage, struck his foot, without inflicting any further injury. An enraged elephant was afterwards let loose against him, as he was passing through the streets of the city with his alms-bowl, but the moment that it heard his voice, it was pacified, and going towards him in the gentlest manner did him reverence. The king Ajásat was afterwards converted to Buddhism, but Déwadatta remained a sceptic until near the time of his death, when he began to relent, but it was too late, and he miserably perished.

After the exercise of his high office for the period of forty-five years, Budha prepared to pass away from the vicissitudes of existence, and enter nirwán. The cause of his dissolution was from partaking of an offering of pork, presented to him by the smith Chundar, a citizen of Páwa. On his way from this place to Kusinára, in Assam, he was taken ill, but was able, with great difficulty, to reach a garden of sal trees, to which the princes of Malwa were accustomed to resort for recreation. On entering it, he said to his attendant, "Ananda, I am weary, I wish to lie down." The princes were sent for, and on their arrival, he gave them a suitable exhortation. To the assembled priests, he also gave a solemn charge, and after saying, "I depart to nirwána, I leave with you my ordinances, the elements of the omniscient will pass away, the three gems will pass away," he ceased to exist. The burning of his body was an imposing ceremony. His relics were carefully collected from the ashes, and distributed among certain princes and priests. These events are said, by the Singhalese authors, to have taken place in the year that, according to our mode of reckoning, would be B. C. 543, in the eightieth year of his age.

Mr Hardy enumerates fifty-six instances in which the name of the great sage has been differently spelt by European authors. He has chosen the form Budha as being the most simple, but tells us that "the form Buddha is etymologically the most correct." The etymology of the other names, or epithets, by which Budha is known, are also given.

The fifty-two sections of this chapter present a more extended account of the founder of the system of Buddhism than is to be met with in any other English author. Many of the legends are wild and extravagant, but there can be no doubt that Góta-

ma was a real personage of royal parentage, the great promoter, if not the originator, of a system that was monastic in its discipline and atheistic in its doctrine, and that has spread more extensively, as to numbers, than any other form of error that has yet appeared among men

VIII *The Dignity, Virtues, and Powers of Budha*—All the honours that the most fertile imagination can invent have been given to the Budhas. The eye cannot see anything, nor the ear hear anything, nor the mind think of anything, more excellent, or more worthy of regard. They are the joy of the whole world, the helpers of the helpless, having more merit than the most meritorious, the only deliverers. The lofty Maha Méru may be reflected in a mirror, the eye of a needle may be used as a comparison for the whole sky, even so may the words of a stanza be used to declare the excellence of the Budhas, but their power is utterly incompetent to accomplish the purpose aright. Were a rishu to create a thousand or a thousand thousand mouths, and with these to repeat the praises of the three gems (the Budhas, the Law, and the Priesthood) during the year of a maha-kalpa, even in this period the whole would not be declared.

The Budhas are men, born from the womb of a woman. Were they to appear as déwas or brahmas, their wisdom and power would be attributed to a wrong origin, and men would neither respect them aright nor put their trust in them.

Several attempts were made to measure the stature of Gó-tama, but they all failed, as he always appeared to exceed the scale of mensuration, and the power of the being who presumed to essay the trial, although on one occasion it was done by Ráhu, who is himself 4,800 yojanas high. He could walk in a space not larger than a mustard seed, and he could mount, at three steps, to the celestial regions. When he passed along the road, if there were any thorns, stones, roots, or other substances, that would have obstructed his progress, they removed from his path of their own accord, if there was mud, it became dry, if there were any elevations, they passed away, like butter that sees the fire, until the whole path was as level as the head of a drum, and the air around him appeared as if sweetened by perfumes.

The thirty hours of the night are divided into three watches. It was the custom of Gótami to sleep during one-third of the third watch, or three hours and one-third. In the first watch he said bana, in the second watch he answered questions put to him by the déwas, and in the first division of the third watch he slept, in the second exercised meditation, and in the

third looked abroad on the world, by his divine eyes, to see what being or beings should be caught in the net of truth during the day. His words were never intended to cause pain. A profusion of fine cotton, though in size like a rock, might fall upon any one without his being hurt, and thus lightly fell the words of Budha upon those whom he addressed.

There is no limit to the knowledge of the Budhas, and they are the only beings ever existent of whom this can be predicated. To the knowledge of all other beings, there is a limit. From the Budhas nothing can be hid, all times, as well as all places, are present to their mental vision, and they can see all things as distinctly as a man in a small apartment can see all things in it, at high noon, in clear weather. It is, however, rather the power to see all things than limitless vision, rather the power to know all things than actual omniscience. The king of Ságala, Milinda, asked the priest Nágaséna, "Does Budha know all things?" Nágaséna replied, "Yes, he knows all things, but the power that he possesses is not at all times exercised, this power is attached to thought, or there must be the exercise of thought to discover that which he wishes to know, what he wishes to know, he discovers in a moment, by the exercise of thought." Milinda "Then if Budha must seek before he can find, if that which he sees has to be discovered by searching, he is not all-wise." Nágaséna "The power of thought in Budha is exceedingly quick and subtle. I will explain to you how it is, but I can only do it in a very inadequate manner. Thus, in one gela, or load of rice, there are 63,660,000 grains, each of these grains can be separately considered by Budha in a moment of time. In that moment the seven-times gifted mind exercises this power."

IX *The Ontology of Buddhism*—This chapter will, by many readers, be regarded as the most interesting in the book. It presents a system that will be entirely new to the men of the west. It will be seen, that the tendency of the doctrines it exhibits is most withering, and we are led to enquire how it is, that so cold and cheerless a system should have gained so early, so extensive, and so permanent a hold upon the mind of Eastern Asia.

The essential properties of being are five in number, called the five khandas, viz, 1 Rupan, the organized body 2 Wédana, sensation 3 Sannyá, perception 4 Sankháro, discrimination 5 Winyána, consciousness. Of the Organized Body there are 28 constituents, of Sensation, 6, of Perception, 6,

of Discrimination, 55, of Consciousness, 89 As an example of the modes of explanation and illustration used by the Buddhists, we shall insert an extract from the 419th page, on the six faculties of Consciousness that are immediately connected with the senses —

1 Chaksu winyana eye consciousness in the eye about the size of a louse's head, is that which perceives or is conscious of the sensible object, whether it be blue golden or any other colour It receives its birth from the eye and the outward form It was possessed by Gótama before his birth whilst he was yet in his mother's womb, all other beings in the same situation possess only kayawinyána

The eye of the body is surmounted by the eye brow, and has within it a circle of a black colour and another that is white, thus it is beautified, as the water lily by its petals As a drop of oil poured upon the uppermost ball of cotton, when there are seven balls suspended from each other, or poured upon the outermost when there are seven balls one within the other, soon makes its way through the whole of the seven balls, so the light entering into the eye by one of its folds or concentric layers, passes from that fold to the next and so on in succession through the whole of the seven folds of the natural (as distinguished from the divine) eye The four elements enter into the composition of the eye, but the winyána is its principal faculty, as the prince is the chief of his followers or retainers

It is not the eye that sees the image because it has got no mind chitta If it were the eye that sees the image it would see also by the other winyánas Nor is it the mind that sees the image, because it has got no eye If it were the winyana that sees the image, it would see the image within the wall, it would penetrate into the inside of the solid opaque substance as there would be nothing to prevent it, but it does not thus happen When the eye and the image communicate with each other, or come into contact, then there is sight It is necessary that there be the coming of light from the object to the eye As the light does not come from within the wall that which is within the wall cannot be seen From within such substances as crystals and gems the light proceeds so that that which is within them can be seen When any object is seen, it is not seen by the eye alone nor by the winyana alone It is the chaksu winyána that sees it though we say in common language, that it is the eye When the winyána that is united to the eye communicates by the assistance of light with any object that is presented before it we say that the man who possesses that winyana, sees that object Thus we say that such an object is shot with the bow, but in reality it is not with the bow, but with the arrow that it is shot, in like manner it is not the eye that sees the image, but the winyana, or rather not the eye alone nor the winyána alone, but both united

2 Sísóta winyana ear consciousness in shape like a thin copper ring or like a lock of copper coloured curled hair, or a finger covered with rings, is that which perceives the various sounds

3 Ghíána winyána, nose consciousness in the nose, like the footstep of a goat in shape is that which perceives smell whether it be agreeable or disagreeable

4 Jiwáa winyana tongue consciousness in the tongue like the petal of a water lily in appearance is that which perceives the different flavours.

5 Kaya winyána body consciousness is the perceiving of touch by the body The exercise of this power is immediate, which none of the other winyanas are as they require some medium of communication with the object before any effect is produced

6 *Mano winyana* mind consciousness is the perceiving of the thoughts that are in the mind. *Manó* (in other places called *hita*, *sita*, and *chitta*) is the chief of the *winyanas*. It is like an overseer who continually urges on his labourers to work, like the first scholar in the school who repeats his lesson and is then followed by all the other scholars, or like the head workman, who sets all his men in motion when he himself begins to work.

As a large fish agitates the water in which it swims or sports, so the *hita* moves the *rupa*, or body. Its powers are brought into exercise rapidly, like the quick movements of a mother when she sees her child in danger of falling into a well.

The essential properties of existence are enumerated by *Budha*, in order to convince us that there is no self, or soul. We are to contemplate the unreality of our being, that we may learn to despise it, and try to secure its cessation. None of the *khandas* taken separately are the self, and taken conjointly they are not the self. There is no such thing as a soul, the home of a self apart from the five *khandas*. There can, therefore, be no such process as that which is generally understood by the term transmigration —

In the commencement of the conversations that were held between *Milinda* and *Nagasena* the king said 'How is your reverence known? What is your name?' *Nagasena* replied, 'I am called *Nagasena* by my parents, and by the priests and others, but *Nagasena* is not an existence, or being, *pudgala*. *Milinda* "Then to whom are the various offerings made (that are presented to you as priest?) Who receives these offerings? Who keeps the precepts? Who enters the paths? There is no merit or demerit neither the one nor the other can be acquired, there is no reward, no retribution. Were any one to kill *Nagasena* he would not be guilty of murder. You have not been instructed, nor have you been received into the priesthood. Who is *Nagasena*? What is he? Are the teeth *Nagasena*? Or is the skin, the flesh, the heart, or the blood *Nagasena*? Is the outward form *Nagasena*? Are any of the five *khandas* (mentioning each of them separately) *Nagasena*? Are all the five *khandas* (conjointly) *Nagasena*? Leaving out the five *khandas* is that which remains *Nagasena*?' All these questions were answered in the negative. *Milinda* "Then I do not see *Nagasena*. *Nagasena* is a mere sound, without any meaning. You have spoken an untruth. There is no *Nagasena*. *Nagasena* "Did your majesty come here on foot or in a chariot?' *Milinda* "In a chariot. *Nagasena* "What is a chariot? Is the ornamented cover the chariot? Are the wheels the spokes of the wheels or the reins the chariot? Is the seat the yoke, or the goad, the chariot? Are all these (conjointly) the chariot? Leaving out all these, is that which remains the chariot? All these questions were answered in the negative. *Nagasena* "Then I see no chariot, it is only a sound a name. In saying that you came in a chariot you have uttered an untruth. There is no chariot. I appeal to the nobles and ask them if it be proper that the great king of all *Jambudwipa* should utter an untruth." The five hundred nobles who had accompanied the king declared that his majesty had not previously met with any one whose arguments were so powerful, and asked him what reply he would give. *Milinda* "No untruth have I uttered, venerable priest. The ornamented cover, the wheels the seat and the other parts, all these things united or combined, form the chariot. They are the usual signs by which that which is called a chariot is known."

Nagasena "In like manner it is not the skin the hair, the heart, or the blood that is Nagasena. All these united or combined, form the acknowledged sign by which Nagasena is known, but the existent being, the man, is not hereby seen. The same things were declared by Budha to the priestess Wajira — As the various parts, the different adjuncts of a vehicle, form, when united that which is called a chariot, so when the five khandas are united in one aggregate, or body they constitute that which is called a being a living existence.

The origin of being cannot be understood, unless it be by some one who is possessed of supernatural powers. The cause of *continued* existence is declared in the formula called *patichasamuppāda*. On account of ignorance, merit and demerit (*kusāla* and *akusāla*) are produced, on account of merit and demerit, consciousness, on account of consciousness, body and mind (*rūpa* and *nāma*). *Rūpa* is said to signify, according to the definition of the Rev D J Gogerly, the material form, *nāma* signifies the whole of the mental powers, and by the two combined, we are to understand the complete being, body and mind. On account of body and mind, the six organs of sense are produced, on account of the six organs of sense, touch, or contact, on account of contact, desire, on account of desire, sensation, (of pleasure or pain), on account of sensation, cleaving, or clinging to existing objects, on account of clinging to existing objects, renewed existence, on account of renewed existence, birth, on account of birth, death, with its causes and consequences. When there is the cessation of ignorance, there is the cessation of all its educts. The whole body of sorrow evanishes, or passes away. Of the origin of ignorance we know nothing. No one but a Budha can tell how the chain of existence commenced.

The cause of reproduction after death is *upādāna*, which in the above formula is translated "the cleaving to existing objects." At death, the five khandas are dissolved. Their reciprocity of influence has ceased for ever. But the *upādāna* still exists, and on the breaking up of the khandas, it produces another being. It cannot but exert its power, another being must necessarily be produced. The manner of its operation is, however, controlled by *karma*, literally action, which is said to be "the aggregate result of all previous acts, in unbroken succession, from the commencement of existence, in the births innumerable that have been received in past ages." When the *karma* is good, the being produced is in a state of happiness or privilege, but if it be evil, the being is united to degradation and misery. Yet no sentient being can tell in what state the *karma* he possesses will appoint his next birth, however meritorious may be the acts of his present existence. In that

karma there may be some awful crime, committed myriads of ages ago, but not yet expiated, and like an hereditary disease, it may break out in uncontrollable violence in the next birth, whilst the result of present merit, though certain of ultimate accomplishment, may be postponed to an indefinite period. The most devoted Buddhist is thus deprived of all hope in death.

As it is the karma of the being, and not the being himself that receives a renewal of existence, it is evident that there is properly no moral responsibility. The karma is transferred to another being, of which it is in part the cause. The manner in which the Buddhists endeavour to avoid this conclusion, will be seen by the following extract from the *Milinda Prasna* —

The king of Sagal said to Nagasena "What is it that is conceived?" Nagasena replied "These two *nama* and *rupa*." Milinda "Are the same *nama* and *rupa* that are conceived here or in the present birth conceived elsewhere or in another birth?" Nagasena "No this *nama* and *rupa* (or mind and body) acquires karma, whether it be good or bad and by means of this karma another *nama* and *rupa* is produced." Milinda

Then if the same *nama* *rupa* is not again produced, or conceived, that being is delivered from the consequences of sinful action." Nagasena "How so?" If there be no future birth (that is if nirvana be attained), there is deliverance; but if there be a future birth, deliverance from the consequences of sinful action does not necessarily follow. Thus a man steals a number of mangos and takes them away but he is seized by the owner who brings him before the king and says "Sire this man has stolen my mangos." But the robber replies "I have not stolen his mangos; the mango he set in the ground was one, these mangos are other and different to that, I do not deserve to be punished." Now, your majesty, would this plea be valid, would no punishment be deserved?" Milinda "He would certainly deserve punishment." Nagasena "Why?" Milinda "Because, whatever he may say, the mangos he stole were the product of the mango originally set by the man from whom they were stolen, and therefore punishment ought to be inflicted." Nagasena "In like manner by means of the karma produced by this *nama* and *rupa* another *nama* and *rupa* is caused, there is therefore no deliverance (in this way) from the consequences of sinful action. (The same process is illustrated by the sowing of grain and the setting of the sugar cane). Again a man lights a fire in the dry season, and by his neglecting to extinguish it another fire is produced, which sets fire to his neighbour's rice field, or to his field of dry grain. The owner of the field seizes him, and bringing him before the king says "Sire, by this man my field has been burnt, but the man replies 'I did not burn his field' true, I neglected to put out a fire I had kindled, but the fire kindled by me was one, the fire that burnt his field was another would it be right that upon such a plea he should be released?" Milinda "No, because the fire that did the damage was produced by the fire that he kindled and neglected to put out." Nagasena "Again, a man takes a light, and ascending into an upper room, there eats his food, but whilst doing so, the flame of his lamp sets fire to the thatch of the roof by this means the house is burnt and not this house alone but the other houses of the village. Then the villagers seize him, and say, 'Man, why did you burn our village?' But he replies, 'Good people, I did not burn your

village I was eating my food by the light of a lamp, when the flame rose and set fire to the thatch of the roof, but the flame that I kindled was one, and the flame that burnt the house was another, and the flame that burnt the village was another. Now were he to persist in this plea when brought before the king the decision would still be given against him, for this reason because the flame that burnt the village was caused by the flame from the thatch, and this flame was caused by the flame from the lamp. Again, a man gives money to a girl for a maintenance, that afterwards he may marry her, the girl grows up, when another man gives her money and marries her. Hearing this, the first man demands the girl, as he has given her money, but the other man replies 'No, the girl to whom you gave the money was a child, but this is a grown up young woman, she cannot therefore belong to you. Now if such a plea as this were set up in the court, it would be given against the man who made it, for this reason, that the child had gradually grown into the woman. Again, a man purchases a vessel of milk from the cowherd and leaves it in his hand until the next day but when he comes at the appointed time to receive it, he finds that it has become curd, so he says to the cowherd, 'I did not purchase curd give me my vessel of milk. Now, if a case like this were brought before your majesty, how would you decide it?' Milinda "I should decide in favour of the cowherd, because it would be evident that the curd had been produced from the milk." Nagasena "In like manner, one mind and body dies, another mind and body is conceived, but as the second mind and body is produced by (the karma of) the first mind and body there is no deliverance (by this means) from the consequence of moral action.

These illustrations are not worthy of being called an argument, and it must be a singular phase of mind that can regard them as conclusive. The doctrine they would inculcate is too subtle to be comprehended by the general mind. Hence we see that among all Buddhists, with the exception of the learned few, the nexus between one state of existence and another is not the karma, the moral actions of the being, but the ever-living individuality.

X *The Ethics of Buddhism* — The superior prohibitions are divided into three sections. 1 Those that belong to the body, viz., the taking of life, the taking of that which is not given, and the holding of carnal intercourse with the female who belongs to another person. 2 Those of the speech, viz., lying, slander, abuse, and unprofitable conversation. 3 Those of the mind, viz., covetousness, malice, and scepticism. There are other evils that are to be avoided, such as the drinking of intoxicating liquors, gambling, idleness, improper associations, and the frequenting of places of amusement. These prohibitions refer to the householder only, and have no reference to the ten obligations that are binding upon the priest. The laws of the priesthood include the whole of the series here enumerated, with many others of much greater strictness.

The translations from the Singhalese authors that are given in the *Manual*, are so contrary to each other, that the sincere

Buddhist must often be in great perplexity how to act, whilst the insincere have so many exceptions and reservations, that the precept becomes almost a dead letter. The following are some of the explanations relative to the taking of life, *prāṇa-gāta*. "There are five things," we are told, in the *Sādharm-maratnakāra*, "necessary to constitute the crime of taking life" 1 There must be the knowledge that there is life 2 There must be the assurance that a living being is present. 3. There must be the intention of taking life 4 With this intention there must be something done, as the placing of a bow, or spear, or the setting of a snare, and there must be some movement towards it, as walking, running, or jumping 5 The life must be actually taken " "Under certain circumstances one's own life may be given up, but the life of another is never to be taken" "He who takes the life of a large animal, will have greater demerit than he who takes the life of a small one, because greater skill or artifice is required in taking the life of the former than of the latter. When the life of a man is taken, the demerit increases in proportion to the merit of the person slain, the two extremes being, the sceptic and the *rahāt*"

The obligation to observe the precepts is usually taken in the presence of a priest, and it would seem to be supposed, that it is only when thus voluntarily taken that the observance ensures merit. Any number of the obligations may be taken, and they may be taken for a limited period, or for as long as there is the power of observance, or until death. They may be taken either separately or together. When taken to be kept separately, though one should be broken, it does not impair the merit of the rest, but if they are taken to be kept collectively, if one be broken, the whole are impaired.

"The moral code," says Mr Hardy, at the conclusion of the chapter, "becomes powerless for good, as it is destitute of all real authority. Gôtama taught the propriety of certain observances, because all other Budhas had done the same, but something more is required before man can be restrained from vice, and preserved in the path of purity. There is properly no law. The Buddhist can take upon himself certain obligations, or resolve to keep certain precepts, as many or as few as he pleases, and for any length of time he pleases. It is his own act that makes them binding, and not any objective authority. Even when he takes the obligations, there is this convenient clause in the form that he repeats to the priest: 'I embrace the five precepts (or the eight, as the case may be) to obey them severally, as far as I am able, from this time forward.' From the absence of a superior motive to obedience,

THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

- ART I—1 *Statistics of Indigenous Education within the North West Provinces* By R Thornton, Secy to Government 1850
- 2 *Notes on Indian Education.* By H C Tucker 1839
- 3 *Report on Indigenous Education and Vernacular Schools in Agra, Mathara, &c, for 1850-51* By H S Reed, B C S
- 4 *Ditto*, 1851-52
- 5 *Hon. F J Shore's Notes on Indian Affairs*, 2 vols
- 6 *Public Education* By Sir J K Shuttleworth 1853
- 7 *Adams' Reports on Indigenous Education in Bengal and Behar* 1835, 1836, 1838

WE cannot better introduce the subject that is now to occupy our attention, than by quoting at length, the following

Minute by the Most Noble the Governor-General of India, dated the 25th October, 1853, concurred in by the Members of Council

1 FIVE years ago I had the honor of recommending to the Honorable Court of Directors a scheme prepared by the Lieutenant-Governor of the North Western Provinces, for the promotion of Vernacular Education, by the institution of schools in each tehsel on the part of the Government. The scheme, which was designed ultimately for the whole of the thirty-one districts within the jurisdiction of the Lieutenant-Governor, was limited by His Honor for the time to eight of these districts.

The Honorable Court was pleased to accede to the recommendation of the Government, in the despatch, No 14, 3rd October, 1849, and the scheme was thereafter carried into effect.

2 Three years have since elapsed, and I now submit to my Honorable Colleagues, with feelings of genuine satisfaction, a despatch, in which the late Lieutenant-Governor announced to the Supreme Government the eminent success of this experiment, and asked that the scheme of Vernacular Education should now be extended in its full integrity, to all the districts within the Jurisdiction of the Government of the North Western Provinces.

3 I forbear from repeating the statements recorded in this despatch, or reiterating the reasons which the Lieutenant-Governor has adduced in favor of the proposal which he has made.—These are so clearly stated and so forcibly urged, that I would avoid the risk of weakening their effect by repetition. The conclusion, however, of His Honor's representations, I desire to quote at large. Alluding to the districts in which the Government schools have not yet been established, Mr Thomason has said —

“In all these parts there is a population no less teeming, and a people

as capable of learning The same wants prevail, and the same moral obligation rests upon the Government, to exert itself for the purpose of dispelling the present ignorance—The means are shown by which a great effect can be produced, the cost at which they can be brought into operation is calculated, the agency is available It needs but the sanction of the highest authority to call into exercise, throughout the length and breadth of the land, the same spirit of enquiry, and the same mental activity, which is now beginning to characterize the inhabitants of the few districts in which a commencement has been made”

Para 12

4 The sanction which the Lieutenant-Governor, in these words, solicited for an increase of the means which experience has shewn to be capable of producing such rich and early fruit, I now most gladly and gratefully propose—And while I cannot refrain from recording anew in this place, my deep regret that the ear which would have heard this welcome sanction given, with so much joy, is now dull in death—I desire at the same time to add the expression of my feeling, that even though Mr Thomason had left no other memorial of his public life behind him, this system of general Vernacular education, which is all his own, would have sufficed to build up for him a noble and abiding monument of his earthly career

5 I beg leave to recommend, in the strongest terms, to the Honorable Court of Directors, that full sanction should be given to the extension of the scheme of Vernacular Education to all the districts within the jurisdiction of the North Western Provinces, with every adjunct which may be necessary for its complete efficiency

6 I feel that I should very imperfectly discharge the obligations that rest upon me as the head of the Government of India, if with such a record before me as that which has been this day submitted to the Council, I were to stop short at the recommendations already proposed

These will provide for the wants of the North Western Provinces, but other vast Governments remain, with “a people as capable of learning” as those in Hindoostan, and “a population” still more “teeming” There, too, the “same wants prevail, and the same moral obligation rests upon the Government, to exert itself for the purpose of dispelling the present ignorance”

Those wants ought to be provided for those obligations ought to be met

7 Allusion is made by the Secretary to the Council of Education, in his report on the Vernacular schools in the North Western Provinces, to “the utter failure of the scheme of Vernacular Education adopted in Bengal, among a more intelligent, docile and less prejudiced people than those of the North Western Provinces” But he adds the encouraging assurance, that he is “convinced that the scheme above referred to is not only the best adapted to leaven the ignorance of the agricultural population of the North Western Provinces, but is also the plan best suited for the mass of the people of Bengal and Behar”

Since this is so, I hold it the plain duty of the Government of India at once to place within the reach of the people of Bengal and Behar, those means of education which, notwithstanding our anxiety to do so, we have hitherto failed in presenting to them, in an acceptable form, but which, we are told upon the experienced authority of Dr Mouat, are to be found in the successful scheme of the Lieutenant-Governor before us

8 And not to Bengal and Behar only If it be good for these, it is good also for our new subjects beyond the Jumna. That it will be not only good for them, but most acceptable to them, no one can doubt, who has read

the reports by Mr Montgomery and other Commissioners upon indigenous education in the Punjaub, which shewed results that were little anticipated before they were discovered

9 If my Honorable Colleagues concur, as I feel very confident they will, in the views expressed in this minute, a copy of it, together with copies of the Lieutenant-Governor's and its enclosures, should be sent to the Government of Bengal and to the Chief Commissioner of the Punjaub, with a request that they would, at their earliest convenience, submit their views upon this vitally important subject, after such communication with others as they may think necessary

10 It only remains to advert to the question of expense The cost of the entire scheme for the Provinces under the authority of the Lieutenant-Governor, is something more than two lakhs of Rupees

It may safely be calculated that the Punjaub and Bengal together, will not cost more than double that sum

This expenditure has been more than provided for already by the recent death of Benaik Rao, whereby a clear addition of seven lakhs of Rupees has been given to the annual revenues of the Government of India

Were it otherwise, it would still be the undoubted duty of the Government to provide Until lately the financial condition of India, for many years past, has required that the Government should observe a prudent caution in every advance it made, even for the best of purposes, and upon the straightest road

Financial considerations no longer shackle the progress of the Government

Wherefore it is, more than ever before, its duty in every such case as this, to act vigorously, cordially, and promptly

25th October, 1853

(Signed) DALHOUSIE

This is a minute worthy of an enlightened statesman, and will, we have no doubt, give a powerful impetus to the cause of popular enlightenment. As Lord Wellesley's administration was distinguished by the cultivation of the Oriental languages, and Lord W Bentinck's by the study of English, so will, we believe, Lord Dalhousie and the Hon Mr Halliday's be by the improvement and extension of Vernacular education

So far from decrying English education, we should be heartily glad to see all those natives who have time and means, learn not only *English*, but also *German* and *French*, which are keys to much valuable information on Indian subjects—but we cannot forget, of the number who attend English schools, how many rest satisfied with merely the knowledge of English sufficient to qualify them as copyists or “quill drivers” in English offices,—how *very few* keep up the knowledge they have acquired at school, “clever boys, dull men,” they in a great number of cases sink into the mass, which is not purified by any sound vernacular element hence we have heard the complaint made that “native sub-assistant surgeons, who come out of the Medical College with great éclat and high acquirements, after they have been left for a time to their

' own resources in the country, fall off," the people they mixed with were unleavened by any salutary vernacular element, consequently the foundation was bad. How few are there among the zemindars who have received an English education, who devote themselves to improving their estates, by introducing new plants, animals or machinery, or by taking any interest in agricultural improvement. Are they not, like Irish landlords, almost invariably *absentees*, more inclined to dream, in some Calcutta residence, over Shakespeare and Bacon, than to take any practical measures to improve their tenantry? It has been well remarked, in an excellent little pamphlet by Mr Piddington, "On the Scientific Principles of Agriculture as a branch of Public Education"—"Does not our present system of education tend to give the native youth a taste for a *town*, rather than a *country* life? We want a body of educated landlords, and managers,—not landlords and managers with the knowledge of the essay-writer, the poet or the newspaper demagogue,—but landlords and managers, and ryots too, whose studies would have taught them alike to know and to feel the *dignity* of their pursuits, and the vast advantages which their rich country, with its teeming and docile population, holds out to the instructed, the humane and the persevering landlord." We would recommend the study of the following lines of Montgomery —

' Are they not men, though knowledge never shed
 " Her quickening beams on each neglected head ?
 " Are they not men, by sin and suffering tried ?
 " Are they not men for whom the Saviour died "

The gentlemen we are speaking of are fond of Shakespeare—let them remember these lines —

" And this our life, exempt from public haunt,
 " Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
 " Sermons in stones, and good in every thing "

We cordially allow that English is a key admitting to a vast variety of treasures—but how many admire the key and never open the door! We recommend the following sentiment of Mr A. St. John for consideration —

" Wherever the *people* are *ignorant*, the *nobles* are sure to be *vicious*, public opinion, virtue, religion begin with the crowd and work their way upward to them was the Gospel first preached, and by them was the saving yoke of Christianity rested on the neck of knowledge among them Christ here on earth walked habitually. He set the example of instructing the poor, and caring for man in the inverse ratio of the vain world's care, thus practically he wished to teach us that all are equal in the sight of God, from whom a tattered garment conceals not the beauty of the soul."

So far from thinking English and the Vernacular opposed, we regard them as closely connected "English for the select few, the Vernaculars for the masses," is our motto, as well as that of Dr Duff, Sir C Trevelyan and a host of others. English the apex, the Vernacular, the base of the triangle of knowledge. But Knowledge loves expansion, and ideas pent up in a foreign medium require a free ventilation through the Vernacular. The Honorable F J Halliday, in his evidence before the Commons' Committee (6th Report p 60) gives the true golden medium "I think English instruction and Vernacular instruction ought to go on they relate to *different classes* of the people, and ought to go on together, you ought to give a good Vernacular education to the *masses*, at the same time that you give opportunities to the classes who have *leisure* to do so, to acquire a knowledge of English literature and science,"—there is now an awful gulph between the lover of Shakespeare and the 37 millions in Bengal, whose geographical ideas are confined to seas of treacle and mountains of gold—we would bridge this gulph by giving to the masses European ideas through a Vernacular medium

Looking at our English schools for natives, we believe the study of Bengali to be of the greatest use even for a thorough knowledge of English. So far from regarding Vernacular and English Education as antagonistic, we view them as "mutual friends and allies"—a Bengali Education would prepare for an English—how many benefits that would otherwise result from an English Education are now lost by youths on leaving school—plunging again into the vortex of masses unenlightened by a single correct idea, and becoming enveloped by "public opinion" unreformed—the social influences are all against them. Suppose you wanted a good light in a room charged with carbonic acid gas, you would not content yourself with merely putting in the light, but you would endeavour to remove some of the gas in order that the light might flame better—English Education is the superstructure, but how can that be firm when there is no good foundation laid in the Vernacular? Boys are sent to English schools, but ignorant mothers give them from the earliest years a *home training*

The old Anglicists and Vernacularists agreed on the importance of communicating to natives European *ideas*. We contend that giving these through the mother tongue to the masses would, like leaven, leaven the whole lump—truth would then be wrought into the warp and woof of the popular mind. In our English schools for Natives we

believe the study of Bengali is of the greatest use towards acquiring a thorough knowledge of English, and that, like the study of Gaelic in the Highlands, the Vernacular leads to a higher cultivation of English. The experience of education in the United States, has brought out the fact of "the extraordinary and surprising influence which a high degree of popular culture exercises on the development of the higher branches of education." Were the faculties of the young unfolded in preparatory Vernacular schools, they would learn a *foreign* tongue *much* sooner, on the same principle as the man who receives a good, general education is better qualified for a profession—it has been found a mistake in England to begin too early with the study of Latin and Greek, and the English Vernacular is in consequence *now* cultivated at Eton, Westminster, &c, with assiduity. Were youths at the age of five or six to have their powers of observation called forth in a pleasing manner, by Lessons on Objects, Natural History, Mental Arithmetic, in their own *mother* tongue—they would, subsequently, outstrip those who began English at the same period. Is not the age of eight or nine quite early enough for a native to begin English—for after all, a *perfect* pronunciation of English should not be regarded as of such consequence—but even supposing he began at eight, three years' previous training in a good Vernacular school would enable him to receive a sound knowledge of the history and geography of Bengal, of General Geography, &c &c—We have seen in a Vernacular school in Nuddea, and also at Santipore, little boys, five years old, quite familiar with the map of the world, and able to draw the outline of a country from memory on the black board. We trust that ere long a training in a *pātshālā*, on an improved plan, will be considered a *sine qua non*, for all candidates for English schools. No after knowledge can be very complete or extensive, which is not built on a good elementary foundation—the remark of a Welshman has much force in it as applicable to this question, "learning our own language first is the most expeditious way to come at the knowledge of another, else why are not our youths in England, designed for scholars, set to Latin and Greek before they are taught English." This has been reversed in Bengal, and hence probably much of that cram and mere memory work the Hindus are so fond of. In 1824 the Government proposed "that the head master of the Hindu College should have a competent knowledge of the *country languages*, in order to make him intelligible as a classical teacher of the English." Were this

acted on, both with principals and head masters in English Schools for natives, we would have far less of the mere rote system

It has been said, do nothing to enlighten the masses, till you give a high education to a number, and these will educate the masses—we do not object to the former, but we would not postpone the latter to an indefinite period. To enlighten only the few is, to use a Hindu proverb, to sweeten the ocean by casting a few drops of milk on it. The rush for keraniships with their deadening effects, and the want of *practical* education among Hindus, show that Vernacular Education should have been combined with English. The Government began in 1835 with educating the few,—is not the time now arrived, in 1854, after a lapse of twenty years, for not ending there, but extending education to the *many*? To wait until our English students awake from the torpor of keraniship, until they renounce the selfishness of making a monopoly of knowledge, will, we fear, be like Horace's rustic—waiting to cross the river until it dries up. To carry out the principle of enlightening *only* the few at first, we ought to have colleges before schools, and even an university before a college. We see the case of France, where there was a *highly refined nobility*, that of the days of Louis le Grand, the *salons* of Paris were the resort of a brilliant class of *savans*, but the peasantry were kept in a state of awful ignorance—revolution broke out, and all this drapery of refinement was torn to shreds before the whirlwind of infuriated masses, discharging a lava of passions uncontrolled by any barriers of knowledge. The aristocracy, (the Young Bengal of that day) who kept the peasantry debarred from knowledge, were startled from their dream of fancied security by the flames of their castles and the midnight yell of “*la paix aux Chaumeres, la guerre aux Chateaux*”—a warning voice, that the mere education of the few is a vineyard clothing the volcano's side. In England last century, when Wesley proclaimed the high truths of eternity to the miners of Cornwall and the rustics of Yorkshire, we had a refined clergy and aristocracy, and of late years, notwithstanding the influence of our universities and classical schools, what awful disclosures have the Earl of Shaftesbury and the promoters of ragged schools made, as to the condition of the working classes, and the dense ignorance and crime which even still form the substratum of English society, an able writer in the *Agra Messenger* remarks on this subject, “when we know how little the English universities, colleges, and great public schools *existing through centuries*, have done for the people of England, we cannot hope that a similar system

‘ in India, where the barriers of caste strengthen the wall of
 ‘ partition betwixt the *educated few* and the ignorant many,
 ‘ will produce more satisfactory results The light of knowledge
 ‘ naturally burns upward It was only when the *national*
 ‘ *schools, Sunday schools, mechanics’ institutes*, began to spread
 ‘ their influence among the labouring body in England, that the
 ‘ people received any thing like enlightenment. But even these
 ‘ agencies left a yet lower class in darkness, to be in time illu-
 ‘ minated by the heroic teachers of *ragged schools*” Knowledge
 made a monopoly of by a few, and invested with power, is an
 instrument of despotism, as the Histories of Chaldea, India, Persia,
 Egypt, and the Middle Ages show, and we say with Mr Hodgson
 in his Letters, that “making knowledge an official monopoly, in
 ‘ the hands of a small number of people, is not identifying the
 ‘ security of our dominion with the happiness of the mass of
 ‘ the subjects” Do not the waters of knowledge, restrained in a li-
 mited space, stagnate, whereas, when diffused like the ocean, they
 become the purifiers of the world In 1848 the Government of the
 N W Provinces very properly expressed their fears “that the
 ‘ village and district officers will be so far ahead of the mass of
 ‘ the people, as the more to expose the latter to injury from dis-
 ‘ honesty and intrigues” Well has Sir J Kay Shuttleworth
 said, “The sure road to socialism is by a prolongation of the
 ‘ contrasts between luxury and destitution, vast accumula-
 ‘ tions, and ill rewarded toil, high cultivation, and barbarism,
 ‘ the enjoyment of political privileges, and the exclusion from all
 ‘ rights by ignorance or indigence The means of solving these
 ‘ great social problems, lies in the Christian civilisation of the
 ‘ entire people by the public school” In Ireland on the other
 hand, we have had for centuries intelligent but tyrannical land-
 lords, who ruled, with a rod of iron, the tenantry they abandoned
 to ignorance

Nor does the example of “Young Bengal” incline us to post-
 pone the enlightenment of the masses How many natives
 have been educated in English, who, like their predecessors in
 Mogul times, glory in not knowing the language of the common
 people—the *profanum vulgus*, and therefore give them no
 knowledge—respecting the ryots they can say with Horace,
odi et arceo Young Bengal, equally with the proud Brahman,
 despises “the *vulgar tongue*” reminding us of the English
 squires in Locke’s days, who could not write correct English,
 —though they could “sport Latin verses” And this is
 justified on the plea there is so little in Bengali to read. Well,
 supposing it to be so—is not this, on the principle that “it is
 more blessed to give than to receive,” a reason why the language

should be enriched by those who have got the wealth of another tongue? Did Dante and Chaucer despise their own tongues because they were poor?—no! that was just the stimulus to prompt them to raise them

Of course, those natives who wish their sons to get employment in offices, where a knowledge of English is requisite, would wish all the Government funds for education to be given to English schools, “the high road to affluence,”—forgetting that the land revenue of Bengal amounts to three and a half millions sterling, besides five millions from salt and opium, and that the peasantry have a claim on those revenues for an education suited to their circumstances, a *quid pro quo*. Not only has he to suffer rack-renting, and money extorted by forged deeds of the zemindar, but the poor peasant, who in Menu’s days was forbidden to receive advice from the Sudra, is even now by Young Bengal grudging the smallest pittance to enlighten his mind on the commonest subject, thirty-seven millions, using the Bengali language are still, in the language of Macaulay, to have “medical doctrines which would disgrace an English farrier, history abounding with kings thirty feet high, and reigns 30,000 years long, and geography made up of seas of treacle and seas of butter.” And yet, forsooth, all knowledge is to be excluded, unless the people will sit down to an eight years’ study of a foreign language, with its arbitrary pronunciation and intricacy of meaning. English Education, to affect the mass, must have a Vernacular medium—oil by itself will not mix with water.

If we are to do nothing in Vernacular Education until the upper classes are enlightened by English, then let us be consistent, let us stop our Bible Societies, Vernacular Literature Committees, Tract Societies, for they will be of very little use, if there be not a correspondent system of Vernacular Education. Can we reckon that those few will carry out the principle of “doing what they can for the benefit of their less favored neighbours?” Does not the voice of history show that there are aristocrats in knowledge, who fear lest “the peasant’s toe should tread on the courtier’s heel.” Oh! in this country for the spirit of a Howard or a Wilberforce, which would prompt the educated babus to seek out for humanity in its *lowest depths*, in its *dens*, and diffuse among the masses the cheering rays of knowledge! The voice of history does not show that under the Moslem dynasty, the Persian-educated babus ever cared much for the masses, or that patriotism was a growth of the country,—by the interest the English-educated babus take in *Vernacular Education*, we must judge of the truth or not of Sir H

Elliott's remark, that "the sacred spark of patriotism is an *exotum* in Bengal, exists but as a name, and an offscouring of college declamations" Let them bear in mind the memorable words of the Council of Education — "We are fully alive to the necessity of combining Vernacular with English Education if the influence of the Government schools is to be felt beyond the students who are collected within their walls," and of the late Hon'ble J Bethune, "the students are expected to be the instruments of reflecting and diffusing around them the knowledge they have acquired."

We are thorough advocates for all natives, who have time and opportunity, studying English, let this important caution however be borne in mind, "little is done unless such a knowledge of English be imparted as shall enable natives to read a valuable author with ease, for that which cannot be done with ease by a Hindu, is certain of not being done to any great extent" There are some men, whose knowledge of India is limited to cities, and to a few Anglicized babus, who think the Vernacular can be extirpated from this country we would only ask such to weigh the remarks made in a Serampore publication in 1816 —

For ideas to be acquired with effect in a foreign language, opportunity leisure, inclination, and ability must combine in the case of every individual, and even then scarcely one in ten would so thoroughly acquire the English language as to derive due instruction from the mass of knowledge contained therein These advantages, too, must be renewed to every successive generation, and the same advantages of opportunity, inclination and sufficient ability must unite in the case of each individual Moreover instruction, to answer its proper design, should be such as to render the inhabitants of a country happy in their own sphere, but never to take them out of it Those individuals, however, in whom such ability for acquiring the English language, united with due opportunity of improvement, would scarcely remain to till the ground, or to labor at any manual occupation they would therefore, by their education, be unfitted for the ordinary callings of life On the other hand, the successful exertions of one European, in acquiring the languages of the country, or of a native in acquiring the English language, might, through the medium of the native languages, not only diffuse light throughout a whole country, (and at one tenth of the expense,) but enlighten successive generations to the end of time while knowledge thus imbibed by the common people would serve to expand their minds and enrich their language, and at the same time render them happy in the humble sphere wherein Providence has placed them

The difficulties in the way of elevating in intellectual pursuits, a people so long dead to the value of knowledge, are of themselves sufficiently great, without our adding to them the amazing labor of acquiring a new and refined language

* * * *

The labor of instructing so vast a population in a new tongue, would assuredly be greater than that of translating into all their respective dialects, whatever it may be necessary for the bulk of the people to learn.

In this respect the *material* of instruction, will, for a long time to come, be in advance of the means of imparting it, one year's diligent application to the work of translation, will furnish more than all the schools established by Europeans will be able to digest in three or four years, and long before the overflow of schools and the growing demand for books, be such as can be no longer supplied by the annual product of European translators, there is little doubt from present appearances, that Natives will be found able to assist in the work of translation, and anxious to pursue it even as a means of subsistence

The time which the lower orders in every country can command for intellectual pursuits, is always small, and in India this should not be wasted on attempts to acquire a foreign language, which can be of no benefit to them unless they can read it with fluency, a scale of proficiency which their limited leisure renders impracticable

The English cannot colonize in this country as they have done in America and Ireland—nor do they intermarry with the natives as former conquerors have done, and the tendency of things is to substitute *native* agency in various cases, where European is now employed—English is spreading, but is the improvement of *Vernacular Literature* keeping an *equal* pace?

Latin, for ten centuries, was in Europe the common language of intercourse, literature, and theology, the sole language of devotion in the dominant church of Europe, supported by the powerful co-operation and patronage of the universities and even in Sir T More's time, 1530, a fierce controversy was waged as to whether English or Latin were the best medium for conveying sound useful knowledge—but the English Vernacular has since taken the place of the Latin The *Portuguese* language was for a century and a half the coast language of India—yet where is it used now?—And what has become of the *Persian*, once the *lingua franca*?

Because many natives have a *colloquial* knowledge of English, acquired for commercial or conversational purposes, we are not to infer that they know the language With the Bengali, English may be the language of *commerce*, but the Vernacular is the language of the *heart*, the one is used for public purposes, the other is the language of the domestic sphere “The foreign language, like an official garment, is laid aside in the circle of family and friends,” the language of the *mother* is that of the *children*—India has for ages been fed on the shell of knowledge—mere words—we want to give them the kernel of ideas

Some advocate making English the language of the courts, thereby saving Europeans the *trouble* of learning the language We would quote for such the advice given by Lord Hastings, many years ago, to a student of Fort William College —“If, indeed, we wish to know a nation, it is peculiarly desirable to

‘ possess an independent and extensive familiarity with its language, it must be indispensable when we are charged with the execution of the most serious and solemn offices of human life,’ —the European should not be a puppet in the hands of a translator. On the question of the feasibility of making English the language of the courts, of turning courts of justice into schools of philology, we quote the arguments of the *Quarterly Friend of India*, 1822 —

That the substitution of English in the transaction of public business therefore, would effect its substitution in every domestic circle through the country, is altogether a paradox. As much as the aggregate of official communications falls short of the sum total of private communications through the country, in the same proportion do the chances against the universal employment of English, out-number those which may appear in favor of the project.

On this subject experience is as rich as it is decisive. The Normans, after the conquest of England, impelled by motives of policy as well as of hatred, made a strenuous effort to substitute their own language for that of the conquered nation. “The name of Englishman was turned into reproach. None of that race for a hundred years were raised to any dignity in church or state. Their language, and the characters in which it was written, were rejected as barbarous, in all schools, children were taught French, and the laws were administered in no other tongue.” Nor was this vigorous encouragement all, for within twenty years after the Norman invasion, almost the whole of the soil of England had been divided among foreigners. And even up to the period of the restoration of the English tongue, the ruling members of the state seem to have regarded French with undiminished partiality, for in the early part of the reign of Edward the Third, “gentlemen’s children were taught to speak French from the time they were rocked in the cradle.” Neither was this a transient experiment, for it was continued with unabated perseverance for nearly three hundred years. Here we perceive a combination of advantages from which, if in any instance, success might surely have been expected. All legal and magisterial transactions done in French,—schools opened for teaching it, the original tongue discouraged in every direction,—and, what was perhaps of equal if not greater consequence, the whole body of landed proprietors bent on employing it as the medium of communication with their tenantry.—These efforts are continued moreover for a length of time apparently sufficient to have rooted out the old and despised language even from the remotest villages. On the possession of such pre-eminent advantages, those who would patronize similar attempts in India can scarcely calculate. With all this powerful aid however, the project of making French current in England fell to the ground, and after three centuries of unavailing exertion, it was publicly renounced by the Government, and the English language restored to the public service, not only as a mark of royal favor, but for the greater facility of public business. Had the French language, during the period of its encouragement, made any impression on the mass of the population, the substitution of English by Edward the Third, would have been considered a fresh instance of tyranny, rather than a distinguished act of grace. The publication almost immediately after this event, of Wickliffe’s translation of the New Testament into English that the sacred Oracles might no longer continue unintelligible to the great body of the people, confirms

the idea that French had not found its way beyond the Court and the great families of the realm

A few hints to that class of natives in Calcutta who are right in admiring English literature, but wrong in despising all efforts to improve the literature of the common people. We admire their taste for English literature, their boldness in writing against their countrymen's defects,—but where is their patriotism or love of the masses of their countrymen, when, instead of lending a helping hand to improve the literature of their country, they stand aloof, boxing themselves up with Shakespeare,—when for the convenience of the stranger they would have English in the courts, a language entirely unknown to the peasantry,—when, like the Moslem conquerors, they would debar all useful knowledge from thirty-seven millions, unless they obtain it through the portals of a difficult foreign language, which requires an *eight* years' study, thus closing the temple of knowledge to the millions, unless approached through the long and rugged road of a foreign language. These men, in consequence of despising the Vernacular, are falling into the errors of the men of the middle ages, a proneness to dialecticism, a renunciation of useful tracks of thought—they are, in fact, becoming a sort of schoolmen, “following a ‘slavish imitation of foreign models, extinguishing fertility of thought, and all the generous impulses bound up with the ‘speech of our father-land’” Let them beware lest the character which Campbell, in his *Modern India*, gives of many natives, should apply to them, “the extreme selfishness which ‘only looks at a man's own case, not having any political sympathy beyond his own sub-division of a class, if even so much’” “Big talkers, little doers, beginning with a flash, ending in ‘smoke’”

Viewing the prostrate condition of the masses in Bengal, we have strong faith in the efficacy of education as a system of training

“Tis education forms the common mind
Just as the twig is bent the tree's inclined”

“But we cannot call that a complete education which limits itself to the cultivation of the mere intellect, to the neglect of the moral powers, which does not regard man as a creature destined for eternity, and whose training in school ought to bear on that aim.” We fully sympathize with the view, that education embraces the cultivation of the mental, physical, and moral powers, and deprecate the education, “contracted by a narrow utilitarianism, which regards as of prime importance the cultivation of the faculties which have a

‘ marketable value, and disdains to busy itself on the question ‘ what reward lies beyond the grave ?’ But the limits assigned to our article in this review, restrict us to the first branch of it, the intellectual part

Elementary education, or the mere power of reading and writing the vernacular, is not the education we advocate in this article as this is already supplied more or less in 100,000 schools, in Bengal—what we wish to see is, the *standard* raised in schools generally by being *first* effected in *model* schools—boys kept a considerable time at school, by the inducement of scholarships and prospects of employment, in order to attain high proficiency The remark of Dr Johnson has much force, “ knowledge always desires increase, it is like fire which ‘ must be kindled by some external agent, but which will afterwards propagate itself” And we believe the elementary Vernacular schools of Chinsurah and Calcutta have increased the number of English schools, in fact, wherever there are now good English Schools there were before flourishing Vernacular ones The Government of the North Western Provinces said well on this subject, in 1845, “ when the mind of the whole people has been raised to a sense of the importance of knowledge, it is natural to suppose that many from the mass will advance further, and cultivate literature for the higher rewards it offers, or even for the pleasure which its acquisition offers”

While warm friends, as we before stated, to the imparting English as necessary to a classical education, we cannot apply the term *national* or *popular* education to any which is not conveyed through the language of the *people*, *i e*, of forty millions in Bengal. Now in Holland, with a language used by only about two millions and a half, Dutch is the language of the schools, and 30,445 in 1835, received education through that medium, or 72½ per cent. of the school-going population, in Bengal, Government have about 1,400 pupils in Bengali, or one in every *seven hundred and twenty thousand* of the population ! England resounds with the cry of ragged-schools and education for the masses We trust Bengal will soon hear the same cry, and that the Government—which under Duncan, directed its sympathies to *infants*, by abolishing infanticide, and is now doing the same among the Rajputs and in the Punjab—which, under Wellesley, prohibited infants being thrown into the maw of alligators at Saugur island—which, under Lord W Bentinck, snatched the widows from the pyre, and rescued the inoffensive traveller from the noose of the thug, will do something for the enlightenment of the masses.

In Prussia and the other States of Germany, *all* parents are compelled by law to send their children to school. And no person can be admitted to confirmation without a certificate of being educated. In Austria, ability to read and write is requisite for marriage. In Bengal, with its thirty-seven millions, the Government bestows 8,000 Rupees annually on Vernacular Education. One-third the salary of a Collector of the revenue! As much is expended on 200 prisoners in jails. How different is it in America. Siljestom in his *Educational Institutions of the United States*, remarks —

“In America, popular education has from the beginning been based upon the idea of citizenship, not of philanthropy. There the gift of education to the people has not been considered merely as an act of charity to the poor, but as a privilege which every citizen, as such, had a right to claim, and a duty which, by virtue of the social contract, every citizen binds himself to fulfil, and for the purpose of bestowing such education, (that is to say, the minimum of knowledge which every citizen ought to possess), the State is entitled to tax the community, whereas, the higher branches of education, which only a small number of the people have the means of acquiring, have been looked upon as matters concerning only those individuals who are anxious to avail themselves thereof, and have in consequence been left to private enterprise, the general force of circumstances, and the encouragement held out by the emoluments bestowed by the State on its servants, being regarded as sufficient inducements, to those who aspire to enter the public service, to acquire the necessary knowledge. The immediate consequences hereof are, that while in America we find most excellent popular schools, maintained at the expense of the State, there are but few institutions connected with the higher branches of education which do not owe their origin and maintenance solely to the exertions of individuals or private associations.”

In Germany seventy years ago the chief University lectures were delivered in Latin. Madame De Stael tells us in her *Allemagne* how utterly Frederic the Great despised his mother-tongue—the Franco-Mania being then the rule of Germany. Charles the Fifth could say, “he would speak German to his horses.” Frederic the Great, who raised Prussia from being a Dukedom to be an Empire, wished to change the language of the people to French, but he could not conquer its language. Yet how different now! when the German Vernacular has not only gained the ascendancy over French, but is also taking the same position almost as Latin did in the middle ages in Europe, as the language of the literati.

To take an illustration from a country which now calls for the particular attention of England—Russia—the Czar, with all his arbitrary rule, has got credit from even his bitterest enemies for his exertions in the emancipation of the peasants, but the Aristocracy, “the Young Moscovy” party, has been much opposed to him in this plan. Now even in Russia one-

ninth of the school-going population receive instruction. In Russia formerly all the nobles at court spoke only French—the present Czar set himself against that system, and required Russian to be spoken—since that a remarkable change has taken place, the nobles now take more interest in the cultivation of Russian literature, and a great impulse has been given to indigenous literature. See “Introductory Review” of Russian literature in *Russian Life in the Caucasus*.

The circumstances of unhappy Ireland read us a solemn lesson. The English Government passed Acts of Parliament without number to suppress utterly the Irish language, enforced by deeds of blood that would have disgraced the Spaniards in Mexico. In Elizabeth's time even the king of Denmark was refused by the English Government, the services of an Irishman to translate Irish MSS, lest that should injure English interests! Henry the Eighth required a knowledge of English as the *sine qua non* for a Church-living in Ireland,—he got men who knew nothing of the *people*. Subsequently it was enacted, in case the minister could not read the service in English, he might read it to the *people* in *Latin*, but not in Irish—history tells the results. But Bishop Bedell took a different view, and at sixty years old sat down to the study of the Irish. James the First directed that clergymen knowing Irish, should have the preference in smaller Church-livings. This exclusive English policy, though protested against by such men as Robert Boyle, Archbishop Usher, Bishop Bedell, was applauded by a body of Irishmen, who knew nothing of their own country's language—but who advocated all judicial and religious proceedings being done through *English*, as thereby they secured a monopoly of office to *themselves*. Irish is still the language of one million, while Societies have recently been founded to educate the Irish through their own language, “the tongue which their *mother* gave them.”

Close to England we have *Wales*, a country only 120 miles long, by 80 broad, which, though six centuries under English rule, yet clings with great tenacity to its own tongue, and even now demands that its bishops and clergy should be Welsh preachers.

Let us next see what was the system adopted for promoting *National Education* in England. By *National Education* we mean education of the *masses* through their mother tongue. The cardinal principle of the Government in England in education, has been GRANTS IN AID,—helping men to help themselves. Their exertions began in a humble way, in 1842. Pupil teachers were trained up in the Norwood School of Industry, and were then transferred to a practising school in Battersea, given by the

present bishop of Sodor and Man, who became the head of it. In six years fifteen training schools were established, there are now thirty-five in England and four in Scotland, established at an expense of £353,402, of which Government has given £137,623, providing accommodation for 11,179 male, and 768 female students. Apprentices are the most promising, and of these the most *elite* will be Queen's scholars. These apprentices at a school, spend one hour and a half daily in receiving separate instruction from the master, one hour and a half in preparation for his lessons, and for five hours they have charge of classes, the master receives an annual addition to his salary in proportion to the number of his pupils and apprentices, every apprentice receives from Government £10 in the first year, rising to £20 for the last, they are annually examined, and also stand for the Queen's Scholarships, "they will be able to undertake lessons in school management themselves by the light of their previous school experience." In 1851 there were 3,657 male and 1,950 female pupil teachers—this is the system for training up future masters. For improving the *old Master*, certificates with pecuniary advantages are given to those who pass an examination in certain subjects. In 1851 there were 845 masters and 328 mistresses certificated, Government granted £15,473 in augmentation of salaries to 948 teachers, who had charge of 104,958 scholars.

INSPECTION is another essential part of their system. There are now twenty-five inspectors and nine sub-inspectors, at an expense of £26,000, they visit schools, diffuse the result of their experience, stimulate the exertions of the teachers, raise the standard of education, spread an acquaintance with improved methods and books, "their visits have impressed the humbler classes with a sense of the vigilant care of the Government for their well being." School Books of an improved kind are granted at reduced rates, a list of the best school books in England was published, and the Government entered into an arrangement with the publishers to have them at 43 per cent. less than the publishing price, and they made a reduction, of one-third from this price for grants. Model schools were established in each district, "a single effective school held up as a model to a district is a realized idea, which places the entire problem of education before observers in a new light."

But it may be said, why should Government interfere in Bengal? leave education to the natives themselves—act on the *laissez faire* system.—We believe education to be a re-construction of society, and that all mere voluntary efforts for such a purpose would be like baling out the ocean with a bucket. The rich can take care of themselves, they have shewn they have the means

and willingness to pay for an English education, not so with the masses unequal to self-education. To protect the *weak* who cannot plead for themselves, is the duty of Government, who by the perpetual settlement gave the *ryot* into the feudal hands of the Zemindar, and thus the chance of creating a body of peasant proprietors was lost for ever. Mr Kaye, in his "social condition and education of the people," has shewn that "where the land is cultivated by day laborers and tenants at will, the peasantry are ignorant and debased." Education therefore is the only compensation the Government can now give the peasantry for this yoke they have imposed on them. The idea of elevating the *people* was unknown to the Romans, Greeks, Hindus or Musalmans. It is one of the results of the genius of Christianity, of him whom the *common people* heard gladly.

In Christian Europe the Prussian Government first recognized the duty of Governments to provide for the education of the whole body of its subjects, and in the United States of America, where there is no established Church, popular education is regarded as the duty of the Government, which fully recognizes the truth of Macaulay's axiom, "he who has the right to hang the 'people, must certainly also have the right to educate them."

Government *pays* heavily for crime in the cost of the police establishments and jails, in which 26,000 prisoners are supported. There are sixty-one jails in Bengal and Behar, and the expense of jail establishments, guards, buildings, and food, makes the cost of each prisoner to the State forty-three rupees and nine annas per annum. Now prevention is better than cure—it is cheaper and more effectual to pay the school-master than the policeman and the jailor. In New York State, it was lately calculated that out of nearly 28,000 persons convicted of crime, "but 128 had enjoyed the benefits of a good common-school education." The prisoners in Bengal do not come from the class who attend *English* schools, and therefore we require schools to act on them and save them from being the food of the jail and the gallows.

Government draws from the land in Bengal and Behar a revenue of three millions sterling annually, five-eighths of which is the produce of the land. Now, on the principle of the law of Moses, "thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn," the peasant, the industrious bee, should share in the honey, the fruit of his labor.

Government has made many good laws for the natives, but what avail these without an enlightened public opinion? Burke very justly said, "give me the making the ballads of a nation, and 'I will give you the making its laws.'" We have spent seventy lakhs already in compiling a code for *all India*! centralization

with a vengeance !—but as long as the masses are so sunk, evils will be remedied by excellent laws, as much as a millstone will be cut by a razor Why do not the darogahs oppress so much in the North Western Provinces ?—because they have a different class of people to deal with.

‘Who that has read *The Revelations of an Orderly*,—its startling disclosures of the bribery system among the police, “power turned into money by the sharks, and alligators of our legal sea,” when the poor gets little redress, because the *Sahib* “looks through the spectacles, and hears through the ears of the native official,” some translator it may be—a medium devised for doing justice to the people, by giving the European no inducement to judge for himself !—the system of torturing resorted to by the police to extort confessions—the forgery, and bribery of the courts, “where the long purse carries the day”—but must be convinced that some effort ought to be made “that the foul harpies, which now fill the courts, should give place to virtuous educated men” The whole head is sick, the whole heart is faint,—employ after a given period no man in a Court who has not received a certificate of having passed with credit through a Vernacular school In Austria Popular Education has “diminished the out-breakings of a rude ferocity,” in Bengal nothing has been attempted in any proper way, and hence England, which has subdued the Afghan and Sikh, has not subdued the *dacot*, who “levies his black mail under the very nose of the magistrate”

Even Elementary education has its special value in this country, when we consider the gross state of ignorance in which thirty-seven millions are sunk,—the giving a superior education to a few in English, will not *necessarily* leaven the mass, who still firmly believe all the extravagant absurdities of the Hindu Shastras. Surely the introduction of simple lessons on geography and astronomy, would be a vast boon to the country in dispelling such darkness “A loaf of bread is a small thing to a man with a full table while to a famished prisoner it might be little less than life itself”

Knowledge is a foe not only to superstition but to caste, with all its monstrous assumptions !

How are you to meet these errors ?—not so much by thrusting the blazing torch of English truth on eyes weakened by mental disease,—no, the light must be let in gradually, and through their own loved medium, as a writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, No XXVIII, p 208, remarks, “the vernacularism of learning produced a greater effect (in the fifteenth century) in disabusing the general intellect of the prejudices of books, and of those

' existing institutions and opinions, than all the rest of the glorious events and discoveries of that age which witnessed it "

Look at the condition of the peasantry, sunk in as low a state of brutal ignorance as are the characters mentioned in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Would there were the pen of a Dickens or a Crabbe in this country, to draw a vivid picture of their state,—of the tortures inflicted by the Zemindars,—the forgery of deeds,—the evils of the *mahajan* system, keeping the unfortunate peasants sunk for life in debt. It is time for the British people, who gave twenty millions sterling for the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies, to look to the condition of the unfortunate peasantry of Bengal, whose greatest oppressors are their own countrymen, who are debarred access to justice by the myrmidons of native officials, whose sole aim from time immemorial has been to turn power into money,—where so little regard to truth is entertained, that false witnesses are a regular matter of traffic, hired for four annas a day to swear white is black,—where the Zemindars rule with all the atrocities and violence of the robber chieftains of the Rhine in former days, men who, by the mistaken policy of the permanent settlement of 1793, were raised from being pauper *sans-culottes* collectors to become Lords of the soil, *divi terre*. Against this system of oppression we must wield the weapon of knowledge. Enlighten the peasant's mind, and he will not be the mere tool of the Zemindars. " This state of mental degradation disqualifies them from resisting oppression, and prepares them to become the willing slaves of any who will supply them with the means of immediate gratification, though succeeded by years of debt and bondage " And yet this people is admitted to be naturally very intelligent, they have evinced such a desire for education, as to have 100,000 Vernacular schools among them, 32 per cent. of the school-going population of Bengal attend the common schools, while in Agra only 5½ per cent do so. Yet as far as respects an enlightened education, the peasant is left to stagnant ignorance, except as varied by scenes of dacoity or superstition, a life of toil and a dark futurity, the ineffectual effort of the dark mind to open its eyes on the light of the spiritual world." He vegetates rather than lives, in the days of Manu the peasant was a mere *adscriptus glebæ*, " the Brahman is not to give advice to the Sudra, " coming from the feet of Brahma he was destined to a mere servile state, while the proud Brahman despised his Vernacular language, in later days he was the object of spoliation by the Mahratta plunderer, and the Mogul feudal chief. Lord Cornwallis doomed him for ever to be the serf of the Zemindars, and the Council of Education

gives 8,000 Rupees annually for his education' while the wealthy merchants and zemindars have four lakhs spent on theirs—not that we grudge the latter, no, we would it were doubled, but why leave the peasant without the bread of elementary education, while the rich have the luxuries of Bacon and Milton? In 1818 Government reckoned there were 1,50,748 villages in Bengal and Behar. We think the remarks of Siljestrom, in his *Educational Institutions of the United States*, are fully applicable to Bengal. "We have establishments enough for *collecting* the revenue, why not then some for teaching the people who *create* it?" "The *abkari* system gives legal establishment to a band of apostles and priests of intemperance among a simple, rural sober population yielding a revenue of fifty lakhs."

The precocity of the minds of Hindu lads, their "remarkable early power of acquirement," renders them very favorable subjects for Vernacular teaching. We have seen this developed in a remarkable degree in the Central school of Calcutta, where in the Infant Department Bengali children, between the ages of three and seven, are taught through Bengali a number of interesting facts in Natural History, Lessons on Objects, Scripture History, Geography. We have seen in a Bengali school of the Church Missionary Society, in Nuddea, Natural History, Geography, Writing by Dictation, Bengal History taught.

The peasantry and middle classes of the North West have lost one of their truest friends in the ever-to be-lamented death of the Honorable J. Thomason, a real friend of the people, who made two great objects paramount during his Government—irrigating the lands by the appliances of modern science in his great Ganges Canal—and irrigating the minds of the masses by diffusing the healthy current of European ideas through the agreeable medium of Vernacular education. The Marquess of Dalhousie has well remarked of the latter object that "Mr Thomason's noblest monument is in his system of Vernacular education," we rejoice that his successor Mr Colvin is taking up his mantle, and that our new Deputy Governor for Bengal will carry out his plans in Bengal—but to Mr Thomason we owe it that, while here in Bengal no effort was made on the part of the Government, to diffuse knowledge through the Vernacular, he quietly but firmly matured his plans and brought his great experience of native character, learned away from the haunts of Europeans, to bear on the cause of the people, he unostentatiously followed in the track of him of whom it is said "the common people heard him gladly."

The peasantry, who had been from time immemorial, the puppets of Moslem and Brahminical despots, found in Mr

Thomason a friend, who released from the shackles of Calcutta centralisation, took his views of education not from the purlieus of Chowringhee but from the *people*. Five years after the Calcutta Council of Education had shelved Mr Adams' admirable reports, Mr Thomason commenced his plan for education in 1843, the last year of existence of that warm friend to Vernacular education, Mr Wilkinson. On the North West Provinces being separated from Calcutta, he promulgated the statement that "to produce any perceptible impression on the ' public mind, in the North West Provinces, it must be through ' the medium of the Vernacular languages " The smaller English schools were abolished, and instruction in English was confined to the Colleges

In 1845, Mr Thomason issued a circular to Collectors and their subordinates, pointing out how Vernacular reading, writing, arithmetic, and mensuration bore on the people's interests—directing that they should encourage the village teachers whom the people select. "Encourage by kindly notice ' and by occasional rewards both the most distinguish- ' ed of them and of their scholars, they might be aided ' by the distribution of books" Mr Thomason forwarded statistical tables after Adams' plan on Vernacular Education for them to fill up, this was followed out by sending to each Collector six of the Indigenous Books on Spelling, Arithmetic, Mensuration, to be shewn and lent to rouse the people to a sense of their wants. "Two important points were aimed at, the ' imparting to the peasantry certain plain practical, every- ' day knowledge" and that "the popular mind having been ' roused by a keen sense of *personal interest*, a higher ' system of intellectual culture may be universally intro- ' duced" In 1844, the Delhi Vernacular Translation Society was founded, which by 1846, had published in Urdu fifty volumes, containing 14,000 pages, at a cost of about 16,000 rupees. In 1845, an inspector was appointed to report upon Village Schools. *Vernacular Libraries* were formed for distributing elementary Vernacular works among the Village Schools, rewards for the proficiency of their pupils were offered to the school-masters, lists of the works proposed for study were published. A Circular was issued to all Collectors and Magistrates, directing their attention to Vernacular Education and to the great principle of it, "carry the people with you, *and* their ' efforts rather than remove from them all stimulus to exertion ' by making all the effort yourself," a portion of Adams' third Report was re-printed and circulated among Government Officers, and some of it was translated for the guidance of natives speci-

mens of various Vernacular works were sent to native officers to be shewn to Zemindars, &c. In 1846, the Court of Directors approved of Mr Thomason taking up Vernacular Education, and cordially admitted "the necessity of giving some powerful impulse ' to Elementary Education in the North West Provinces." Sixteen thousand five hundred of *Mr Thomason's Elementary Treatises* were sold. By 1848, the educational statistics had been completed, and measures were taken for the improvement of the schools in four districts, and a School Book Agent appointed to form a centre for all private efforts. He then propounded his plan, a zillah visitor on 150 rupees monthly, three pergunnah visitors at thirty rupees each, in each Pergunnah six Tehsildari school-masters at fifteen rupees each. Four thousand five hundred rupees for each district to be given in rewards to teachers, a Visitor General to supervise the whole on 1,000 rupees monthly, and eight annas a mile travelling expense, to visit the whole of the districts and be in communication with the inspectors. In October 1849, the Court sanctioned an annual outlay of 50,000 rupees. In 1850, a volume of Vernacular Statistics was published, which shewed the need of Vernacular Education and that out of a population of 23 200,000, only 68,200 received *any* education at all. In 1850, eight model districts were selected, with eight Zillah Visitors, thirty-three Pergunnah Visitors, and fifty-eight Teachers of Tehsil Schools.

The successful working of the Vernacular plan in the N W Provinces shews how necessary it is to avoid being linked in with Calcutta in a centralised system. Had the voice from the ditch been heard, this Vernacular plan of Thomason's would never have had a fair trial, neither Rurki nor any of the other fair creations of the North West Provinces would have sprung into existence. Like Lord Hardinge's resolution of 1844 they would have been stifled in the ditch.

In judging of Vernacular Education in the North West Provinces we must not look to fine showy results. We have not there as in Bengal a few first-rate English Schools and a mass of utterly neglected Vernacular ones. We should make allowance for the bigotry and ignorance that had at first to be encountered, when parents thought the schools were nurseries for children, to be kept there and afterwards sacrificed to propitiate the Ganges, indignant at her waters being drawn away for the new canal, or that Missionaries in the character of magicians were to come and draw their children away, in Bengal in 1824 the introduction of the picture of a lion emptied a school, the people thought it was a Missionary *mantra*. In the N W within 4 years the number

of scholars has been doubled and a powerful impulse has been given to Vernacular Literature

Schools and School-books reciprocally re-act on each other in the way of supply and demand We see this in the N W Provinces, as the following list of school-books in Hindi, called into existence by Thomason's schools, shows

Akshara Depika, a Primer *Balopadesh*, illustrated Hindi Primer *Patramalika*, Forms of Letters *Bhasa-chandraday*, on Syntax, Etymology *Dharmasing Britanta*, or Passages in the life of an upright Thakur *Surajpurke-kehani*, a Tale descriptive of the history and constitution of a village *Budhi phaladay*, the Life of an Idle and of an Industrious Youth *Vidyankur*, Chamber's Rudiments of Knowledge *Samay prabodh*, explaining the use of the Calendar, Computation of Time, Eras &c *Shudhi Darpan*, on Cleanliness *Alasi Upadesh*, Advice to the Prodigal, Idle *Gyan bibaran*, Moral Couplets with a Hindi prose commentary *Ganita Prakash*, arithmetic *Khetra Chandrika*, Mensuration, a Treatise on *Arithmetic* on the Pestalozzian Principle On *Algebra* to Quadratic Equations *Geometry* four books of Euclid *Mechanics* Tales principles of *Geometry*, *Trigonometry* Baker's *Hydrostatics*, and Dynamics Hann's *Cone Sections*, *Mahajanser*, Specimens of Writing, Banker's Accounts *Kisanopadesh* on Settlement Papers *Gramya-kalpadrūm* on the Constitution of Zemindari and Patnidari Villages Tucker's Selections from *Todd's Hints on Self-improvement* Muir's selections from *Sturm's Reflections* Selections from *Paley's Natural Theology* *Khugolsar*, Prominent Facts of the Solar System *Chitrahari Sar*, Elements of Linear Drawings with Diagrams *Shala Paddhati*, on Defects of Indigenous Schools and Proposed Remedies *Budhi prakash*, Current News of the Week, with instructive articles on History, Geography, Science, circulated among the Schools

Ninety-four publications,—and 184,400 copies of the same have been put into circulation and great success has crowned this department

Among the results we may enumerate the high proficiency attained in pure mathematics by vernacular students of the Delhi college The success of the vernacular classes of Engineering at Rurki, the students of which are draughted from the Vernacular schools—the knowledge of history and political economy in the Vernacular department of the Bareilly College The success in the Kasi district of Muttra, where the boys have increased from 110 in 1848 to 1,062 in 1853, many of them studying Algebra and Geometry, chiefly brought about by the exertions of one man the Tehsildar of Kose,—37,000 boys attend the schools The Musalman population have been acted on—boys remain longer at school The Persian is giving way to the Hindi and Urdu Vernaculars—the barbarous Kaithi character is being superseded by the elegant Nagri

In June, 1852, a *Central School* was opened in Agra composed of fifty-two pupils selected from the Zillah Schools, all lodged and boarded and receiving each two rupees monthly for clothes

and books, they study Euclid, Algebra, Logic, the Geography of Asia, Surveying, Chemistry Dr Mouat reports of this school as follows —

In Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Algebra, Geography, and History, the boys were not only well taught, but had attained a larger amount of proficiency than will for some time be required in teaching the pupils of the Tahsildaree Schools to which they will hereafter be attached

The Zillah Visitor of the Agra Division, whom I saw in this School is evidently an able officer, and the Pundit a very superior man of his class

The pupils were clean, orderly, earnest and attentive, and in every way superior to the indigenous native teachers It is impossible to exaggerate the amount of beneficial influence that will be produced by the dispersion of such a body of teachers throughout the North West Provinces

But the most remarkable results have been witnessed in the Agra Jail under Dr Walker He began first in the Mainpuri Jail, teaching the prisoners to read from immense alphabet rolls, and to write on the black board He next introduced his plan in 1851 into the Agra Prison The Inspector of Prisons has reported of it—"Nothing is so conducive to the improvement of discipline as jail education" The system of mutual instruction is adopted They are engaged at reading, writing, arithmetic from half past four to half past six P M. Two thousand receive daily instruction, at an average annual expense of six annas a head, or 2 pice a month! Dr Walker gives the following account of his system

To test the progress of the prisoner-pupils, voluntary examinations are held twice a month, when those who pass satisfactorily, receive as prizes the books required for the subsequent examination, and as an incentive to future application, they are furnished with certificates of good conduct, which entitles them to send a letter to their relatives and friends, and if presented on any Saturday morning within three months after date, to an interview, sometimes a little sweetmeat and fruit is distributed, and a bath in the river Jumna, or a visit to the Royal Gardens at the Taj, or Secundra, is permitted, as an additional incentive to study and good conduct

After having mastered the elementary School Sheets, including the Alphabet, and the combination of the Letters, Proper Names, the Multiplication Table, and Tables of Money and Weights, &c, they are prepared for the first examination

Before a prisoner can pass the first examination, he must be able,

I To read the Surajpūr kahani, (a Village Tale)

II To repeat the Multiplication Table up to 16×16

III To repeat the Multiplication of Fractions up to $6\frac{1}{2} \times 25$

The requirements for the second examination are,—

I Repetition of the former examination

II Arithmetic, including Simple and Compound Addition, Subtraction, Multiplication and Division, Calculations for Rates, Commission and Simple Interest—(No II. of Rai Ram Sarn Das' Series, being the text book)

III The Patra Malika, or Letter Writer

IV The Kism Opdesh, being a brief explanation of the Revenue System and Village Accounts

V The Shuddhi-Darpan, a popular treatise on Hygiene, explaining the advantages of cleanliness, method and order

VI The Khagol-Sar, a brief treatise on Astronomy

The subject of the third examination is the Mensuration of fields, as contained in Part III of Rai Ram Sarn Das' Series

The subject of the fourth examination is the details of Patwari accounts, as contained in Part IV of Rai Ram Sarn Das' Series

The subjects for the fifth examination are —

I Arithmetic, including Simple and Compound Proportion, as contained in Parts I and II of the Ganit Prakash

II The Gyan Chahsh Biburn, being forty moral maxims in verse, with explanations and deductions

III. The Gunkari-updesh-ka Sankshep or Select Moral Maxims from the best sources

The subjects for the sixth examination are —

I Fractions, as contained in Part II of the Ganit Prakash

II Geography

Dr Mouat who saw the system in operation in the Jail remarks respecting it

The old, the middle aged, and the young, the murderer confined for life, and the perpetrator of petty larceny paying the penalty of his offence by a few days or weeks of imprisonment, men and women, have all been subjected to the ordeal. Many who were unacquainted with the alphabet, and to whom the powers of letters in combination had been an unknown mystery, until advancing age had left them scarcely enough of unaided sight to trace the letters on the board, have been taught to spell, read, connect sentences, and write. The greatest amount of general proficiency which has been attained is in the use of figures, and multiplying them to an extent quite unknown to our English system of arithmetic. At all times and in all places is the sound of many voices heard following a leader in the multiplication of odd, even, and fractional numbers. At its appointed time it pervaded every department of the prison, which then resembled a vast, animated, calculating machine. As a means of prison discipline, it appears to me to be impossible to over-rate the value and advantages of this system. It leaves the vicious and ill-disposed no time to concoct evil measures, to organize conspiracy, or to contaminate those less steeped in crime and hardened in vice, than themselves. To the well disposed it affords an occupation, furnishes a means of passing time that would otherwise hang heavy, and implants a taste for pursuits, that will render them profitable members of society, when again let loose upon the world. To some of the prisoners I could perceive that the task was distasteful, and a sore punishment, but the majority spoke in terms of unfeigned, and I am convinced, sincere gratitude, of the change for the better, which they acknowledged to have been wrought in their condition. The better feelings of their nature have been roused. They are no longer considered and treated as savage and dangerous animals, to be broken into subjection by harshness and starvation, and they exhibit many humanizing sympathies in their demeanour and acts. Not the least creditable part of the whole proceeding is the simple and inexpensive machinery by which all this has been accomplished. The prisoners themselves are the chief agents in their own amelioration, and have exhibited a docility and

perseverance that are no mean tests of the success and value of the system

To this evidence we append the remarks of the late Lieutenant-Governor —

“ The prevalent taste for Mathematics has been seized upon in its practical bearing on land Surveying, the mechanical arts, and mercantile transactions Euclid is already a favorite text book, the Surveying compass and plane table are rapidly becoming household implements There is not one of the 3,000,000 men, who cultivate the 100,000,000 acres in these eight Districts, who may not be taught that the field he tills is a Geometrical figure, the extent of which he ought to be able to measure ”

We now direct our attention to the efforts hitherto made in Bengal for the improvement of Vernacular education

Mr Ellerton at Malda established schools in the beginning of this century In 1814, Mr May began his first Vernacular School in the fort of Chinsura, in June, 1815, he had sixteen schools and 951 pupils, which soon increased to twenty-six schools, and some ten others six miles below Chinsura, visited by Mr May and his assistants sixty times every three months. In 1815, Lord Hastings made a monthly grant of 600 rupees to the schools. In 1816, there were 2,136 pupils, and a school for instructing teachers was commenced, in 1818, there were thirty-six schools and 3,000 pupils—but Mr May was cut off by death Mr Pearson then took charge Mr May's labours excited such interest that after his death, money arrived in Bengal from friends in America for the support of his schools. Mr Lushington, Secretary to Government, in his “ History of Religious and Benevolent Institutions,” remarks, “ it may be ‘ safely asserted that the foundation of more extensive and ‘ higher knowledge is surely laid in the establishment of those ‘ schools;’ ” they were all conducted on the Bell and Lancaster system Government availed itself of the service of Messrs Pearson and Harley, who were Missionaries, to establish a number of Vernacular Schools between Kalna and Chandernagor Mr May had introduced the Lancastrian system into them with great success—crowds attended the schools, but their efforts, though not having suitable *successors*, were not followed up Yet the seeds of knowledge they sowed in the Vernacular have fructified into the English schools which are now in Chinsurah Some of the best Educational Works in the Vernacular were composed for those schools In 1819, Messrs Pearson and Harley had under their superintendence, at Chinsurah, seventeen schools and 1,500 children, at Bankipur twelve schools, and 1,266 children, all conducted on the Madras system, and supported by Government at an expense per mensem of 800

rupees Dr Bell's "Instructions for modelling schools" were translated and introduced, Mr Pearson writes, "I have heard 'it spoken of by the natives as wonderful, to see a boy in tears at losing his place in the class'" The Court of Directors made a special grant to those schools, the pupils learned more rapidly than in the common schools

The *Calcutta School Book Society* was founded in 1817, to prepare and publish cheap books for native schools. No books, previous to 1817, were used in the indigenous schools. In May 1821, this Society received from Government a donation of 7,000 rupees, and a monthly grant of 500 rupees, to be continued "while its concerns are so judiciously administered." This society was very useful in circulating a number of valuable works in Bengali, on Geography, Natural History, &c, but we now require very cheap books, which can only be obtained by encouraging competition.

The CALCUTTA SCHOOL SOCIETY was formed in 1818, under the presidency of the Marquess of Hastings, with the object of assisting and improving existing Vernacular Schools, establishing others, and preparing select pupils of distinguished talents, by superior instruction, for becoming teachers and translators, and they received in donations in the first year 10,000 rupees. Four native superintendents were appointed, teachers were rewarded according to the proficiency of their pupils, thirty of the most proficient pupils of the Vernacular Schools were sent to the Hindu College to be trained up as teachers and translators, —but they ended in being keranis!—An English School was established, to be filled by the best pupils of the Vernacular Schools, but this has not promoted Vernacular education. In 1821 it had 115 Vernacular Schools, containing 3,828 scholars, under its patronage, & e, it gave books, examining and superintending the schools by its officers and agents. In 1823 they received a monthly grant of 500 rupees from Government, and worked admirably until 1833. The following improvements were introduced by this Society into common schools

Printed, instead of manuscript, school-books are now in common use. The branches formerly taught are now taught more thoroughly, and instruction is extended to subjects formerly neglected, viz, the orthography of the Bengalee language, geography, and moral truths and obligations. The mode of instruction has been improved. Formerly the pupils were arranged in different divisions, according as they were learning to write on the ground with chalk, on the palm-leaf, on the plantain-leaf, and on paper, respectively, and each boy was taught separately by the school-master in a distinct lesson. The system of teaching with the assistance of monitors, and of arranging the boys in classes, formed with reference to similarity of ability or proficiency, has been adopted, and as in

some instances it has enabled the teachers to increase the number of their pupils very considerably, and thereby their own emoluments, it is hoped that it will ultimately have the effect of encouraging men of superior acquirements to undertake the duties of instructors of youth. A system of superintendence has been organized, by the appointment of a pundit and a sircar to each of the four divisions into which the schools are distributed. They separately attend two different schools in the morning and two in the evening, staying at least one hour at each school, during which time they explain to the teachers any parts of the lessons they do not fully comprehend, and examine such of the boys as they think proper in their different acquirements. The destinations of the pundits and sircars are frequently changed, and each of them keeps a register, containing the day of the month, the time of going to, and leaving, each school, the names of the boys examined, the page and place of the book in which they were examined, and the names of the schoolmasters in their own hand-writing—which registers are submitted to the secretaries of the Society every week through the head pundit. Further examinations, both public and private, yearly, half-yearly, or quarterly, as necessity or convenience dictated, have been held in the presence of respectable European and Native gentlemen, when gratuities were given to deserving teachers, and prize-books to the best scholars, as well as books bestowed for the current use of the schools. The tendency of all these measures to raise the character and qualifications of the teachers must be apparent, and it is with reference to this tendency that the labours of the Calcutta School Society have received the special approbation of the Court of Directors. In 1825, the Court in confirming the grant of 500 rupees per month which had been made to this Society by the local Government, made the following remarks: “The Calcutta School Society appears to combine with its arrangements for giving elementary instruction, an arrangement of still greater importance for educating teachers for the indigenous schools. This last object we deem worthy of great encouragement, since it is upon the character of the indigenous schools that the education of the great mass of the population must ultimately depend. By training up therefore a class of teachers, you provide for the eventual extension of improved education to a portion of the natives of India far exceeding that which any elementary instruction that could be immediately bestowed, would have any chance of reaching.” In consequence of the reduction of the Society’s means, the examinations have been discontinued since 1833. Unequivocal testimony is borne to the great improvement effected by the exertions of the School Society, both in the methods of instruction employed in the indigenous schools of Calcutta, and in the nature and amount of knowledge communicated, and I have thus fully explained the operations of this benevolent association, because they appear to me to present an admirable model, devised by a happy combination of European and Native philanthropy and local knowledge, and matured by fifteen years’ experience, on which model, under the fostering care of Government, and at comparatively little expense, a more extended plan might be framed for improving the entire system of indigenous elementary schools throughout the country.—*Adams’ Report, 1836, pp. 9, 10*

But Calcutta, with its English schools, was not the place for working out this plan, and its noble objects were perverted. The money is now spent on a mere English school.

The Serampore Missionaries, most anxious to spread know-

ledge of all kinds among the *people*, were not neglectful of Vernacular Education. In 1816 they published their *Hints relative to Native Schools*, together with an outline of an Institution for their extension and management. Their plan took, 100 schools soon rose among the natives, in the first year 8,000 rupees were received in subscriptions and donations—respectable natives sent their children, and in several cases the family temple was given as a School house.

Their system was a liberal one. *Manuals of Instruction* were provided on the *Solar System*, the *Laws of Attraction*, &c, on *European and Asiatic Geography*—on *Popular Facts in Natural Philosophy*—*Ancient History and Chronology*—*Ethics*—*Etymology*, *Sixty Sanskrit Roots*, with their 1,000 Bengali derivatives.

The Alphabet was learned, according to the shape and sound of the letters. Spelling, Grammar, Arithmetic, were taught in classes by large tables. Much general information was conveyed by *Writing by Dictation* from a compendium of important facts—

“When boys can write neatly, a field is opened for improving the mind by dictation alone to any extent which the time of the pupil at school admits, and one printed book for the monitor of each class, the price of which will scarcely exceed that of one Table, will be sufficient for a whole class however numerous. A little reflection on the nature of thus writing from dictation will convince us, too, that it is a most effectual means of conveying instruction. It secures the attention of a whole class, and promotes the improvement of a pupil in reading, writing, orthography, and grammar, at the same time that it conveys clear and distinct ideas to the mind. Its advantages relative to fixing ideas in the memory will easily appear from a review of the process observed in communicating a sentence. Suppose for example that a class of twelve boys were prepared to write from dictation the following three sentences

“The earth moves round the sun in three hundred and sixty five days, which motion forms the year.”

“The earth turns round on its own axis once in twenty-four hours, which forms day and night.”

“The moon encompasses the earth in twenty-nine days and a half, thus forming the lunar month.”

The whole class being ready, receive and write the first word, and are led to expect the next with calmness and desire, the state of mind best suited for the reception of ideas, thus heard and written, they go on gradually receiving and almost anticipating the idea till the last word leaves it full on the mind. These three sentences being written by each of the twelve boys, they now turn them into a reading exercise, the first boy reading the first sentence aloud, which the rest have also before them in their own hand-writing, the next boy reads the second, and the next the third, which brings the fourth boy to read the first a second time, and thus with the rest, till each sentence will thus have been read four times, while the whole class have had them all written before them, and written too with their own hand. Thus three of the *most important facts* in nature *first*

written, and then distinctly read four times, will be so impressed on the mind as perhaps never to be wholly obliterated This will serve to shew with what ease and effect the whole of the ideas in these various compendiums can be communicated, and if comprised in 450 pages, which might perhaps be done, the whole, at half a page each day, might be thus written from dictation in the space of three years Thus, while the mode of conveying these various ideas in short and easy sentences, would admirably suit them for dictation, the method of first writing and then repeatedly reading them would secure their being retained, in a degree almost equal to that of their being committed to memory "

The masters' *pay* was regulated by the *number* and *proficiency* of the boys writing by dictation—the boys were provided with blank books, at a monthly expense of three pice, which were examined every month by the Superintendent, as to writing, orthography, &c—those books were often read by adults from curiosity A European Superintendent was appointed, and it was designed to have had East Indian sub-inspectors—a small Normal School was commenced, but as a Missionary body, they could not devote sufficient time to them, and these schools were given up

The results of Female Education in missions have been, that while a *few* may receive a knowledge of English, the great mass have to be instructed through the Vernaculars. The Government cannot leave half the population of the country, which are females,—twenty millions,—in ignorance, an impulse was given by that enthusiastic friend to female education, the late lamented Hon'ble J D Bethune, who gave one lakh of rupees towards the object. Considering the early marriage system in this country, the interruptions from festivals, the necessity of training to *domestic* duties, we see that while a few girls can learn English, the great mass must receive knowledge pleasantly and intelligently through their own tongue—a mere smattering of English is apt in various cases to make a girl discontented and undomesticated The cause of female education is therefore inseparably bound up with Vernacular education Miss Cooke began, in connection with the Church Missionary Society, and under the patronage of the Marchioness of Hastings, female schools in Calcutta, in 1821 Though previous to that, some desultory efforts had been made by a few young ladies, in 1822 she had twenty-two schools and 400 pupils The Central School was founded in 1824, and in 1837 the Agartara Orphan Refuge.

In 1822 the Christian Knowledge Society began the system of "school circles," each circle containing five Bengali schools, and one Central School in which English was taught. One of those circles was at Russapagla, another at Kasipur, another at Howrah, they contained in 1834, 697 pupils—but being subsequently transferred to the Propagation Society, the funds of the

latter were appropriated to other operations, and the schools were given up

Mr Deer commenced Bengali schools with great energy and success in Burdwan. In 1823 he had fourteen schools of 1,254 boys, besides ten girl's schools of 243 pupils. In 1824 the Rev T Thomason, father of the late Lieut-Governor, reported of those schools to Government, that "the boys were greatly brought forward," but that at fourteen or fifteen they left the school, and the school-master "must begin 'again and again with new pupils, and so proceed in a round of 'mere elementary reading *ad infinitum*.'" With Mr Thomason's recommendation it was decided "that certain monthly 'little sums should be allowed to such scholars as distinguished 'themselves by their proficiency, in order to secure their attendance, and thus promote their further improvement." English scholarships were founded then in the Hindoo College, but to the present day nothing has been done

The London Missionary Society directed its attention, in 1819, to Vernacular schools, "impressed with a sense of the 'exceeding great importance of well conducted schools in 'this country'" They established them in 1820, at Chitla, and other places, in the neighbourhood of Tallygange, but there were strong prejudices at that time amongst the natives against attending schools where the Scriptures were read. Still in 1820, a Vernacular School with twenty-five boys was opened in a bungalow chapel, at Kidderpur, the boys committed portions of Scripture to memory, "and attend also on Sabbath mornings during Divine Worship," in Chinsura also they attended at the Chapel on Sundays to repeat their Catechisms.

The Calcutta Church Missionary Association had for many years 600 children under instruction, in their Vernacular schools in Calcutta. The Baptist Missionary Society had also several hundreds. But from the difficulty of getting suitable Christian teachers many schools were given up.

Of late the Church of Scotland have taken up Female Vernacular Schools with energy, and have 400 girls attending them in different parts of the suburbs of Calcutta.

Of Missionary Vernacular Education, which has been left to the casual visits of a Missionary overburdened with other duties, who had no time to study how to improve the teachers or the subjects taught, we must apply what Siljestrom, in his *Educational Institutions of the United States* remarks, of another subject, "the Education of the people was in most countries left to the enterprise of individuals, and was therefore but

' too often entirely neglected or restricted to a very imperfect knowledge of the Christian doctrines." It was thought enough in those schools to entrust the teaching of the Scriptures to some heathen sarkar, while little knowledge of Grammar, Geography or History, was imparted to give an intelligent reading of the Holy Books!—The religious instruction in Missionary Vernacular Schools would have been far more successful, had it been supplemented by an efficient system of secular instruction. We have no instance of any Missionary body in Bengal appointing as a Missionary's *sole* duty, the teaching in and superintendence of male Vernacular schools, the duty has only occupied *fragments* of time—and yet the work to be done efficiently requires the entire time. The Missionary Vernacular schools in Bengal now number 6,470 pupils.

A fierce warfare was waged in 1835, between the Orientalists and Anglicists, as to the media for conveying knowledge. One party advocating the Persian and Sanskrit, the other the English. Our own opinion on this question is very decided, and has been often expressed, that, as the medium of a higher education, English is infinitely preferable to any of the learned languages of the East. But it is impossible to over-state the importance of taking care that those who receive an English education, do not neglect the study of their own mother tongue, while it is certain that the great body of the people must and can be educated only through that tongue.

The abolition in 1835 of Persian as the language of the Courts, and the substitution of the Vernaculars, has given a considerable impetus to Bengali. The total state of decay the study of the Persian language has fallen into, reads a lesson to those who, judging from Calcutta experience, fancy that English should be made the language of the Courts, thus turning Courts of Justice into philological schools, and thereby mystifying every thing. The Moslems who had naturalised themselves and founded *colonies* in Bengal, made Persian for *six centuries* the language of the Courts and of business, every native of respectability was obliged to learn it, and no Hindu, ignorant of it, could occupy a seat on the bench. Yet where is Persian now? Echo answers where. If Persian has dropped after six centuries, what probability of the English succeeding? Mr J Shore states on this question,—“Some men have the effrontery to propose that to suit their own convenience, the rights and interests of a hundred millions of native inhabitants, who are, against their will, subject to a handful of English conquerors, should be completely set at nought!” Mr Marshman has pointed out the evils of making English

the medium of communication between the European and a few educated natives, "there is a constant disposition on the part of the *officers* (native) to address a Judge or Magistrate in a language which is not understood by the *people*, and thus to *exclude the people from a knowledge of what is going on.*" But enough on this subject, of which, we trust, that we have heard the last.

Lord W Bentinck, a warm friend to English Education, did not think it beneath his notice to devote the machinery of Government to acquiring the Statistics of *Vernacular Education*. To him are we indebted for the three very able reports on *Vernacular Education*, by W Adam, in 1835, 1836, 1838. Mr Adam was sent by *Government* to enquire into the state of *Vernacular Education* in Bengal and Behar—as the result, basing his suggestions on accurate statistic evidence, he recommended "Government to *afford encouragement to existing schools*, thus calling forth the efforts of the natives—the preparation of improved class books—the appointment to each district of a native *examiner* of teachers and scholars, with an inspector to each five districts—a *model Vernacular School in each district*, to which promising pupils from the ordinary schools should be admissible, to be paid small *stipends* in order to enable them to continue their studies." It is now 1854, sixteen years have elapsed, nothing has been done to carry out those plans in Bengal.

Constituted as the Bengal Council of Education is, the members residing in Calcutta, a semi-Anglicized city, we could not expect them to take up with zeal Vernacular Education. Their first act in this case was to set aside Mr Adams' plan, the only one feasible for this country. Mr Macaulay, their President, knew nothing of the people, his knowledge of India was limited by the bounds of the Mahratta ditch. In 1842 various Meetings were held of a sub-Committee of the Council of Education, for the procuring a series of Vernacular Class Books on the Histories of Bengal, England, India, the Wonders of Nature and Art in India, an Ethnological View of the Rise and Fall of Kingdoms, a Compendium of General Geography, with a few leading statistical facts, none to exceed 250 octavo pages,—they talked, but did little. The Council have, however, in *words*, constantly held forth the necessity of "the acquisition by the students, of a sufficient mastery of the Vernacular, to enable them to communicate with facility and correctness, in the language of the people, the knowledge obtained by them." In 1844, when an inspector of English schools was appointed, they directed part of his duty to be "the

‘extension of the means of instruction in the zillahs.’ Of late years the Council have been more strict in requiring a higher standard of Vernacular knowledge in the Government institutions. We give the following extract from a Circular of theirs —

Fort William, May, 1853

SIR,—It has long been felt that the existing Vernacular tests for Senior and Junior English Scholarships have failed to produce the results intended from them, viz, to encourage the pupils of the Government schools and colleges to become intimately acquainted with their own mother tongue

As the causes which tended to produce such a result, are now susceptible of being in a great measure removed, the Council have resolved, for the future, to exact a higher and more definite standard of Vernacular knowledge, than has hitherto been required

For this purpose it has been resolved that the following revised standards shall come into operation at the next Scholarship examination

JUNIOR SCHOLARSHIPS

Every candidate for a Junior English Scholarship must exhibit an intimate acquaintance with Bengali, Urdu, Hindi or Uriya Grammar, and must be able to analyze and explain passages from such works in some one of those languages, as may from time to time be selected

He must also be able to translate into the Vernacular, such passages from English authors, as may be selected for the purpose

SENIOR SCHOLARSHIPS

“All candidates for Senior English Scholarships will be required to translate into their Vernacular tongue, two moderately difficult passages, one in prose, the other in verse, from some classical English author, to translate a very difficult passage from the Vernacular into English, and to answer searching questions in Vernacular Etymology and Syntax, as well as exhibit an intimate acquaintance with the Grammar of his own language ’

In adopting the course of study necessary to carry out the above resolution, the Council desire me to solicit the particular attention of all officers in charge of colleges or schools to the absolute necessity of insisting most carefully, as a part of the regular course of instruction, that the pupil shall never neglect the double process of translating from English into the Vernacular and from the Vernacular into English

Mr Beadon, the Secretary to the Bengal Government, has lately founded a prize of 100 Rupees annually, to be given to the best Vernacular scholar of the year, who can make the best translation from Arabic, Sanskrit, Persian, or English, in prose and verse, into either Bengali, Hindi, or Uriya, and vice versâ, to be written in pure Vernacular, the object being to polish the language of the people

In Assam, in 1844, twenty-two Vernacular Schools were established at the suggestion of the Collector of Kamrup, at a cost of seventy-nine rupees monthly¹ and contained 795 scholars. Difficulty was found in getting suitable teachers—no wonder, the salary being three rupees a month, the amateur superin-

tendence of Collectors being found unsatisfactory, in 1844 a *paid* inspector was appointed—Mr Robinson, who has been ever since indefatigably laboring for their improvement. In 1845 there were fifty-five schools and 2,257 scholars, which increased in 1846 to 3,908, in 1847 to 3,778, in 1850 to 3,934, in 1851 to 4,025. In 1849 the Inspector recommended making grants of books, to encourage the masters and pupils,—but Government negatived this ! The results of the experiment here have been pronounced by the Commissioner of Revenue, in 1852, to be “on the whole very satisfactory. When the Vernacular effort was begun, only a hundredth part of the common people could read our books, now they are on a level with others, not only this but the *upper* classes have been shamed into exerting themselves, they have had a wonderful effect also in encouraging the study of Bengali, which was almost unknown when those schools began.” Several of the public functionaries in the Province have pledged themselves to regard those schools as nurseries for the public service, and to give certificated candidates from them the preference in public employment.

Lord Hardinge proposed, in 1845, establishing 101 schools in the thirty-seven zillahs of Bengal. It was a well meant effort on the part of one who declared in his Minute that, in the selection of candidates for Government employ, “*the man who could read and write should have the preference over the one who could not*.” But these 101 schools were left without any efficient *paid* superintendence, placed under the Board of Revenue, which gave plenty of rules about schools, but no machinery for executing them, no one to look efficiently after them, the *amla* now and then putting in his own creatures as teachers, &c. Besides, the Board itself was apathetic, and took no real interest in the question—those schools now number twenty-nine. Collectors, already over-burdened with official duties, were expected to supervise in a *foreign* language, a system of elementary education, which, in England, Germany, France and America, is considered deserving the *whole* attention of men who are well paid and receive a special training for it. As a matter of course, these schools have been failures. We want the Napoleon system of *concentration* in our educational warfare—press on the centre, bring your efforts to bear in compact masses,—the Hindu proverb states of a hundred loose straws, each has but the power of a straw, but if these straws be *bound together*, they acquire tenacity and strength. Select particular districts, work them thoroughly as *model ones*, pay your teachers well, hold out to the meritorious pupils prospects of employment. Professor Hayman Wilson has well stated, in 1821, in reporting on

Native Institutions —“A Hindu literary institution, left without control, must, in the present state of native principle, be a nonentity” Respecting the control of local committees, he remarks, “superintendence should be essentially a duty, the control of a committee, whose members have no time to spare from other occupations, and whose studies do not qualify them for an intimate scrutiny of the objects of the institution and competency of its servants, cannot be more than occasionally beneficial.” We would encourage local superintendence for Vernacular Schools—only not to make the weight of the building rest on it—however, the mere presence of a Government officer occasionally would be of use The plan of study in Lord Hardinge’s schools was good, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Geography, the History of India and Bengal, were the subjects to be taught in each school. Twenty masters, each at twenty-five rupees monthly,—composed the first grade, thirty at twenty rupees, the second grade, and fifty-one at fifteen, the third grade, the masters were all *pandits*, examined for the different grades at Fort William College, where 159 candidates presented themselves and were questioned on Bengali Composition, Geography, Elementary Astronomy, Arithmetic to the Double Rule of Three—thirty-nine passed The schools, three in each *zillah*, were to be established in the most populous towns which the Collector or Deputy Collector might select, the scholars to pay monthly fees, and a school-house to be built, but no prospects of temporal advancement were held out to proficient pupils in those schools, while valuable situations were the reward of attending *English* schools, the student of the *Bengali* saw only a *cul de sac*,—in a country like Bengal he was expected to pursue “knowledge for knowledge’s sake” Lord Hardinge’s resolution of 1844 has proved a dead letter as far as Bengali is concerned—it is now 1854¹ nothing has been done in Bengal to carry it out as respects the masses—however, in the North Western Provinces, in August, 1852, a Government order was issued in its spirit requiring a knowledge of reading and writing for all Government servants Mr Lodge, the Government Inspector, who *knew nothing of Bengali*, reported on those schools, and was even requested to draw up a scheme of school books for them—he certainly had not “the discreet exercise of control”

In 1838 the managers of the Hindu College turned their attention to the establishment of a Vernacular School, “conducted on a better system than the common Vernacular schools, and also to pave the way for a system of national education, to instruct Hindus thus in literature and science, through the medium of the Bengali language, to comprehend

' a system of political economy, and moral philosophy, in five years." In April, 1841, it opened, the study of Geometry was introduced, and lectures on Ethics were delivered. But little encouragement was given by the authorities, though the managers recommended that " five free admissions to the Hindu College should be given as prizes to the most successful students," and that the rules of the Hindu College, which allowed admission to no student after he was eight years of age, should be relaxed in favour of the pupils who had gone through a five years' course of study in the patshálá—but both proposals were negatived,—still the school numbers 200 pupils, who *pay eight annas each*, and that for *Vernacular* education. It will be re-modelled, we believe, shortly, and affords a splendid field for a practising school in connection with a training school for teachers.

Lord William Bentinck won high honors by his abolition of *Sati*, but widow-burning has not inflicted one-fiftieth of the evils on this country, which is now being inflicted by medical quacks and empirics, ' legalized murderers,'—this evil cannot be remedied by any legal enactments, nor by students trained up in the English department of the Medical College, who charge four rupees a visit (a man and his wife, and two children live well in a village on five rupees monthly). A class of pupils taught through Urdu had been established in 1839, having 100 scholarships, and has supplied in a satisfactory manner native doctors to the army. To Lord Dalhousie's Government are the peasantry of Bengal, forty millions, indebted for the founding of fifty Government scholarships, each of five rupees monthly, in the Medical College, for a class of pupils to be instructed through the Bengali language, many of whom might be attached to the different thannas. In this class we have frequently heard with pleasure lectures in Bengali, delivered on anatomy, by Madhu Sudhan Gupta, the students taking notes, we have witnessed them dissecting with their Bengali MSS notes before them, we have heard lectures also on *Materia Medica* delivered. The students attend the clinical lectures in the Medical College hospital. It is interesting to trace the rise of this class. In 1842-43 Dr Mouat, the late able Secretary of the Council of Education, circulated a minute stating, that on the ground of the expense of supplying Sub-Assistant Surgeons to the millions of Bengal, it was necessary to have a class trained through the Bengali language, " men who would be the only checks on the common vendors of poisons." to consist of one hundred persons on scholarships of five rupees monthly, trained by two professors selected from

the passed students when their studies were completed, to be located at their own choice at thannas, "thus increasing tenfold the usefulness of the Medical College, by bringing the blessings of European medicine to the hearths and homes of the oppressed in remote stations, where Government dispensaries could not be established, and thus forming a special medical police." Ram Komal Sen, noted for his Oriental scholarship, proposed in 1844, 1,000 rupees as a prize for the best translation, into Bengali, of a treatise on Anatomy, Materia Medica, and the treatment of the principal diseases prevalent in India. The Council of Education cordially agreed with the plan. In his proposal the Babu stated, instruction must be given through the Vernacular, the natives studying through an English medium, "have neither time nor disposition, nor means to communicate to their countrymen the knowledge they possess. No foreign science or art can be *effectually* introduced into any country, unless means are effectually adopted for communicating them through the medium of the language of the country." Previous to this, however, in 1828, Dr Tytler was appointed Anatomical lecturer in the Sanskrit College, with a pandit assistant, the students not only handled the bones of the human skeleton without reluctance, but in some instances themselves performed the dissection of the softer parts of animals—"an hospital was proposed to be connected with it, as also that the passed pupils should be attached to jails." A Vernacular Medical school of thirty students had previously existed under Dr Jameson, a knowledge of Hindustani was required, they received eight rupees monthly during their course of three years' study, and were afterwards posted to civil or military employ, on salaries of twenty or thirty rupees monthly, with pensions instruction through Hindustani was given on Anatomy, Materia Medica, and Clinical subjects. Dr Breton, another professor, published various Urdu works on Medical subjects. Previous to 1807, from fifty to one hundred native doctors used to attend the native hospital to study the practice there, and introduce it among their countrymen—one of them got so rich as to drive in his carriage.

To a superior class of Vernacular schools, however, must we look for a class of candidates, "with enlightened minds, accustomed to exercise their intellectual powers, and familiar with habits of accurate observation, possessed of such a degree of literary acquirement as may secure the respect of those with whom they are to associate in the exercise of their profession. The learning of its medical profession is afoot in the tripod of a country's erudition." Dr Jackson, in his

memorial to the Governor-General on the Bengali medical class, proposed that these scholarships should be held out as prizes to the Vernacular schools, that after a given period no person should be a candidate, who had not received a training in some Vernacular school, and had not obtained a certificate of proficiency

On July the 3rd, 1847, a school, supported by Government, began under Dr McClelland's auspices in the Botanic Gardens which, though of humble pretensions, may be of vast consequence in the country—an initiatory school for teaching the sons of malis, giving them a general education for six hours, while they work in the garden five hours daily—thirty-two boys learn Bengali and twelve the elements of English. There are a dozen boys studying the nomenclature of plants, and their systematic arrangement according to the natural orders, three of them can point out the natural order of almost any plant in the garden. It is in fact an industrial school, twenty-five boys receive one rupee twelve annas monthly for working in the garden out of school hours. A Guru Mohashay is paid six rupees, and an English teacher twelve. We hope to see this excellent institution enlarged, and superior teachers attached to it, so that it might be a model agricultural school, on the plan of that of Vehrli, in Switzerland.

Adjacent to this school, the Agri-Horticultural Society founded in 1847, another school for educating the sons of malis in Bengali reading and writing, the boys are allowed for working from two rupees to one rupee four annas monthly.

Why should we not have, in connection with our Central Vernacular schools, malis draughted from those schools, who might instruct boys in the practical parts of botany? Even Ireland has seventeen Model Agricultural Schools and nineteen ordinary ones, besides nineteen Industrial Schools—and though in 1805 the Marquis of Wellesley publicly recommended an Agricultural School being formed at Barrackpur, nothing has been done. The North-west has its Rurki—Bengal has nothing.

We shall now notice some signs of the times favorable for Vernacular Education. It is a fact that since the commencement of this century, 1,400 different works have been published in Bengali, many of them containing able disquisitions on *medicine, philosophy, law, metaphysics, and religion*—a number of these have gone through twenty or thirty editions, not less than one million and a half of copies of these works have been published and sold,—this shows there is a certain reading public—though many of these books are not calculated to improve the mind or morals. The

only remedy for this is the creation of a purer taste by schools and the production of a healthy Vernacular literature, on the plan of the Vernacular Literature Committee, which has given us *Robinson Crusoe*, *the Life of Clive*, and of *Rajá Prutápaditya*, *Lamb's Tales*, *Selections* from the native press, and an excellent illustrated Magazine. It is a fact that the language has been found quite adequate "to express the subtleties of law and philosophy, and to impart the enthusiasm of poetry,"—that 30,000 Bengali books issue annually from the Calcutta presses—fifty new ones were published in 1852. Even the Musalmans have published thirty books in a dialect half Bengali, half Urdu—1,00,000 Bengali Almanacks are sold annually in Calcutta.—The recent publication of a Bengali Dictionary, the *Shabdám-budhi*, by a native, containing 36,000 words, shows the progress and copiousness of the language. The Bengali language, fifty years ago was as crude as the Italian before *Dante's* time—but "*Dante rose*"—and a single man by a single work, the *Divine Comedie*, shewed that his country's language was capable of expressing the most lofty and abstract ideas—what may we not expect in Bengal?

All this has been done, notwithstanding the downright apathy of the Government towards the language, though we are glad to see an improved tone is rising up on this point, and that the Honorable C. H. Cameron, in his plan for a Calcutta University, states "that every encouragement which the Government 'can give, would be given to the production of original works 'in the native languages'" Lord Hastings, when he had subdued the Mahrattas, fostered the Bengali press in 1817, but since that it has never enjoyed the smiles of the authorities.

To any one who appreciates the close connection between Sanskrit and the Bengali,—how the latter, like other languages used by a hundred millions in India, derives all its expressiveness and technical terminology from the former, (nine-tenths of the Bengali is Sanskrit)—the reform in the Sanskrit College of Calcutta, whose students are drafted from various zillahs in Bengal, cannot be a matter of indifference. Though founded in 1824, this college, except for a short time when Professor Wilson introduced the plan of translations, has not, until lately, been made a means for enlightening the masses. Its early plans contemplated the study of English, medical science and law. Though the College was established in Lord Amherst's days, yet to Ishwar Chandra, the present able Principal, animated by the spirit of a Bacon and a Bopp, are we indebted for making the institution, besides the mental training given in it by Sans-

krit, a philological one, a royal academy for Bengali, a fount for purity of style, a training school for able philological teachers. He has taken the noble Sanskrit away from being the weapon of superstition and Brahminical enthrallment, to be the lever for giving dignity to the language of the masses. What Whateley has done for popularizing Logic, or Socrates Philosophy, Ishwar Chandra has done for facilitating the study of Sanskrit Grammar—rendering a study hitherto so abstruse as easy as Greek. His grammar and easy reading lessons in Sanskrit are now the class books in various English schools, where the pupils learn the *Bengali Sādhū Bhāṣā* by his system,—and Professor Wilson's statement is verified, that a native can be taught Sanskrit in three or four years. Instead of youths being "four or five years engaged on the 'study of Sanskrit Grammar, and not advanced beyond its 'simplest rudiments,' they, after three months' study of the declensions and conjugations, begin reading simple Sanskrit sentences, and then study the *Belles Lettres* and poetic works, thus liberalising the mind. For an account of Ishwar's improved system, see Report of the Committee of Public Instruction for 1852. His elementary Sanskrit Grammar and Reader, have been introduced into the course of study of the Chief Missionary Institutions in Calcutta, and into various Mofussil Schools, as being the best means of grounding pupils thoroughly in the *Bengali* idiom and in *Etymology*, and in making them familiar with technical terms. The *Mugdabodha* is being gradually displaced by the natives *themselves*. Ishwar's name will go down to posterity with those of Wilkinson of Sehoire, and of Dr Ballantyne who has made Bacon intelligible to the pandits of Benares,—men who have done so much for enlisting the learned and influential classes of this country in a course of diffusing enlightened ideas.

The employment of pandits for the systematic teaching of Bengali to the youths in the Parental, St Paul's, the Martiniere and Mr Montague's educational seminaries, for European and East Indian youths—its introduction also into the European Orphan Asylum, the Normal School, and other schools for females,—the increased strictness of the examinations in Fort William College,—the late excellent rules for the examination of Civilians and Military men in the Vernaculars, are full of hope as increasing the number of Europeans who will take an interest in the Vernaculars. Europeans, hitherto, have generally despised Oriental studies, through not knowing any thing about them,—but the orders of Government requiring Col-

lectors and Magistrates to itinerate in their districts, will make the wants and language of the people better known. We trust that Government may soon require a certain Vernacular qualification from principals and head masters of Colleges,—without this they will never be able to exercise an efficient superintendence over the lower classes in a school. These classes really form the base on which you have to erect your superstructure,—native lads will often give long definitions of a word in English, not knowing the proper meaning of the word. We have known a lad give the correct meaning of the word *desert*, and yet when translating the sentence, “in the desert of Arabia there are no trees,” translating desert by *jungal*, and of another rendering the *imposing* rocks of Arabia by *prabanchak*—roguish.

We have seen a remarkable improvement in the mode of teaching Bengali carried on in the Hindu College by Babu Ram Chandra Mittra, the Vernacular Professor. He aims at making the pupils translate idiomatically and closely passages from English works of a didactic, narrative, or pathetic class; he then corrects and points out their errors to the class, he trains them to turn common Bengali expressions into elegant ones, and notices all the parallel passages to an English word, phrase or sentence, which they meet with while translating, as well as their appropriate meanings in the Bengali language,—thus making the students familiar with elegant and idiomatic expressions in the English and Vernacular languages simultaneously; this system has been highly approved of by several good Bengali scholars.

Strenuous and persevering efforts have long been made to circulate Christian truth among the natives, by preaching, by circulating the Scriptures and Tracts in the Vernacular. The Calcutta Bible Society circulated of Bengali Scriptures, in whole or part, in 1853, 25,208 copies, and since 1811, 779,280 copies, besides the Baptists have circulated nearly half a million copies, in whole or in part in all more than a million! We would only remark on this point, “the soil requires dressing for the seed.” And to use the language of Burke, “The Bible is a collection of an infinite variety of cosmogony, theology, history, prophecy, psalmody, morality, apologue, allegory, legislation, ethics, carried through different books by different authors.” Had Vernacular schools opened the mind, imparted a taste for reading, given a better acquaintance with reading, general knowledge, geography and ancient history, “rendering certain terms familiar, which, on account of their strangeness, always prove repulsive to the adult or wholly uneducated, when addressed directly on the solemn truths of religion,” they surely would have been

pioneers of religion and "the most substantial fulcrum on which the Christian lever can be brought to work,"—and how much more successful might the labours of Missionaries and Tract distributors have been. The Bishop of London has shewn in his various publications, the value of general knowledge in explaining Scripture.—That the Bible is not to operate as a mere *mantra* or charm, independent of the use of our faculties—Schools are more or less calculated to prepare an audience for the preacher, "the intellect and moral sense are roused from their torpor" The Serampore Missionaries, who had done so much for Bible circulation, said, in 1817, 'without native *schools* the Scriptures will remain in a great degree unread, and of course inefficient." How can we expect, in ordinary cases, "to rouse the mind brutalized by the rudest forms of labor, from its physical torpor to the consciousness of another life?" In Bengal it is as much ignorance, as priestcraft, which seals the word of God to the people. The peasant's title to the Christian inheritance is in a record which he ought to read intelligently.

The prospect of obtaining situations is what has given of late years, the great stimulus to English education here "knowledge is merely sought as a means of livelihood," must be the keystone of the arch of Vernacular education also. According to the marketable value of knowledge will be the investment of capital and labour—subsequently "the motive will improve as education advances" The Prussian and French Governments use the same spur. Mr Marshman in his evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons, *Sixth Report*, p 35, states on this subject —

The number of situations which the Government of Bengal and Behar has at its disposal, amounts to no fewer than 19,000 of the value of from five to thirty rupees a month which would be exceedingly coveted by that class of men who are likely to send their children to the Vernacular schools. What I would propose, therefore, is, that those situations should be held out as *prizes* to the most advanced students in those Vernacular schools, upon the report of the inspector employed by the Government. This would produce a double advantage. It would induce a very large body of the Natives, in fact all men above the labouring classes, to send their children to our schools to receive a good education, and at the same time give the Government a body of *superior men* for all the inferior offices in the public service.

Now in Bengal and Behar we have 1,54,613 chowkedars, on three rupees a month each, 6,918 burkundazes, at four, 1,747 paharidars at four, 608 jamidars at eight, 474 mohurrirs at 7-8, and 445 darogahs at seventy each.

The Bombay Government, in 1852, published a notification that the peon who can read and write is to get the preference over the one who cannot—a similar one came out in the Agra Presidency, but in Bengal no step has been taken in this respect, though in the Agra Presidency chuprassis, burkandazes and all the officials of Government are required to pass an examination in reading, writing, and accounts

We hold with Aristotle, that as it is the interest of the state to check crime, and that as prevention is better than cure, so the Magistrate should see that children are educated, but it should be on the principle of "help them to help themselves,"—this is particularly necessary in Bengal, where the natives are so disposed to leave every thing in the hands of Government, like creeping plants they love to lean on a parent stem. Hence we think that, after the English model, the Government should limit itself principally to appointing a well-paid staff of examiners, making grants to schools by way of help, (not to *supersede* private exertion) and having here and there *model* schools. We know various cases of Indigo-planters and others who, if aid were granted by the State, would be glad to establish Vernacular Schools, to whom, "in their frequent journies through the villages, inhabited by their cultivators, with the view of examining the state of their crops, a glance at the human plants advancing in knowledge would form a source of delightful amusement."

There is however a party in England who think, that while the Government should be the jailor, hangman, policeman, doctor of the people, it should do nothing for their education. Sir J Kay Shuttleworth, in his work on education, has shewn how this *ultra-voluntarism* has failed in England.

The Natives value education. To impart knowledge to the young is esteemed an act of *religious merit*—in many cases teachers pay the pupils. Mr Adam has given in his returns the number of children receiving *domestic* instruction as one-third of the community. He and others have calculated that there are in Bengal and Behar, 100,000 Vernacular Schools, supported by natives.

Improvement, and not mere *innovation*, is the motto of the North Western Provinces, let us follow this, as also the policy of the Agri-Horticultural Society of Calcutta. They wished to improve Native Agriculture, as one means to this they have periodical distributions of prizes for the common Mali, who is to Horticulture as the *Guru Mohashay* is to a school. At a late distribution of prizes held in the plain before the Fort we

saw 2,500 spectators present, and prizes in money, &c., were distributed to seventy malis, of whom there were 200 in attendance. This system has been acted on since 1830 150 malis are annually rewarded in this way, and 650 Rs given in prizes and medals

But where are teachers to come from? Look at the number of young men that have left our English schools and are seeking for employment, content with a trifle, many of them would answer as teachers of Geography, and History, and in fact, it would do our native teachers of English schools much service were they to commence their pedagogic career as teachers in Vernacular Schools. We know cases where this class of teachers are employed part of the day in an English and part in a Vernacular school, and it works well

We would employ the Guru-Mahashay for the teaching of arithmetic. The Guru Mahashay is a fac-simile on Indian ground of the Irish Hedge School-master. Fees are regulated by the progress of the student, we would pay him so much a head for the boys that can write by dictation, to encourage him "rather by premiums offered than by a monthly salary." Dr Bell drew some of the best parts of his system from this said Guru Mohashay system, such as monitors, simultaneous answering, learning the letters by writing them, chanting. The Guru Mohashay has got local influence, the parents have more confidence in him than they would have in a stranger, though a superior teacher

But a training school for Vernacular teachers is required in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, which will give as superior an education in literature through Bengali as is done in the Medical College in *Medical* matters, where lectures in Bengali are delivered on *Anatomy, Materia Medica, Surgery, the Practice of Medicine*, to fifty students, who all take notes in Bengali. There were 300 candidates for admission to this class on its opening. By founding scholarships for superior lads in model Mofussil schools, we can get a class of pupil teachers gradually

In the Kishnaghur district a Vernacular training school for teachers, in connection with missions, has been in operation for the last two years. Instruction is conveyed by lectures on the following secular subjects, the students taking notes—Physical Geography, Ancient History, Histories of Greece and Rome, Sanskrit Reading, and Bengali Composition.

The practical suggestions we would offer, as the result of the previous remarks, are—still allowing a wide margin for "local

experience," leaving the choice of means at the disposal of the agent to hold him responsible for the end.

(1) Take the plan in the North Western Provinces as the model, at the same there should be "elasticity in the application of general rules," according as circumstances suggest, and suited to an experimental system.

(2) The whole management should be not under "the vacillating councils of a fluctuating Committee," with its Calcutta Associations and local prejudices, but, as in the North Western Provinces under the *Lieut-Governor*, who, from his official position, would be acquainted with the wants and state of the Mofussil, and by his moving about, could avail himself of the experience of others, and particularly of Vernacular Inspectors

(3) In connexion with him, as in the North Western Provinces, a *Visitor General*, on a salary of 1,200 rupees a month, a man of position in society, whose recommendation and correspondence with Mofussil authorities would carry weight, a man of enthusiasm, not discouraged by difficulties, one who has faith in the ultimate triumph of popular education. His duties would be inspecting schools in the Mofussil, correspondence with teachers and the friends of popular education. The history of the Madressa and other Government institutions shows the absolute necessity of a vigilant, active *European* superintendence. It is of no use making rules, unless we see them acted on—local Committees have proved decided failures. Much of the success of Vernacular education in the North West Provinces, we attribute to the appointment of Mr Reed, as Visitor General, who, by his position in society, has given dignity to the cause of popular enlightenment, his three reports shew how zealously he has acted. The late Hon'ble J Thomason remarks thus of his appointment, "but it is also evident that his success has been greatly owing to the position he occupied in the service. This greatly promoted his influence with the people with the Native officials and with his brother officers in charge of districts, this can be done by no one with so much effect as by a Civilian who is on habits of intimate friendship with those of his own service, and to whom all natives look up as to one who at some future day may exercise an immediate influence over their prospects and fortunes." "A Visitor General proceeding to a native school, would be regarded as a kindness and an honor, as a *connecting link which brings the pupils* in contact with the Government of the country, and elevates them in the consideration of their countrymen."

(4.) Under the Visitor General Sub-Inspectors, one for each

of the zillahs—to visit every school which receives Government aid at least twice a year, to carry out the instructions given by Government, to hold examinations of candidates for certificates to entitle them to be registered for public employment, to distribute prizes to the most deserving teachers. The instructions given to the pergunnah visitors in the North Western Provinces, are well adapted to the Lower Provinces—See *Thornton's Statistics*, pp 44, 45

(5) *Five zillahs*, say the Twenty-four Pergunnahs, Hugh, Nuddea, Midnapur, Burdwan, which have a population of five millions, to be selected first, the primary object should be rather “intensive effort than extensive” In the North Western Provinces, eight districts were selected, when the experiment was successful, it was extended to the *whole* of the North Western Provinces. A few districts *well worked*, regarding quality more than quantity, would serve as *model* districts At the same time, in particular cases, where there is a guarantee of *efficient superintendence*, aid might be extended to other districts. Too much must not be attempted at first, “restricting to a narrower sphere and a more select number, with the view of ultimately and more speedily reaching the *entire* mass, through the instrumentality of those awakened and enlightened.” (*Dr Duff*)

(6) *Grants in aid* Giving help to all schools, in *secular* education, has been ably advocated by Messrs Marshman, Duff, Halliday, Trevelyan Thomason's principle was, “the Government does not intend to establish schools of its own, but intends to help the people in establishing schools *for themselves*” We have 100,000 Vernacular schools in Bengal Besides improving these, there ought to be in central places model schools like the Tehsildar schools of the North Western Provinces, established by Government, “to set an example of improved modes of teaching and improved books, so as eventually to supersede the common Guru Mohashay ones”

(7) A certain number of the following *subjects* to be taught in schools applying for aid Writing by Dictation,—Mental Arithmetic which trains to a habit of reasoning and to precision of thought, rendering the peasant less a prey to fraud—Natural History,—Lessons on objects,—the History of Bengal, with the map—Map copying,—Physical Geography,—Grammar and Etymology, and Ethics. Each school required to employ a pandit for two days a week at least, and a teacher of a class superior to the Guru Mohashay, capable of teaching Mensuration and Physical Geography

(8) *Prospects* in the spirit of Lord Hardinge's resolution,

that the man who can read or write should get the preference to one who cannot, to be held out to promising pupils persevering in the studies—such as promotion to the Bengali Medical class, Calcutta, where Government has founded fifty scholarships of the monthly value of five rupees each, tenable for three years, or to be trained as superior agriculturists in the Botanical Gardens, with the prospect of receiving salaries ranging from eight to thirty rupees,—but above all, that the 19,000 situations ranging from five to thirty rupees monthly, at the disposal of the Government of Bengal, might be held out as prizes “Learning for learning’s sake” is not the rule in England, why should we expect it to be so in India? If we wish to have education here like the light of heaven distributed among all, “popular education should be the principal cog-wheel in the ‘machinery of the state’” Government patronage should be extended to deserving pupils of the schools.

(9) *A Vernacular Library* to be connected with each school—to cherish a taste for reading among teachers, and boys’ books might be lent from it, to senior pupils, as exercises in analysis and affording materials for essays. These books might be lent to persons in the neighbourhood as an amusement for leisure hours. By indenting for a copy of every useful Vernacular work that issues from the Calcutta press, a good supply would soon be obtained. In the North Western Provinces, Government subscribe for a number of copies of every valuable Vernacular book, and put it on their published lists, so as to give it a wider circulation, and encourage private enterprise. Periodicals also and a Newspaper like the *Satya Pradip* might be taken in. *Schools* give the appetite, but *libraries* must supply a healthy food. Without mental food the mind sinks into a state of stagnation. Vernacular Libraries have been established by the Bombay Council of Education in the chief towns in the interior—we want the fostering of a domestic literature, “cheap, instructive and interesting, ‘adapted both to the pecuniary means and mental constitution of the people’” The people of Nimar, in 1848, subscribed 1,397 rupees for the purchase of Vernacular books for libraries. Every model school might carry out a recommendation of Dr Mouat’s, “to have a *garden* so arranged as to exhibit ‘the classification of plants—the students might study it as a ‘department of Natural Science, and even in lectures on the ‘structure, economical uses, mode of growth, development and ‘cultivation of plants. The illustrations are always at hand, ‘there is nothing in them offensive to native tastes or habits,

‘ and they are clothed with a perpetual charm of poetic interest
‘ that has not been lost upon the classic writers of the East.”

(10) *Scholarships* in connection with a certain number of superior schools, to keep boys longer at school, so that “the living principle taught the boy at school, shall be kept alive in the breast of the man.” These scholarships would enable superior pupils drafted from the common schools, as from a kind of nursery, to lay a deeper foundation of knowledge, and thus create a thirst for knowledge, and would give us a superior class of native functionaries and teachers—students for the Sanscrit College—medical students—employés in the courts, &c. Five rupees a month would enable them “to protract their course of study, ‘ and also to render their own attainments subservient to the ‘ instruction of the lower classes of the students.” The Rev T Thomason, father of the late Lieut -Governor, proposed to Government the Vernacular scholarship plan as early as 1824, and Mr W B Bayley, in the same year also recommended “such an ‘ allowance to be granted to the cleverest boys, as might induce ‘ them to pursue their studies to a later age than they can now ‘ be expected to do.” Length and variety of study is absolutely necessary to quicken and expand the mind if 52,000 rupees have been annually given by Government in Bengal since 1839 for English scholarships in their colleges, surely some encouragement ought to be given to the Vernacular

ART IV.—*A History of India under the two first Sovereigns of the House of Taimur, Baber and Humáyun. By William Erskine, Esq, Translator of "Memoirs of the Emperor Baber" 2 vols London, 1854*

THESE volumes, for which we are proximately indebted to the filial piety of Mr Claude Erskine, of the Bombay Civil Service, claimed from us an earlier notice. The work is one of great research and great ability, and it the more behoves us to extend to it a kind and cordial greeting, inasmuch as it is scarce likely to meet from the outside public, the acceptance which is so justly its due.

That works of this kind are not popular, it must be unreservedly admitted. It remains for some historian yet unborn uniting in himself the grandeur of Gibbon with the brilliancy of Macaulay, to render a narrative of purely Indian adventure acceptable to the European reader. When once the corner is turned and we come upon the bridge which joins the opposite banks of Mahomedan and Christian supremacy, it is to the dullness of the writer, rather than to the inapprehensiveness of the reader, that we must attribute the unattractiveness of Indian history. We can sympathise with our own countrymen, on whatever shores they may be cast, or in whatever situation they may be thrown, but it is not easy to sympathise, under any circumstances, with a genuine Asiatic. Even the most experienced amongst us understand but imperfectly the feelings, the instincts, the principles of action which move the Hindoos and Mahomedans, by whom we are surrounded. And if we do understand them, it is troublesome to go out of ourselves for the occasion, to place ourselves in the situation of people of different color and different creed, and to forget our nationality altogether. Somehow or other, we cannot take a living interest in the actions of our dusky neighbours. Surrounded as we are by them, often seeing from month's end to month's end no other faces, we are still little able to regard them as anything more than so much furniture. We do not think how the blood flows, or the heart pulses, or the brain works beneath the dark skin. Even a dead body is a mere thing of corruption—not the outward and visible sign of a foregone tragedy of the deepest human interest. It is an atom of a great mass of mortality—not one living member of a family complete in all its parts, and bound together by the same endearing ties, that we ourselves are wont to recognize. In

nor eyes it is not the ruin of a father, a brother, or a son—whose place is vacant—whose *lotah* has passed into other hands. We may speak his language—know thoroughly the history of the country and the geography of the district to which he belonged—perhaps, in the abstract, understand something about the mysteries of caste, but he is, after all, nothing more than one of so many millions of tax-payers—a grain of sand from the great desert, on which we have stamped the foot-prints of the European conqueror.

It is mainly, we think, to this intelligible want of sympathy, that we are to attribute the scant welcome which is given, even in this country, to works of pure Asiatic history. And if we cannot appreciate such works, how can we expect our home-staying brethren to accord to them a liberal greeting. It is common to declare that the great stumbling block resides in the unpronounceable names. But “Baber”—Mr Erskine’s hero, is as euphonic a name as “Raglan,” and “Delhi” is much more pronounceable than “Sevastopol.” “Sooraj-oo-Dowlah” (or “Sir Roger Dowler”) is not more difficult than “Sir De Lacy Evans,” and neither Runjeet Singh nor Dost Mahomet will break a jaw, which has not yielded to Menschikoff and Gortschakoff. Indeed, if hard names make unreadable books, we do not see with what chance of success, the history of the Crimean War is to be written. If we could understand the feelings, appreciate the motives, and altogether penetrate the inner lives of Oriental heroes as easily as we can pronounce their names, we are inclined to think that there would be fewer complaints of the dulness of Indian history.

But whether the obstacle to a more general appreciation resides in the remoteness of the sympathies evoked, or the strangeness of the proper names, there is no doubt, that such works as Mr Erskine’s, meet with public acceptance in a measure very disproportionate to their deserts. These two first volumes of the *History of the House of Taimur* are distinguished by deep research, pregnant learning, considerable knowledge of mankind, and elegant scholarly diction, but the book is one which men will rather place on their shelves, for future reference, than carry about with them for continuous reading. In addition to the disadvantages common to the class, it has others to contend with peculiar to itself. In the first place, it is but a completed fragment of a great uncompleted design. Had Mr Erskine been longer spared to his labors and to the world, he would have presented us with an elaborate History of India, from the commencement of the reign of Baber

to the death of Aurungzebe.* But the volumes before us treat only of the careers of Baber and Humáyun. And this suggests the remembrance of another, and still greater disadvantage, under which this history labors, one-half of the present work, as is candidly admitted by Mr Erskine and by his son, has been anticipated by the author himself. Mr Erskine has already made us familiar with the adventurous career, and the strange many-sided character of the Emperor Baber. It may be doubted, indeed, whether the admirable translation of the Imperial autobiography, with its accompanying notes and dissertations, does not supply at least as much information as the world at large will care to possess. As for ourselves, we would not willingly lose a page of the present work. We have a peculiar affection for those writers who, content with "fit audience but few," find in the labor of historical literature its own exceeding great reward, and look for no compensation beyond. Mr Erskine, though his life was too short for the full consummation of the benefits which he desired to confer on his country, has rendered it a service which will be held in grateful remembrance by the historical student so long as our literature endures.

WILLIAM ERSKINE was a remarkable man, and, if we have any fault to find with the volumes before us, it is that a biographical notice of the author is not prefixed to them. We wish that we could repair the omission. His early days were, we believe, spent principally in Edinburgh, where he lived on terms of intimacy with many, if not all of that strange assemblage of noticeable young men, who, at the commencement of the present century, 'cultivated literature upon a little oatmeal' in the elevated flats of the Modern Athens. He was the familiar friend of Jeffrey and of Horner. He was in habits of close alliance, or of continual correspondence, with Philosopher Brown, and he was the cherished associate of James Mackintosh. By all of these he was held in the highest estimation, and when the last-named was appointed Recorder of Bombay,† William Erskine followed his fortunes to the distant settlement, and being a lawyer by profession, was soon nominated to an office

* We believe that his first intention was to write a history of the Mogul Empire under Aurungzebe. It is greatly we think, to be regretted, that this design was not carried out. That long reign saw at its commencement the highest glories and witnessed at the end the decline almost indeed the fall of the Empire. A history of this epoch would have embraced an account of the government and institutions of the country almost as we found them and would have been of peculiar interest to the European reader.

† Mackintosh wrote to Dr Parr that "he had the good fortune to bring out with him a young Scotch gentleman Mr Erskine who is one of the most amiable, ingenious, and accurately informed men in the world."

in the Court He was subsequently appointed to preside over the Small Cause Court of Bombay By this time his connexion with Sir James Mackintosh had been still further cemented, by his marriage with one of the Recorder's daughters.

In India, William Erskine formed many friendships, and as in England, was respected and esteemed for his great talents and his good qualities, by many of the most gifted men, who then adorned our Anglo-Indian Society He was the friend and literary associate of poor Leyden He was highly appreciated and often consulted by John Malcolm Mountstuart Elphinstone took a deep interest in, and helped to promote, his literary success And Charles Metcalfe, whom he had never seen, stimulated by Elphinstone, exerted himself for William Erskine at a distance To what extent he may have been drawn to India, in the first instance, by a natural taste for Orientalism, we do not know But soon after his arrival, he was deep in the study of the pristine history of India He delighted in antiquarian researches, and prosecuted them with uncommon success He contributed to the transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay (of which he was the original Secretary) some papers distinguished by extensive learning and remarkable acuteness To appreciate them aright, it is necessary that we should bear in mind the period at which they appeared Wilson had not then written The principal works of Colebrooke had not been given to the world The French and German Orientalists, who have since added so largely to our stores of learning, had then scarcely begun to bestir themselves The English in India, though largely given up to Oriental habits, were little addicted to the study of Oriental literature and history, and what William Erskine put forth, five and forty years ago, was something both new and striking Among these separate papers were some admirable disquisitions on the Hindu and Buddhist cave-temples, in which he pointed out, in a very learned and ingenious manner, the means of distinguishing them from each other, and of attaining an approximation to the dates of works of Hindu antiquity, by a reference to the stages of the national religion, indicated by the acts of the gods and heroes represented in the sculptures * Another Treatise on the religion of the Parsees, including a comparison of its existing state with that which it presented in remote ages, as exhibited by Herodotus and other ancient writers, was also distinguished by a remarkable amount of knowledge and

* Bishop Heber, among others was wont to speak in terms of strong admiration of Mr Erskine's Papers on the Cave-Temples of Elephanta—honorable mention of them may be found in Heber's Journal

ability But that which contributed most to the establishment of his reputation in Europe, was his translation of the *Memoirs* of the Emperor Baber, and the elaborate dissertations on the Tartar tribes of Central Asia, which prefaced it—dissertations of which Jeffrey said, that they were more clear, masterly and full of instruction, than any it had ever been his lot to read on the history or geography of the East The rough draft alone of the early part of the translation was written by Dr Leyden But Mr Erskine, with characteristic modesty, assigned to his *collaborateur* a larger share of the praise due to the literary merits of the work than justly belonged to him The notes which the same great critic described as the most intelligent and learned, and the least pedantic he had ever seen affixed to such a performance, are entirely due to Mr Erskine

But it is not to be supposed that, during his residence in India, he was dreaming away his life among the traditions of the past—absorbed in antiquarian researches and philosophic speculations The active business of life was ever a present reality to him And it is no small proof of his legal and administrative efficiency, that he was nominated a member of a Commission—(consisting we believe, only of three gentlemen, the two others being in the Company's Service) appointed to draw up the Code of Regulations now in force in the Bombay Presidency But these honorable and lucrative labors were broken in upon by failing health His constitution had for some time been severely tried by unintermitting intellectual activity in a distressing climate, and he was compelled, at any sacrifice, to recruit his exhausted strength, indeed, to save life itself, by returning to the milder regions of the West In Scotland, he had the pleasure of renewing some of his old friendships, and at intervals he was to be seen in the best literary circles of the Southern capital, but he passed a considerable part of his time on the Continent His intercourse, both personal and epistolary, with many of the most enlightened men of the day, English and Foreign, was frequent and varied * But he was one of the most modest of men, and never

* Among others who held him in high esteem was the late Sir Robert Inglis—a man, *sui generis*, who has recently passed away to a better world, leaving behind him more sorrowing friends, of more varied characters and conditions, than perhaps ever yet grieved for a single man He was able—but there were many abler, learned—there were many more learned Pleasant of discourse—many talked more brilliantly and more profoundly and with a greater exuberance of illustrations But one so able, so learned, so pleasant of discourse and yet withal so kindly so genial, so good, the world has seldom seen before They who knew him only as the Member for Oxford University and regarded him as a High Churchman and a High-Tory perhaps somewhat “bigoted and ‘intolerant’” (it was the fashion to apply these epithets to him) had no concep-

took his proper place in the literary society of his times, or his proper position in the larger world of letters. He had long been collecting materials for his *History of the House of Tainmur*—but failing health again broke in upon his labours. At Bonn, on the Rhine, and at Pau, in the South of France, he resided for some time. The Preface to the two volumes

tion of his real character. He was a man of large sympathies and liberal sentiments, not at all austere in his morality or exclusive in his social intercourse, but courteous and hospitable without grudging, as a Christian should be and beyond all example, perhaps, many sided in his choice of friends. At his table, men of all professions and no professions of varied rank, character, attainments and opinions, might be seen, all equally happy, all equally at their ease under the genial influence of his sunny face and his kindly greetings. There was but one general characteristic about his guests—they were all people worth knowing. A personage of note or a person of no note—a great General or a humble Priest, might be your neighbour—but you soon found that he was not a common man. And there was nothing more remarkable in these gatherings than the rare fusion which distinguished them from almost any similar entertainments in any part of the world. No one in his house ever felt isolated or neglected. It cannot be said that he exerted himself to make every body happy, for, indeed, it was no exertion to him—it was a spontaneous effusion of kindness, he felt an individual interest in each one of his guests, his large heart had a place for them all, his gentility was infectious, and he made his friends interested in each other. It was moreover a distinguishing mark of his hospitality, that he never graduated his attentions. All seemed of equal mark at his table. And yet his bearing, towards the highest had as little in it of neglect, as towards the lowest it had of condescension.

Charming as was this hospitality in itself it was doubly so, as an illustration of the general character of the man. As was the host, so was the friend. You were as little afraid of being forgotten out of his house as of being neglected in it. Much as he delighted in the society of eminent men, he was not a lion hunter. He did not, as some, change his friends, according to the fluctuations and vicissitudes of the political atmosphere. The Parliamentary Debates were not to him a barometer of intellectual and social worth. The doors of his mansion in Bedford Square—open to you in one season, were not closed in the next. There were few of his friends who were not, every now and then, pleasantly reminded that he was thinking of them. It was said—and truly—when he resigned his seat in Parliament that the House of Commons was not like the House of Commons, without Sir Robert Inglis. Many will have said, and without a figure, that the world does not seem the same world without him. He was such a living presence among men. And yet if we could realize the idea of a region peopled or pervaded by eternal benignities, it would be in connexion with the thought of such saintly natures as that of Robert Harry Inglis.

It may seem out of place, in such a work as this, to indulge in these sorrowing reminiscences of a man, who was emphatically an English statesman, and who never set foot upon Indian soil. The digression may be out of place. We could not help it. And yet it may be added that Sir Robert Inglis the son of an East India Director, ever took the deepest interest in India affairs, and was peculiarly well informed respecting them. One of his last speeches in the House of Commons was on the India Bill of 1853. And one of his last monthly labors—a labor of love and kindness—continued, indeed, up to a few days from his death, was the careful re-perusal and revision (for a new edition) of an elaborate work on Indian history, written by one whom he honored with his friendship, and who held that good gift among the most cherished possessions of his life, as now among its most hallowed recollections.

before us is dated from the former place—a pleasant place in itself, with a learned atmosphere, where English faces may be seen at all times of the year. The book is dated, May 28, 1845,—not very long after which he died.

It would not be easy to convey, in the form of a Review-article, a just conception of the real merits of Mr Erskine's History—and, perhaps, the course which we are about to take, is not the one best adapted even partially to fulfil that object. We are going to deal shortly with the book after the manner of reviewers—to tear out its viscera, and use them as our own.

Baber was born on the 14th of February, 1483. He was the son of the King of Kokund, and in that country first saw the light. He was a boy of eleven years when his father died, and bequeathed to him a tottering throne. A neighbouring Prince threatened his little Sovereignty, and with the natural enmity of a near relation, despoiled him of part of his possessions*. The first years of his reign were stormy and peril-laden. But adversity even then, was not without its uses. He was early trained to arms, and acquired habits of independence, and an elasticity of mind, which clung to him throughout the rest of his life.

Baber's first military experiences were of a defensive character. But he was soon to be seen carrying the war into the enemy's country. The affairs of Samarkand had been thrown into confusion by repeated changes of Sovereignty, and the young Prince had little scruple in retaliating upon the family which had treated him so scurvily upon his accession. So, aided by another cousin, the Khan of Bokhara, he laid siege to Samarkand, and reduced the garrison almost to a state of starvation. But before the place surrendered, that great general, of whose powerful assistance the Russians recently boasted, came to the aid of the besieged. Winter set in. "All were agreed," says Mr Erskine, "that the city was reduced to great distress, and must probably fall in a short time, but that it was impossible to keep the army in the field when winter came on, unsheltered as it then was, and in a country where the winter is extremely severe. It was resolved therefore to break up from before the city and to erect temporary huts for the troops in some neighbouring forts, by which means they could still keep Samarkand in a great degree in a state of blockade." Preparations for hutting the troops were at once commenced, but there was active work still before them. The ruler of Samarkand—Baber's cousin—had invited a famous

* His first enemy was his uncle—the Sultan of Samarkand.

Usbeg Chief to come to his relief, and this man, Sheibani Khan by name, now arrived with a formidable army, expecting to take Baber by surprise. But the young Prince, mustering what troops he could, prepared to give him battle. The bold front he assumed alarmed the Usbeg, who returned to Turkistan, and in a few days, "by the favor of God, Baber gained complete possession of the city and country of Samarkand."

But his difficulties, as often happens, were augmented by success. Samarkand surrendered peaceably to him. His cousin had fled in disguise, and the chief people had invited him to enter. He intended that the place should become the capital of his Empire. Justice and expediency alike, therefore, deterred him from giving up the city to plunder. His followers were disappointed. The surrounding country, impoverished by the protracted siege, could yield no adequate supplies to his army. So his soldiers began rapidly to desert, and his officers followed their example. Nor was this the only misfortune which threatened him. Whilst Baber had been busying himself with foreign conquest, he was threatened at home with internal revolt. His younger brother was in arms against him, and menacing his capital. And when the expresses, which were sent to summon him home, reached Samarkand, Baber was lying prostrate and helpless, between life and death, in the extremity of a mortal fever.

Back went the messenger to Baber's beleaguered capital, with the fearful intelligence that the young Sultan was at the point of death. The Governor of the place, who had been gallantly holding out in expectation of his master's return, now stricken with alarm, capitulated. But Baber was a youth of a vigorous constitution, and the Envoy had scarcely quitted him, before he rallied and read the letters which summoned him home. He had ruled only a hundred days in Samarkand, but to abide there was to forfeit his hereditary kingdom, so he started at once for the capital of Kokund. He arrived there only to find it in the hands of his enemies. "To save Audejan," he wrote with *naïve* brevity in his Memoirs, "I had given up Samarkand, and now found that I had lost the one without preserving the other."

The young Prince's situation was a deplorable one. In his extremity, he turned his despairing eyes to Tashkend where ruled one of his maternal uncles, an able but illiterate Tartar Chief, and invited him to advance upon Audejan. The invitation was accepted. The Tartars came. But the bribes of Baber's enemies were too much for him, and he returned,

leaving his nephew to his fate His adherents now rapidly deserted him "I was reduced to a very distressing situation," he says in his Memoirs, "and wept a great deal." It was a hard lot, indeed, for a boy of fifteen But notwithstanding his tears he had a brave spirit, and his elasticity was not easily subdued or his fertility of resource exhausted. As one uncle failed him, he turned to another Disappointed in one direction, he looked elsewhere for succour, and turned to new scenes of enterprise But the times were out of joint. Everything was against him. For awhile he was destined to "stoop"

"Into a dark tremendous cloud—
But, 'twas but for a time."

After two years of misfortune, he emerged again into the sunlight of success The best game, in such circumstances, is always a waiting one The "whirlig of time" is sure to "bring in its revenges." He who acquires a throne by revolt, is pretty sure to lose it So it happened, that in due time, the tide set in against Baber's brother, and Baber found himself again supreme in his old kingdom

It is possible that he might now have remained for some time in the enjoyment of comparative peace and security But an indiscretion, by which he exasperated and alienated a large body of Mogul troops, blighted the fair prospect before him He was again immersed in war The capital, which he had so lately recovered, was threatened by the adherents of his brother A pitched battle in the open country was decided in Baber's favor But the enemy, though defeated, were not broken, and a compromise was effected The little kingdom of Farghana or Kokund, was divided into two principalities, and at the age of seventeen, Baber found himself poorer than he had been six years before

Such was the first epoch of Baber's chequered career As a boy he had become habituated to all the vicissitudes of success and failure—of victory and defeat The story is the common story of a Central-Asian Prince There are few whom it would not suit, whether in the sixteenth or the nineteenth century Now a king, and now a beggar—now a victorious leader, and now a miserable fugitive Happy is it when there is sufficient elasticity of mind to rebound unbroken and uninjured after these sharp assaults of fortune Baber had youth, health and energy on his side—and above all a sort of philosophic fertility of resource, which seems never to have forsaken him Again for a little space, in the enjoyment of peace, he was vexed

by the acrimonious disrespect of the minister, who had the direction of his affairs. The young Prince owed much to him and was compelled to submit to his insolence—even to the dismissal of the dependants whom he most loved. So he took to himself a companion whom the exacting heir could not so easily dislodge—he solaced himself with a wife.

But he was destined to enjoy only a brief season of repose. There was a chance of regaining Samarkand. The Prince who occupied it, Baber's cousin, had quarrelled with his minister, and the minister who had a strong body of adherents, now invited Baber to make an attempt to regain his ancient capital. Baber eagerly caught at the offer. It was the month of June—the season for action. So he put himself at once at the head of his troops and marched upon Samarkand. Another enemy, however, was in the field. Sheibani Khan, invited by the mother of the Sultan, was advancing upon the city. Baber was too weak to oppose him, so he drew off his forces and left the Usbeg master of the field.

His followers now began to desert him, and again he was reduced to sore distress. He had grasped at the shadow of Samarkand, and lost the dominions which had been actually in his possession. For some time he was a fugitive in an inhospitable country—seeking friends and finding none—toiling over sharp rocks and exposed to the inclemencies of a cruel climate. But his courage never deserted him. Weary of these painful wanderings, he turned his thoughts and his face again towards Samarkand. He had but a handful of followers—but they were brave men and true. Nerved and sustained by the energy of despair, he resolved to surprise the city. He believed that his coming would be hailed as the advent of a deliverer. The people could have little in common with the barbarous Usbeg hordes, who had poured in upon them and desecrated their homes. And he had not miscalculated his chances of success. Under cover of the night he carried the place by escalade. "When he entered the town," says Mr Erskine, "the citizens were fast asleep. On hearing the uproar, the shop-keepers began to peep out fearfully behind their doors, but were delighted when they found what had happened. The citizens, as soon as they were informed of Baber's entrance, being heartily tired of their barbarous masters, hailed him and his followers with acclamations of joy. They instantly rose and attacked the Usbegs who were scattered over the town, hunting them down with sticks and stones wherever they could be found. The chief men of Samarkand, as well as the merchants

‘ and shop-keepers, now hastened to congratulate the young Sultan at his quarters, bringing him offerings and presents with food already dressed for him, and his followers at the same time pouring out prayers for his success” By this bold enterprise, the gallantry of which even the young Prince himself could not over-value, the usurping Usbeks were utterly beaten and ignominiously expelled

His pride, indeed, was natural and justifiable “Alone he did it.” His heroism had won him back a throne The people of Samarkand welcomed him with joy He had relieved them from a yoke which they detested and a burden which pressed heavily upon them The surrounding districts declared themselves in his favour Fort after fort was given up to him The Usbek garrisons were expelled And soon Sheibani Khan himself, hopeless of regaining what he had lost, set his face towards Bokhara and fled

The winter was spent by Baber quietly in his recovered capital—but with the open weather came new sources of disquietude The power of Sheibani Khan was not broken Already was the Usbek chief meditating the recovery of Samarkand The military resources of Baber’s empire were at a low ebb He found it difficult to recruit his army But his late success had given him confidence The stars seemed to be propitious “The delusions of judicial astrology,” says Mr Erskine, “lent their aid to mislead him” So he went forth hopefully and courageously to give the advancing Usbek battalions battle in the open field We give what followed in the historian’s own words —

The armies prepared for battle Baber’s marched out, the men clad in armour, the horses caparisoned and covered with cloth of mail They were in four divisions, consisting of right wing and left, centre and advance, according to the fashion of the times As they moved forward, with their right flank on the river Kohik, which runs from Samarkand towards Bokhara, they were met by the enemy, drawn up ready to receive them The hostile army was far the most numerous, and the extremity of its right turned Baber’s left flank, and wheeled upon his rear This compelled him to change his position by throwing back his left, in doing which, his advance, which was posted in front of the centre, and composed of his best men and officers, was necessarily thrown to the right The battle was nevertheless manfully supported, and the assailants in front driven back on their centre It was even thought at one time, by Sheibani’s best officers, that the battle was lost, and they advised him to quit the field Meanwhile, however, the enemy’s flanking division having driven in Baber’s left, attacked his centre in the rear, pouring in showers of arrows, and the whole left of his line being thus forced in and thrown into disorder, that, with the centre, became a scene of inextricable confusion Only ten or fifteen men remained around the Sultan They,

seeing that all was over, rode off towards the right wing, which had rested on the river, and on gaining its banks plunged in, armed as they were. "For more than half way over," says Baber, "we had firm footing, but after that we sank beyond our depths, and were forced, for upwards of a bow-shot, to swim our horses, loaded as they were with their riders in armour and their own trappings. Yet they plunged through it. On getting out of the water on the other side, we cut off our horses' heavy furniture and threw it away."* The enemy were not able to follow them. The royal fugitive kept for some time along the right bank of the river, and afterwards recrossing it higher up, reached Samarkand the same evening.

Completely defeated in the open country, Baber determined to defend the city. The Usbeks advanced confidently to the siege, and established a vigorous blockade. The people were true to their Prince, the beleaguered garrison held out with firmness and courage. But hunger, more cruel and remorseless even than the Usbeks, reduced them in time to a pitiable state of weakness and suffering. The place had not been provisioned for a siege. The scanty supplies were, therefore, speedily exhausted. The horses were fed upon the leaves of trees. The inhabitants were reduced to the necessity of feeding upon the flesh of asses and dogs. Day and night the little garrison were compelled to be on the alert, until they were wearied out by continual watching. After some months of privation their constancy began to give way. Desertion thinned the ranks of the garrison. The young Prince looked abroad with despairing eyes. None of the neighboring chiefs came to his relief. No provisions arrived from a distance. Starvation stared him in the face. Even the young Sultan's most trusted friends were letting themselves down, under cover of the night, over the walls of the town, and escaping from sufferings which they could no longer endure. All hope was now utterly gone. The Usbek chief proposed a capitulation, and Baber accepted his terms.

He seems, however, to have escaped only with his life. We now behold him again a fugitive. The world was all before him. With a few followers he rode forth, scarcely knowing whither—gnawed by the fiercest pangs of hunger. There were joys, however, in store for him unknown before. In a remote village he came upon a hospitable governor, who gave him a good dinner. "We had," he says in his autobiography, "nice fat flesh, bread of fine flour, well-baked, delicious melons, and excellent grapes in the greatest profusion—thus passing from the extreme of famine to abundance, and from danger

' and suffering to security and enjoyment. In my whole life, ' I never enjoyed myself so much ' "

On the skirts of a high mountain lay the district of Dekhat. Its inhabitants were principally Tanjuks, who bred horses and tended sheep. This tract of country was now assigned to Baber by Jehangir Mirza, the *de facto* ruler of his old country of Firghana, or Kokund, who took compassion on the destitute Prince. Here he lived for a time in a state of placid enjoyment or dreamy repose—lodging with the shepherds, wandering about barefooted and losing his way among the intricacies of the mountain passes. Mr Erskine compares the condition of the young Prince at this time with that of Henri Quatre in his boyhood " wandering bare-footed among the simple and hardy peasants of the mountains of his native Bearn " That the training was advantageous to him is not to be doubted. But the historian conjectures that other more important results may be traced to this period of exile. In the house in which Baber dwelt was an ancient lady, one of whose relatives had accompanied the army of Timour Beg when he invaded Hindustan. Mr Erskine conjectures, and not without a show of reason, that the stories which the old woman told about the wonders of India, fired his young ambition, and filled him with an insatiable desire to visit the wonderful country of which he had heard so much.

Having been hospitably received by the people of Yeke-Aulenge, Baber and his people descended to the lower country by the Shebestic Pass, and fell upon the Hazarahs. Having plundered and defeated them, he marched upon Caubul. He had expected that there would be rebellion in his absence, and he now found that he was not mistaken. His family connexions had been intriguing against him. All the intricacies of the relationship are explained with much minuteness by Mr Erskine, but the reader must have a strong head and a tenacious memory who can bear them all in his mind. Foremost, however, among the encouragers of this revolt was Shah Begum, the step-mother of his own mother, who favored the cause of another grandson, Khan Mirza. Tidings of this rebellion reached Baber as he advanced. But he was not disheartened by the news. He sent forward a trusty messenger to communicate with the chief officers of the garrison on whom he could rely, and made his arrangements for the surprise. In spite of an accident which had nearly defeated all his plans, the movement was crowned with success. There was much " hard-fighting in the palaces and gardens in the

suburbs, in the course of which the King, from his habitual ardor, was exposed to imminent danger." But the victory was Baber's, and the chief rebels were dragged prisoners before him. But his characteristic generosity forbade either their execution or their degradation, and the young King, in token of perfect forgiveness and reconciliation, laid himself down to sleep at his grand-mother's feet. Khan Mirza, the chief rebel himself, was soon brought helpless with fear, before the King. But Baber opened his arms to receive him, spoke encouragingly to him, gave him to drink from his own cup, and dismissed him with kindness and honors.

The repose, however, of Baber was but of brief duration. The power of Sheibani Khan was still increasing. He had conquered Khorassan and reduced Balkh, and now in the following spring he prepared a great expedition for the capture of Candahar. With 50,000 men he crossed the Amu, and carried everything before him. There was division in the camp and councils of the enemy, and the great Usbeg's victory was an easy one. Having established himself in Khorassan, he marched upon Candahar and laid siege to the place. Intelligence of this movement filled Baber with alarm. He called his chief people together and a council was held. The triumphs of the terrible Usbeg had invested him with a prestige of invincibility. It was deemed hopeless to attempt to resist him. The fall of Candahar, they thought, must be a prelude to the fall of Caubul. So Baber and his chiefs determined, instead of defending their own country, to make an incursion into another, and the invasion of India was projected. Without loss of time he started by the Koord Caubul and Jugdulluck routes, and after being assailed by the tribes on his line of march (who in those days appear to have been precisely what they are in our own,) arrived at Jellalabad. Halting there he learnt that Sheibani, having received intelligence of the attack of a fortress near Herat, in which he had located his family, had raised the siege of Candahar, just as he was on the very point of success, and retired to the westward.

Upon receiving this encouraging news, Baber returned to Caubul, and abandoned for a time the invasion of Hindoostan.

But it was the fate of the young Sultan always to escape from foreign enemies, only to fall in the way of domestic ones. He had scarcely settled himself in Caubul again when his troops broke into revolt. The discipline which he maintained was obnoxious to them. He was continually restraining their

licentious propensities and disappointing their greed of plunder His government was altogether too steady and equable So they longed for new connections and bethought themselves of a new master Their plan was to restore Caubul and the adjoining country to the former King, Abdul Mirza Rumour of the intended rebellion reached Baber, but he would not believe it Frank and unsuspecting, he reposed confidence in the traitors by whom he was surrounded, and could not be induced to take even common precautions for his safety When the storm, therefore, burst upon him, it burst unexpectedly As he was proceeding, by night, from the Charbagh Palace to another within the city-walls, the conspirators fell upon him, intending to seize his person He, however, effected his escape and reached his camp on the *mandan*, believing that he still had the bulk of the army on his side But the defection soon became general The revolt of the Moguls was infectious, and many even of his most attached troops, fearful of the enmity of the rebels, and the outrages to which their families would be subjected, fell away from him in the hour of need. The high courage of the Sultan, however, did not forsake him With a little handful of men he marched against the insurgents To lead a body of troops to the attack was with him really to lead it He did not regard the movements of his army from a distance or sent his orders by fleet aides-de camp He was at the head of his men, in the front of the battle, in the thick of the contest To his own personal prowess and undaunted courage, he owed the unexpected success which crowned his arms in this most unequal struggle He performed prodigies of valour Five times did he engage in single combat, with the bravest and most accomplished swordsmen of the enemy, but he slew or put to flight the five rebel champions in succession "His heroism and desperation," says the historian, "appalled his enemies and re-animated his followers" Victory declared itself on his side The insurgent Moguls fled in dismay from Caubul, and Baber again found himself securely seated on the throne

A season of comparative repose now ensued For the unaccustomed duration of nearly two years, Baber reigned in tranquillity over Caubul, but cotemporary historians speak, with delight, of the amiable character of the Sovereign, and the felicity of the Court at this period of his career He was then only twenty-six years of age He was "equal to either fortune" Prosperity is more trying than adversity Baber came honorably out of both ordeals He was not spoiled by success any more than he was disheartened by failure.

But there were further conflicts and excitements in store for him—Sheibani Khan had, since his retirement from Candahar, been continually in the field, but his expeditions had not been attended with the old success. First against the Zaizaks—then against the Hazarahs—he led his once resistless army, but only to plunge it into disaster and defeat. Returning to Khorassan in a shattered state, the winter being close at hand, he gave a general furlough to his troops, to enable them to recover their strength and spirits. But scarcely had his military establishment been thus dispersed, when alarming intelligence greeted him, to the effect that Shah Ismael, the ruler of Persia, was coming down upon Khorassan with a well-seasoned, well disciplined, and well-equipped army.

Sheibani fled to Mero, and the Persians, having over-run Khorassan with little interruption, pursued the Usbeg to the former place. There, with such troops as he had been able to bring together after the recent dispersion, Shaibani gave them battle and was defeated. He then shut himself up in the city and the Persians encamped before it. A long-continued struggle was now expected. The Persians in that desert country, were alarmed about their supplies, and doubtful whether they could protract, for any length of time, the investment of Mero. So Shah Ismael determined, by a feint, to draw the Usbeg into the open country. Simulating a retreat, he drew his army off to the south of the city, and the *ruse* entirely succeeded. Sheibani Khan went out in pursuit. A great battle was fought. The Usbegs were completely routed. The Khan himself with about five hundred followers—the chief people of his army—took refuge in a walled inclosure, where they were attacked and sorely pressed by the enemy. The only chance of escape was by leaping over the walls of the inclosure. Sheibani Khan led the way, but the crowd pressing on behind him for very life, he was overlaid and smothered.

Such was the inglorious end of the great Usbeg. His head was severed from his body, and his trunk dismembered by the Persian conqueror. "The skin of his head," says Mr Erskine, "was stuffed with hay and sent to Sultan Bajazet, the Turkish Emperor of Constantinople. The skull, set in gold, was made into a drinking cup, which the Shah was proud of displaying at his great entertainments." A ghastly anecdote here follows, strangely illustrative of the barbarous manners of the Persians in the early part of the sixteenth century —

Agha Rustam Roz efzun, who had made himself master of the province of Mazenderan, and who still held out in his mountain fastnesses against Shah Ismael, had been in the constant habit of saying, that his

hand was on the skirts of Sheibani Khan's garment, an idiomatic expression, to signify, that he clung to him for assistance and protection. One day, when that chief was sitting in state at a grand festival, surrounded by the nobles of Taberistan, a special messenger, * sent by Shah Ismael, advanced fearlessly into his presence, and, with a loud voice, delivered a message from the Shah, concluding, "Though thy hand was never on the hem of Sheibani Khan's robe, yet his is now on thine," and, with these words, flung the rigid hand of Sheibani on the skirt of the Prince's robe, and withdrew through the midst of the assembly. Not a word was spoken by any one, nor an effort made to detain him, all remained fixed in astonishment, and he escaped uninjured. The incident is said to have made a deep impression on the health of the Prince of Mazenderan, who, soon after, was brought to yield one half of his territories to the Shah.

The Usbeg power being thus broken up in Khorassan, vast numbers of fighting men, Moguls and others, who had followed the fortunes of Sheibani Khan, were now ready for service under another master. Then chief people came and proffered allegiance to Baber, and invited him to the conquest of Koon-dooz. The expedition was undertaken and was successful. But many difficulties threatened his subsequent career. The Usbegs were powerful in the country beyond the Hindoo Koosh, and it was not easy to expel them. But he pushed on with unflinching vigour, undeterred by temporary disaster, and his perseverance was crowned with success. After a perilous campaign and much hard fighting, the Sultan became master of Bokhara and Samarkand, and "the country of Transoxiana was for a time cleared of the Usbegs, after they had held it for about nine years." We are compelled to pass hastily over this period of Baber's eventful career. "Never," says Mr Erskine, "till his conquest of India, were the dominions of Baber so extensive as at this period. They stretched from the deserts of Tartary to the furthest limits of Ghuzni, Koondooz, and Hissar, Samarkand and Bokhara, Farjana, Tashkend and Seiram, Caubul and Ghuzni he now gave to his youngest brother Nasir Miiza. When Baber became possessed of these extensive dominions, he had reached his twenty-ninth year."

There was a promise now of continued tranquillity, but soon the promise was obscured. A new danger threatened the Sultan from an unexpected quarter, and he soon lost all that he had won. Sectarianism was this time his destroyer. He had been aided by Persia, and now he began to adopt Persian customs, and to put his soldiers in Persian uniforms. He made enemies, therefore of the Soonies. The Mussulmans of Bok-

hara and Samarkand were deeply offended. Insurrection soon began to kindle, and the priesthood fanned the fire. Orthodoxy was rampant, and the influence of the King began to decline. This loss of popularity encouraged the Usbeks, and Baber suffering defeat after defeat, was compelled to fly from Transoxiana and to return to Caubul. There his brother came out to meet him and resigned the Government into his hands. Here he remained for some time, varying the monotony of his rule, by continual forays against the neighbouring tribes—Hazarehs, Ennauks and others. But these petty exhibitions did not suffice for his ambition. He again began to indulge in the old day-dreams of the invasion of Hindoostan.

Opportunity at last offered for the gratification of his darling wish. His first efforts across the Indus were taken in conjunction with others, who had entered projects similar in kind, but not so grand in degree. It is well known that these initiatory expeditions were attended with no great success. It is the common lot of Eastern Princes to be recalled from schemes of foreign conquest, by dangers threatening them at home. Many an invader has been hurried back by fear of the loss of his own dominions during his absence. Of these early expeditions we do not purpose to speak in detail. Mr Erskine, after long and elaborate research, is obliged to acknowledge that the history of these early expeditions is enveloped in considerable obscurity. The second expedition, indeed, is dismissed in a single paragraph, in which the historian states that authorities are divided as to whether the Sultan visited Mooltan and Lahore, and even penetrated as far as Sirhind, or whether he stopped short at Peshawur.

The fourth expedition undertaken in the year 1523-1524, made Baber master of the Punjab. Having secured his conquest, he made several of his chief officers governors of the country, and returned to Caubul. Here the Sultan Alla-ooddeen, a claimant to the throne of Delhi, but now a fugitive, invited Baber to unite with him in an expedition against the famous capital of the Mogul Princes of India. Of this man, and of the spirit in which Baber entered into the design, for the conquest of the rich territory on the banks of the Jumna, Mr Erskine says —

Ala ed din, or, as he is generally called, Alim Khan, was the son of Sultan Bahlul Lodi, King of Delhi, and, consequently, was the brother of the late Sultan Sekander, and uncle of the reigning Prince Ibrahim. At his father's death, one of Sultan Sekander's first acts was to deprive Alrother, Alim Khan, of his jagir of Ráberi. Alim, who escaped, re-

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age

mained for some time hostile to him, but afterwards was reconciled, and received the *jágir* of Etáwa. He is said, however, to have fled to Gujrát, where he was protected by Sultan Mozeffer, who then reigned. On the death of his brother Sekander, Alum Khan openly aspired to the throne. In the distracted state of affairs that followed, he had secured a considerable number of partizans among the Afghán lords, who were disgusted with his nephew's cruel and imperious conduct. All these were prepared to favour his enterprise. He was willing to purchase the co-operation of Baber at a high price, and it seems to have been settled that, while the Sultan, Alá-ed-din as he was called, was to be elevated to the throne of Delhi, Baber was to receive the formal cession of Lahur and all the countries west of it, in full sovereignty. This formal confirmation of Baber's right of conquest was something gained, in the meanwhile, for public opinion, and, as political justice was not the virtue of the age, Baber probably calculated, that if affairs turned out prosperously, it would be an easy matter to cast down the puppet king whom he had set up. He accordingly sent back Sultan Alá-ed-din, to his generals who commanded at Lahur, with a body of troops, and a firman enjoining them to assist him in his expedition against Delhi. He intimated his intention to follow without delay.

This expedition which is called the fourth, was in reality, never undertaken by Baber. He himself was recalled by intelligence to the effect that the Usbeg chiefs had assembled their forces, and were laying siege to Balkh. The expedition was therefore, undertaken by his ally, who was well inclined to turn to his own advantage the absence of his confederate. But hearing that his interests were jeopardised, he soon detached himself from Balkh, and prepared to descend upon India with a larger force than he had ever mustered before. But even then it was contemptible in numbers. Mr Erskine says that the whole—troops, servants, camp-followers of every description included, amounted only to twelve thousand men. It was a force powerful, at least, in this respect, that it was easy to move and easy to subsist. Strength does not always lie in numbers. We are apt to associate with our ideas of these invasions, immense bodies of fighting men, and to wonder sometimes how they were provisioned—but here we see that Baber set out, on his last, his greatest, and his successful expedition for the conquest of India, with a force which probably did not contain more than five thousand soldiers.

Here, for the present, we must pause. The conquest of India by the Emperor Baber may well afford matter for a separate paper. Up to this point—at which we reach the end of the first quarter of the sixteenth century—we see that his career has been distinguished by the most astonishing vicissitudes. It is to the eternal honor of Baber that he bore all these changes in a manly and becoming spirit. Habituated

to misfortune, he encountered it with a brave heart and a smiling face. Surrounded at all periods of his career by avowed enemies and treacherous friends, he met their hostility or their guile, in a frank, open, courageous manner, never borne away by passion and never descending to deceit. He was as little possessed by malice as by fear. He freely forgave his enemies, he was incapable of cruelty, and never resorting to treachery himself, he was unsuspecting of the treachery of others. In spite of all the underrating, and indeed, the corrupting circumstances of such a career at such a time, he retained a certain simplicity and *nâveté* of character, which is charmingly illustrated in his autobiography—a memoir of which it has been truly said, that it is “as instructive as Xenophon and as amusing as Pepys’.” His talents, too, were of a very high order. He might have been a poet or a philosopher, if he had not been a prince and a hero. Circumstances made him a warrior, and as such he was unequalled in his own,—perhaps in any other times. At all events, it may with truth be said, that history furnishes nothing more romantic, than the romance of Baber’s character and Baber’s career.

ART VII —1 *The Bengal Spectator*, 1842-43

- 2 *Selection of Discourses read at the Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge*, Vols 1, 2 and 3, 1840-43
- 3 *Tuttwabodhinee Patrica*, for 1855
- 4 *Masic Patrica*, Vol I and Vol II, 5 parts
- 5 *Two Pamphlets on the Marriage of Hindu Widows*, by Eshwar Chunder Vidyasagar, 1855
- 6 *Introduction to an Essay on the Second Marriage of Widows*, By a learned Brahman of Nagpore

TRULY has a British bard said

Without the sigh from partial beauty won,
Oh ! what were man !—a world without the sun

'Truly is the influence of women on the progress of civilization and the refinement of the stream of life appreciated and acknowledged Truly is she looked upon as the beacon—the cynosure and the developer of the moral man But one, who looks through the vista of ages, cannot but lament the loss to humanity from the position, which she has been allowed to hold Go wherever we will, to hoary Egypt, the cradle of civilization, to India the land of the Rishis, where Valmiki and Vyas lived and sung, to Greece where philosophy is said to have been brought down from heaven, or to the countries where Confucius philosophized, and the Religion of Christ shed its benign influence, the condition of woman was not, we will find, what it should have been Legally, socially and morally there was no recognition of her individuality We fail to see that she inspired the poet, kindled the warrior, or absorbed the attention of the historian and jurist as being the predominant element in the diffusion of humanizing influences on society Nor do we find that, in the domestic concerns of life, she commanded that importance which was due to her as the evoker, the fashioner and modeller of the inner man The restrictions imposed upon her personal freedom, hampered the evolution of her faculties, which it was intended should be fully called forth to meet the ends of her creation, and necessarily prevented her from acting as the moral agent in the domestic and social relations of life This has in no small degree told on the progressive state of man

It is not our intention to enter into details, to portray the condition of woman in different countries, but we will just advert to a few facts bearing upon this question It is indeed a matter of surprise that even Plato thought that "a woman's

virtue may be summed up in a few words, for she has only to manage the house well, keeping what there is in it and obeying her husband," and that his "ideal of social existence involved a community of wives" A Greek wife was never brought to society, and was considered more "as a necessary help-mate than as an agreeable companion" With respect to the Athenian females, "they seem to have been destitute of all mental culture and refinement," and the laws of Lycurgus, under which the Spartan women lived, "aimed almost exclusively at physical results" In Rome the picture was cheering Plutarch states that "among no people of the world were wives so highly honored as in Rome," where polygamy and seclusion were unknown, and it is stated that in Rome "woman occupied a place far more elevated than that since assigned to her by Christian Governments"*

In India a daughter was regarded "as the highest object of tenderness" (Menu IV, 185,) and according to Mahanirban Tantra she should be maintained and educated with every care Females were permitted to read all works except the Vedas Dr Wilson states that Vyas "reflecting that these works (Vedas) may not be accessible to women and sudras and mixed castes, composed the Bharat for the purpose of placing religious knowledge within their reach" Marriages of females were contracted generally before they reached the age of puberty, and among the Kattris, the practice of *Swayambura*, or choosing a husband from among a number invited for the purpose, prevailed It is evident from Sanscrit works that females were jealously guarded, and in no state of life were they independent But at the same time there was no want of the feeling that it is the moral and not the physical means, that serve as a safeguard against temptation (Menu IX, 12,) says "by close confinement at home, even under an affectionate and observant guardian, they are not secure, but those women are truly secure who are guided by their own good inclinations" Again "no man indeed can wholly restrain women by violent measures, but by these expedients they may be restrained, Let the husband keep his wife employed in the collection and expenditure of wealth, in purification and female duty, in the preparation of daily food and the superintendence of household utensils"

Hindu females were however not so much secluded as is generally thought, for we find proofs of their "appearance

* *Westminster Review*, for October, 1855 This is a most partial statement, made by one utterly ignorant of the true nature of Christian Civilisation, and as ignorant of the true position of the Roman Matron.—Ed

openly in public at religious and other festivals and at public games, and the admission of men other than their kinsmen to their presence on various occasions" The description which Menu gives of a good and faithful wife is this, "She who deserts not her lord but keeps in subjection to him, her heart, her speech, and her body, shall obtain his mansion in heaven" In most of the writings of the Hindus, woman appears to have been honored Menu and the Mahabharat state, "Where females are honored, there the deities are pleased, but where they are dishonored, there all religious acts become fruitless" Dr Wilson says that "in no nation of antiquity were women held in so much esteem as amongst the Hindus" The Mahanirban Tantra (8th Woolash) says, "A wife should 'never be chastized but nursed like a mother, and if chaste and 'loyal, should never be forsaken even under most trying circumstances" But love towards the wife could not be intense or pure when polygamy was tolerated, and we find it distinctly mentioned in Menu that in certain cases a man could take another wife * The present practice of Coolin Brahmin polygamy is however of modern origin, and is not authorized in the Shasters

Another proof of females being held in estimation, is to be found in the Mahabharat, where it is stated that in default of a son, a daughter should be entrusted with the sceptre, and there are several historical notices of females having reigned in the different parts of India

We meet with several legal and historical proofs of the Hindus having made considerable advancement in civilization, but a careful examination of the state of society as it prevailed in ancient times, will lead one to conclude, that it was wanting in some essential elements of a due appreciation of the respective duties of man and woman Their knowledge of human nature, though just and correct in many points, was far from being comprehensive, nor do they appear to have understood well the ends of society It is for this reason that we notice with regret, the severity of their laws, especially with reference to their widows, and the practice of authorizing kinsmen and others, to beget children on them without marrying them, indicates an abnormal state of the Hindu mind A woman becoming a widow at once sinks, as it were, into nothingness in her domestic and social circle, she has to lead an austere life, and the laws regarding her civil rights are calculated to bring her down to a low level, more especially if she has no issue The re-

* Yagnawalkya says, a wife, who drinks spirituous liquors is incurably sick mischievous barren makes use of offensive language, brings forth only female offspring and manifests hatred towards her husband, and may be superseded by another wife

pugnancy of the Hindus, however, to the marriage of their widows is not entirely peculiar to them. We find it in no less an original and vigorous writer than in William Cobbett *

The shaster relative to Hindu widows after the death of their husbands, refers to three courses — 1st, Brahmacharya, (practice of austerity) 2nd Sohogomun, (immolation with the dead body of the husband) 3rd, Puneibhobun, (re-marriage)

Sohogomun, or the rite of cremation, has been happily abolished in India. Leading an austere life is what every widow is enjoined to practice, and the marriage of Hindu widows seems to have ceased from time immemorial. We scarcely meet with any good historical proof of this custom having been observed by respectable people. The Ramayan mentions that, after the death of Balce and Ravana, their younger brothers became the lords of their respective widows. This only proves that the younger brother, in the event of the death of the elder, could be wedded to his widow. This custom still prevails at Orissa. The Mahabharat mentions that, when Nala was missing, his wife Damawantee became again *Suyambara*, but this is explained by saying that the object of this procedure was to discover where Nala was, and expedite his return. We also find in the Mahabharat, that Vyasa was appointed to beget issue on the widows of Vichitravirya, and the sons so born were Dhritarashtra and Pandu. The marriage of Arjuna with Woolovee (daughter of one Naga Rajah) is the only instance that we have met with. There are some who maintain that the marriage of a widow daughter of a Naga Rajah is no proof that the practice obtained among the twice-born classes. It appears, however, that among the lower classes, the practice has been in use. In Western India, the marriage of widows is called *Gundharva Vivaha*, or *Natra*. It prevailed in the dominions of Peshawar. "The Mon Baneyahs of Guzerat now settled in Malwa, and the Maroo or Joadpoor Brahmins have boldly introduced this happy change in their social system." When Choitunya appeared, he "taught that widows might marry."

We shall now proceed to give a few illustrations of the

* He says "but though it is as lawful for a woman to take a second husband as for a man to take a second wife the cases are different and widely different in the eye of morality and of reason, for, as adultery in the wife is a greater offence than adultery in the husband as it is more gross as it includes prostitution, so a second marriage in the woman is more gross than in the man, and argues great deficiency in that delicacy that innate modesty, which after all is the *great charm*, the charm of charms in the female sex

The usual apologies that a lone woman wants a *protector* that she cannot manage her estate, that she cannot *carry on her business*, that she wants a *home for her children* all these apologies are not worth a straw for what is the amount of them? Why she *surrenders her person* to secure these ends! Advice to Young Men, p 177

laws on the Marriage of Hindu widows The word *Shashtra* means sanction, and the works from which that sanction is derived are, 1st, the Vedas, 2nd, Smrites or Codes of Law, and 3rd, Puranas or ancient chronicles There are chiefly three descriptions of subjects which the works in question treat of, viz, 1st, spiritual matters, 2nd, *achar*, or ceremonial and ethical laws, 3rd, *vybhara*, or jurisprudence The exposition of religion which we find in the Vedas, Smrites and Puranas, is different* and it is left to men to adhere to that creed which they may think will most conduce to their spiritual welfare With respect to *achar* or ceremonial and ethical laws, what the Vedas, Smrites and Puranas concurrently enjoin is conclusive In cases where they all disagree, the authority of the Vedas is considered supreme If on any point the Smrites and Puranas differ, the injunction of the former prevail The *vybhara* or jurisprudence forms the principal portion of the contents of the *Smrites*

It is already well known that the *Sanhitas* or text works of Smrites vary from eighteen to thirty-six Next to the *Sanhitas*, we have the glosses, commentaries, and digests by a number of writers, which has led to the creation of five schools of law, now existing in Bengal, Benares, Mithala, Deccan and Marhatta These schools all look up to the original Smrites, but they "assign the preference to particular commentators and scholiasts" With reference to the *Sanhitas*, that of Menu is the most comprehensive, and he is highly honored by name in the *Veda* itself, where it is declared that whatever Menu pronounced was a medicine for the soul and the sage, Vishvaspati, now supposed to preside over the planet *Jupiter*, says in his own law tract, "that Menu held the first rank among legislators, because he had expressed in his own code the whole sense of the *Veda*, and that no code was approved which contradicted Menu"

The Vedas are four in number, and principally treat of "precepts and prayers" There are several Upanishads or branches of the Vedas The following passage from Taitirya Sruti, one of the Upanishads, bears on the subject of the Marriage of Hindu widows —

यदेकस्मिन् यूपे द्वे रश्ने परिबध्यति तस्मादेको
 द्वे जाये विन्दते यन्नैका रश्ना द्वयो र्यूपयो
 परिबध्यति तस्मान्नैका द्वौ यती विन्देत इति ।

As a chain is fastened round a sacrificial post, so may one

* In Bengal and Mithala, certain religious matters are regulated according to the doctrines of Tantra

man marry two wives, but as one chain cannot be fastened round two sacrificial posts, so one woman cannot have two husbands

There is also another passage in the Vedas, which is—

तस्मान्नैकस्यै बहवः सह पतयः

Therefore one woman ought not to have several husbands at one time

The above two texts are apparently contradictory, and it is contended by some that according to the latter text, a woman may not have more than one husband *at one time*, but this does not prevent her from doing so *at different times*, or in other words when the first husband is dead

Neelkunt the commentator of the Mahabharat, has however reconciled them The following passage will be found in that work Dhiraghatama said to his wife who was to abandon him —

अद्य प्रभृति मर्यादा मया जोक्ते प्रसिद्धिता ।

एक एव पतिर्नार्या यावज्जीव परायणम् ।

मृते जीवति वा तस्मिन् नापर प्राप्नुयान्नरम् ।

अभिगम्य पर नारी पतिव्रति न सशय ।

“ From this day I enact that a woman should have only one husband as long as she lives, and whether he is alive or dead, if she goes to another man, she will doubtless be degraded ”

Neelkunt, in explaining the meaning of these verses, has quoted the above two texts from the Vedas, and argues as follows —

तस्मादेकस्य बहो जाया भवन्ति नैकस्यै बहव सह पतय इति सुव्यन्तरे सह शब्दात् पर्यायेणानेकपतित्वप्रसङ्गनात् रागत प्राप्तत्वाच्च निवधोपपत्तिः ।

Therefore one woman ought not to have several husbands *at one time* The words “ at one time ” may imply that she may have more than one husband at different times, or her inclination may prompt her to have more than one husband, which renders the above prohibition necessary (i.e. the precept of Dharghatama, founded on the passage from Taitirya Śruti quoted above)

Menu, Nareda, Shanka, Luckita, Yagnawalcyā and Harita, (authors of Sanhitas,) have all made mention of *panervhus* or twice-married women, Menu says “ if she still be a virgin, or if she left her husband and returns to him, she must again perform the nuptial ceremony either with her

second or her deserted lord." Narada divides them into three classes, viz. :—

1. "A damsel not deflowered, but blemished by a previous marriage"

2. "She who is given in marriage by her parents, duly considering the laws of districts and families, but through love accedes to another man."

3. "She who is given by her spiritual parents to a *sapinda* of equal class on failure of brothers-in-law"

Yagnawalkya says, "whether a virgin or deflowered, she who is again espoused with solemn rights is a twice married woman, but she who slights her lord, and through carnal desire receives the embraces of another man equal in class, is an unchaste woman"

According to Vasishtha, a damsel could be taken back from her husband if of contemptible birth, a eunuch or the like, if degraded or afflicted with epilepsy, vicious, tainted with shocking diseases and frequenter of harlots, and Devola was of opinion that a woman could marry again, if her husband were an abandoned sinner, a heretical mendicant, impotent, degraded, or afflicted with phthisis, or long absent in a foreign country

Of the twelve kinds of sons enumerated by several of the writers of Sanhitas, the son of a twice-married woman is one. He is called *Pounerbhava*, whom Menu, Devola and Boudhayana do not consider an heir (except to his father's property,) but a kinsman, while Yagnawalkya, Yama and Harita think that he is both a kinsman and heir to his father as well as to all the collaterals. His position with the eleven kinds of sons in the order of inheritance to paternal property, is a point which does not appear to be settled. Menu assigns to him number eleventh, Boudhayana tenth, Devola eighth, Yama fourth, Yagnawalkya sixth, and Harita third. The foregoing brief synopsis will show that a twice-married woman and the son of a twice-married woman were persons not altogether *incognita* on this *terra firma*, and the very circumstance of there being legislation on the subject, is of itself a proof of the practice having once prevailed.

Let us now see what the sages enjoin as a rule of conduct on this subject. *Vishnu* says, "after the death of her husband, a wife must practise the austerities, or ascend the *pit* after him." *Catayana* says, "if a woman deserting her husband's embraces, receive the caresses of another man, she is considered as damnable in this world." "Though her husband die guilty of many crimes, if she remain ever firm in virtuous conduct, obsequiously honoring her spiritual parents, and devoting herself to pious

austerity after the death of her husband, that faithful widow is exalted to heaven as equal in virtue to Arundhati" (wife of Bashista).

Menu says "but a widow who from a wish to bear children, slights her deceased husband *by marrying again*, brings disgrace on herself here below, and shall be excluded from the seat of her lord" Chapter V, 161 "Issue begotten on a woman by any other than her husband, is here declared to be no progeny of hers, no more than a child begotten on the wife of another man belongs to the begetter, nor is a second husband allowed in any part of this code to a virtuous woman" Chapter V, 162 "Again, such a commission to a brother or other near kinsmen, is nowhere mentioned in the nuptial texts of the *Veda*, nor is the marriage of a widow even named in the laws concerning marriage" Chapter IX, 65 "This practice, fit only for cattle, is reprehended by learned *Brahmins*, yet it is declared to have been the practice of men while *Vena* had sovereign power" Chapter IX, 66

Vrihaspati says—"Appointments of kinsmen to beget children on widows or married women, when the husbands are deceased or impotent, are mentioned by the sage *Menu*, but forbidden by himself with a view to the order of the four ages, no such act can be legally done in this age by any other than the husband"—And *Cullucbhatta*, the commentator of *Menu*, states—"consequently such appointments were permitted in the ages preceding the fourth, but forbidden in the present age, and *Vena* reigned in this period" According to the *Mahanirvan Tantra*, however, the marriage of Hindu Widows with men of any caste can be done, but the Tantras are looked upon more as an authority in spiritual than in social matters

We learn from the *Bengal Spectator*, that in 1756, *Rajah Rajbullub Roy Bahadoor* of *Dacca*, wishing to have his widow daughter married, consulted a number of pundits, who expressed an opinion that under the following *sloke* her marriage could be effected —

नष्टे मृते प्रव्रजिते स्त्रीवे च पतिते पतौ ।

पञ्चव्यापत्सु नारीणा पतिरन्यो विधीयते ॥

Women are at liberty to marry again, if their husbands be not heard of, if they die, become ascetics, impotent or degraded

The *Rajah* did not, however, act upon this opinion, and the question has for a long time been in a state of dormancy With the diffusion of English education in and out of the Presidency towns, there has been a perceptible, though rather a pas-

sive change in the ideas of the natives on subjects connected with their social institutions and a growing desire to effect reforms, has often been mirrored in the different newspapers, tracts and pamphlets, which have been appearing from time to time. In social circles and *coteries*, the talk on the marriage of Hindu widows has not been altogether wanting, and many a member of Old Bengal, who some years ago used to be horrified and look aghast at such conversation, became in time so reconciled and subdued as to lend a dull and passive hearing, and the only remark which has of late years been made by them is, that "there is no objection to adopting the practice, if we all be 'unanimous'." Rajah Rammohun Roy, to whose exertions we are in some measure indebted for the suppression of the *Suttee* rite, was constantly spoken of in many a native family, as having gone to England with the avowed object of bringing about the marriage of Hindu widows. We do not know exactly how this impression got abroad, but it was so firm, especially in the female mind, that the old widows often jocularly talked of their marriage on the return of Rammohun Roy. We have heard that the subject of the marriage of Hindu widows engaged the attention of Rajah Rammohun Roy, but have not as yet met with proofs as to whether he earnestly carried on the discussion, or made any efforts to influence public opinion.

In 1845, the British Indian Society corresponded with the *Dhurma Sabha* and the *Tuttwabodhinee Sabha* on the subject of the marriage of Hindu widows. The latter association made no reply. The correspondence with the *Dhurma Sabha* was carried on for some time, but it led to no practical results. Last year may be called the great year of discussion and agitation on the subject of the marriage of Hindu widows. Pundit Eshwar Chunder Vidyasagar, Principal of the Calcutta Sanscrit College, published a pamphlet, in which he quoted the very *sloke* which had been put into Rajah Rajballub's hands, and maintained that the code of *Parasara*, from which that *sloke* was given, was applicable to the Cal Yuga, and the marriage of Hindu widows was therefore in accordance with the *Shaster*.

The publication of this pamphlet created much sensation in and out of Calcutta, and also roused a great deal of party spirit. The *Vidyasagunites* sternly contending that the view expressed there was the correct one, while the *Dhurma Sabhites* resolutely reiterated their conviction that the *Shaster* had not been fully examined. This casual conversation merged

at least into settled opinions, and no less than thirty tracts were published at different times in reply to the pamphlet

The Principal of the Sanscrit College had now to fight single handed. He sat down wrapt in intense contemplation, and bringing all his knowledge of ancient lore and force of logic to bear upon the subject, he published a rejoinder, against which only two tracts have as yet appeared. The *Bhascar* (a weekly paper,) and the *Tattwabodhinee Patrica* have supported the Principal, while the *Masic Patrica* has taken a more catholic and comprehensive view of the question, than we have as yet met with in any Bengalee work.

We give every writer full credit for the best of intentions. We appreciate the labors of those who are engaged in the good work of social reform. We feel sure that posterity will remember with gratitude, those who are directing their efforts properly to bring about a consummation so devoutly to be wished for. We think it however our duty at the same time to express our sentiments on the subject.

The code of Parasara from which the *sloke* in question is quoted, is divided into twelve Chapters. The 1st Chapter treats of the conversation between Vysa and Parasara on the duties in the Cali Yug. The 2nd of the duties and occupations of a householder in the Cali Yug. The 3rd of the rules relating to mourning. The 4th, 5th and 6th of rules relating to penance in special cases. The 7th of rules relating to purification of articles. The 8th of rules relating to penance for killing cows, &c. The 9th Chapter, of exceptions and special rules as to penance for killing cows, &c. The 10th Chapter of rules relating to penance for incestuous crimes. The 11th Chapter of rules relating to penance for eating forbidden food, also for eating with certain inferior castes. The 12th Chapter of rules relating to purification in miscellaneous cases. The above statement of the contents of *Parasara* will show that his code is far from being complete. There is not a syllable as to the *Vybhahara Kunda*, nor are the requirements of the *Achar Kunda* sufficiently met. If the code of Parasara be the code for the Cali Yug, how are the different questions relative to caste, marriage, divorce, funerals, &c, to be settled? By what authority are also the questions as to inheritance, adoption, gift, contract, &c, to be adjudged? It is contended that the code of Menu is intended for the Satya Yug, but we find that he (Chapter I, 86,) talks of what should be done in all the Yugs.

We have already mentioned that there are five schools of law

in India, viz., those at Bengal, Benares Mithala, Deccan and Marhatta. For a list of the commentaries and digests held in estimation by these five schools of law, we refer our readers to the works, named below *

"A mere text book," says Mr Ellis, "is considered by Indian jurists as of very little use, or authority for the actual administration of justice, it may almost be said that the *only* conclusive authorities are held to be the Siddhantas or *conclusions* of the authors of the objects and commentaries, each school adhering of course to the Siddhanta of its own authors"

This appears to be the more necessary when we are told by Mr Ward, that, "with the exception of Menu, the entire work of no one of these sages has come down to the present time"

In Bengal, the digest of Raghunandan and Prayaschitya Bibaka are considered leading authorities, and the marriage of Hindu widows is not allowed by them. They as well as Hemadri, Muddun Parijat, Neernyasindhoo and Vabrahara Mowooka stand on the authority of the Aditya Purana † Madhab Acharya the commentator of Parasara who has spoken of Menu to the following effect "no one has composed the Vedas, the four-headed Brahmana is their rememberer, Menu in like manner remembers *Dharma* at every kulpa," has expressed his opinion that the marriage of widows mentioned by Parasara is not applicable to the present age

अथ च पुनर्वाहो युमान्तरविषय This injunction of Parassara as to the second marriage of widows must be considered to apply to other Yugs

All the commentaries are based upon Menu. Rammohun Roy in his Rights of Ancestral Property, says "the natives of Bengal and those of the Upper Provinces believe alike in the sacred and authoritative character of the writings of Menu and of the other legislative saints" And it is stated in the "Summary of the Laws and Customs of Hindu Castes," "that the books chiefly referred to in *Wywasthas* in the Deccan, are the text books of Menu and Yagnawalkya, the Mitakshara

* Macnaughten's Hindu Law Vol I, p 21 Ellis on the Law Books of the Hindus (Transactions of the Madras Literary Society part I) Colebrooke's Preface to the two Treatises on the Law of Inheritance Strangers Hindu Law, Vol I, p 313 A list of the Law Books of the Hindus will be found in Arthur Steels Summary of the Laws and Customs of Hindu Castes fol Bombay 1827

† "What was a duty in the first age must not, in *all* cases, be done in the fourth," among the things forbidden is "the second gift of a married woman whose husband has died *before consummation* and procreation on a brother's widow or wife" Jones' Moon, p 364.

‘ or Vidyaneshara a commentary on the latter, the Myookh, Niruna Sindhoo, Hemadree, Koustoob and Parasara Ma-dhoo,* all apparently of the Benares school ”

Having stated our reasons against the reception of Parasara, as the authority for the present age for the rejection of all the Sanhitakars and commentators, we will now give the opinions of the English learned writers on the subject.

Sir Thomas Strange says, “ long absence is considered by sages as equivalent to natural death ” In a case of this kind indeed, authority exists to justify a wife in taking another husband, since the natural passion, (says Jagarnath on a similar occasion) “ implanted in the human race by the divinity is not to be endured ” But the texts of Devola referred to are considered as regarding past ages not the present, and at all events not as legalizing the act. Again, “ a *second husband* being declared to be a thing not allowed to a virtuous woman in any part of the Hindu code, by which, when her husband is deceased, she is directed ‘ not even to pronounce the name of another man ’ That the prohibition is as old at least as Menu appears from the references to his Institutes, though from its being included in the enumeration of things forbidden to be done in the present age, a time is implied when it did not exist That second-marriage by women is practised in some of the lower castes is, according to Hindu prejudices, no argument in their favor, these castes being in many instances not within the contemplation of the law ”

Arthur Steel in his Summary of the Law and Custom of Hindu Castes, states, (in page 175) “ among the Brahmins and higher castes in the case of the husband of the woman dying after marriage, though before the shanee has occurred, she is considered a widow and cannot re-marry ” In page 170, he says, “ among the lower castes, widows and wives under circumstances, are allowed to form the inferior contract termed *nikah*, *pat*, &c ” Again in page 32, “ the second-marriage of a wife or widow (called *pat* by the Marhattas, and *Natra* in Guzerat) is forbidden in the present age, at least to twice-born castes See Menu, C Dig, 273 But it is not forbidden to Sudras B S ”

Macnaughten also says “ second-marriages after the death of the husband first espoused are wholly unknown to the Hindu law, though in practice among the inferior castes nothing is so common ”

We have endeavoured to show that a fair and candid exposi-

* This, we believe, means Parasara, as interpreted by Madhaub Acharyea

tion of the Shasters, and the already received opinions which are looked upon as authorities are opposed to the marriage of Hindu widows. We have come to this conclusion from an impartial consideration of the subject, and if in this we are mistaken we shall be happy to be corrected.

But it strikes us that if the social evils of this country are to be removed, the establishment of particular points as to whether they are allowed by the Shaster or not, cannot be productive of substantial service to the cause. The *Shaster*, though written at different periods and embodying the results of considerable knowledge and experience, cannot be looked upon as the exponent of the *eternal* and *immutable* principles of right and justice in all its parts. It was written by human beings, and its inculcations must be with reference to their *peculiar education*, predilections, *peculiar views* of things and the state of society in which they lived. It is possible that their legislation might have suited the age when it was made, but it cannot surely be intended for all the ages to come. The state of humanity is not stationary—it changes—and with such changes, new features in the social system are discovered—new wants are created, new evils have to be checked, and the legislation which suits a nomadic, monastic or military life cannot well meet requirements of an industrial and social life. Whatever legislation there may be in reference to the social institutions of the Hindus should be judged by other texts. They are themselves well aware that the legislation of their sages on many subjects is not in accordance with the principles of right. They must know well that the legislation as to punishing the sudras for reading the Vedas or sitting with the Brahmins in the same bed is wrong, and has been but a dead letter. They need not be told that the legislation as to the penance for many acts done is not operative. Which then we ask is a better ground to stand upon—the authority of ancient codes which in many parts are at variance with justice, or the authority of the eternal immutable, unmis-takeable principles of natural reason and right, the standard of virtue which the Shasters profess to represent? It is possible that the authority of the Shaster, if rendered subservient to the determination of a question, may be productive of immediate good results, but there can be no mistake that it will be on an *insecure* basis to be shaken by an ordinary blast, while the sanction of the moral principles rightly inculcated and applied, cannot but eventually triumph. They carry with themselves the seeds which slowly but surely germinate, and

when they fructify they weather every storm and stand firm with the might of an oak

If our native friends are at all anxious to bring about social reforms, they must bear in mind that this can be most efficaciously effected by the diffusion of moral influence. The ancient writings may be ransacked—authorities collected, elucidations and illustrations given—the force of logic used,—the subtleties of a dialectician displayed. But as long as the ground is not manured—as long as the preparatory processes are not gone through—as long as the labors of cultivation are not systematically attended to, the husbandman ought not to indulge in the expectation of reaping his harvest.

In Bengal there has been a great deal of talk, discussion and writing, on the subject of Widow Marriage. The arguments used on different occasions are almost the same. They refer to prostitution and abortion. We have reason to believe that there is a great deal of chastity among the widows in the middle class, though we do not deny that the above two evils prevail, but to what extent it is difficult to state, in the absence of statistics. Our native friends are also well aware that the state of coerced celibacy is an unnatural state whether it refers to man or woman—that this unnatural state does in no way promote domestic or social happiness, but is attended with unhappy results—that every being living in this unnatural state is precluded from being useful to society, and to all intents and purposes dies a social death—nor need we tell them that no country where women are degraded can socially and morally advance. We consider the deprivation of Hindu widows of the freedom to marry, an unjust prohibition, and is calculated to operate prejudicially on their elevation as *rational and moral beings*.

But the question as to the marriage of Hindu widows refers more to Hindu women than to men, and if Hindu women are to be freed from restrictions upon their freedom, and elevated, it is necessary that they should receive in the first instance the benefits of a good sound education. Now when we institute an enquiry as to what has been done for the enlightenment of the females, we find, that although their education has been carried on in some parts of Bengal on a limited scale, yet the results are not likely to be such as to lead to any immediate substantial reforms. The serious drawbacks on the education of females are, that if they are sent to a school they are withdrawn at an early age when they are married, and the elder females with whom they

have to associate, being generally illiterate, do not at all sympathize with them, but, on the contrary, discourage them in the acquisition of knowledge. What may be learned at school or elsewhere is thus in many instances almost thrown away and lost.

We have recently advocated in the pages of this *Review*,* the *Zenana* education through English Governesses. This system appears to us to be well suited to the domestic constitution of the natives who are opposed to public education, on the ground that it is calculated to interfere with the exercise of "gentler virtues." One great recommendation in the *Zenana* system is that it throws the younger as well as elder native females upon the society of Christian ladies, which cannot but be improving to the former. We think that the habitual association of native females with good European Governesses will exercise a more healthy influence on the former, than a mere smattering of Bengali or English. Interesting conversations on subjects of practical importance are calculated to promote thought and enquiry, and thus gradually, though insensibly, advance the cause of truth. At the same time, we hope, we will not be considered as in any way depreciating the utility of knowledge through books, which very often have to be converted into the staple of the conversation.

It is very much to be regretted that a good series of books in Bengali, specially intended for females, is still a desideratum. These books should aim more at *things* than *words*—they should contain lessons so arranged, as gradually to exercise the different faculties which it is necessary to develop, that the readers may possess a good judgment, right feelings, and above all, quiet but fervent piety. As yet no efforts of the kind have been directed. The temptation to imitation is so great, that before crawling is practised, running is thought of—before the reading book is gone through the piano engrosses the mind. The change in the female mind is scarcely marked by any new phases, and if there be any passive change in ideas, it does not arise in the majority of cases from *conviction*, but from a spirit of compromise.

We are by no means surprised at such results. We know too well that the education of males has been, and is being still conducted in the Government institutions on erroneous principles. The principal characteristic of that system is **CRAMMING**. In every branch of instruction, memory is wonderfully exercised. The exercise of reasoning is not adequately carried

* See previous Number

on, and the manner in which the boys are generally taught does not force them to *think*. These are the leading features of the intellectual education. As to moral and religious education the result is *nil*. When the system of education is such, what influence can it have on those who receive it, or on the females with whom they associate? As an unhealthy effect of such education, we find in our native friends a want of earnestness in doing their best to secure a "happy home." How few there are who habitually spend the evenings with their family in interesting and instructive conversation! Alas, the temptation for the bottle is so strong, that intellectuality and the play of the gentler emotions must succumb to sensuality!

Under such circumstances, we entertain serious doubts, as to whether any great social reform can be immediately effected. It is possible that the force of the present agitation, or the pressure of influence, may bring about one or two marriages of widows, but when there is no good male education, using that word in its only true sense, when the females are so far behind, when the duty of raising them is not practically appreciated, where are the elements for sustained and continuous action? It remains therefore to be seen whether the proposed innovation only requires an outlet, whether it will burst forth and roll on, meandering through fields and meadows and spreading fertility and verdure, or whether it will stand still, be checked in its career, and forced to recede. We shall be agreeably surprised if we are disappointed, but we judge of probable effects from well known causes.

A petition having been presented to the Legislative Council by a portion of the native community, headed by Baboo Joykissen Mookerjee of Bali, together with a bill for the removal of legal impediments to the marriage of Hindu widows, Mr John Peter Grant introduced that bill in November last. He was supported by Sir James Colville and Mr LeGeyt, Member on behalf of the Government of Bombay. The bill has not yet been read for the second time, one petition from certain natives of Bombay, and one from the Rajah and a number of inhabitants of Krishnagore have since been presented in support of the bill. The orthodox portion of the community, at the head of which stands Rajah Radhakaunt Bahadoor, have had a public Meeting, at which it was resolved to memorialize the Legislative Council, and the Home Authorities, if necessary, against Mr Grant's bill, on the ground of its being a direct interference with the religious usages of the country. It does not appear that matters have since much progressed.

The bill in question consists of a preamble, and two sections, which appear to us to be defective. Section I. of the proposed bill is as follows —“ No marriage contracted between Hindus shall be deemed invalid, or the issue thereof illegitimate, by reason of the woman having been previously married or betrothed to another person since deceased, any custom or interpretation of the Hindu law to the contrary notwithstanding ”

We regret to notice several important omissions in this section.

1 There is no definition of a valid widow marriage. When the existing law is diametrically opposed to such marriage, it is quite possible that the facts of the marriage may be often disputed in a Court of Justice, and the law should therefore define what would constitute valid widow marriage. The modes of solemnization may be left to the parties themselves, who will act according to their convictions, and with this the Legislature has nothing to do, but they are bound to lay down what procedure would make the marriage valid.

2. Hindu girls are now married at the age of seven or eight, and there are many who become widows at that age. The section does not state at what age they are to be married. When the Government is about to legislate on the marriage of Hindu widows, they have a right to legislate in the best way they can. We are clearly of opinion that no widow ought to be married, unless she arrives at her majority, as it is necessary that she should have a clear conception of her new sphere of life, and be able to act as a consenting or dissenting party in a matter so deeply affecting her interests.

3 We also fail to notice the absence of information on the following points, I, Can a widow marry at her own discretion or is the consent of her parents or guardian necessary? II, Whether a widow can be married to a man who has already one or more wives living at the time. III, Whether she can be married to one who is of a different caste?

Sec 2nd of the proposed bill declares “ all rights and interests, which any widow may by law have in her deceased husband's estate, either by way of maintenance, or by inheritance, shall upon her second marriage, cease and determine as if she had then died, and the next heirs of such deceased husband then living, shall thereupon succeed to such estate, provided that nothing in this Section shall affect the rights and interests of any widow in any estate or other property, to which she may have succeeded or become entitled under the

‘ will of her late husband, or in any estate or other property
 ‘ which she may have inherited from her own relations, or in
 ‘ any Striddhan or other property acquired by her, either during
 ‘ the lifetime of her late husband or after his death ”

The objections to this section are—

1st That it would punish the widow by entailing on her the forfeiture of her interest in her deceased husband's property if she married, while she would be protected under the *lex loci Act* in the enjoyment of that property if she led an immoral life*

2nd If a Hindu widow renounces her religion and marries, her civil rights are not affected, because of the *lex loci Act*, but if continuing a *Hindu*, she marries, she forfeits her rights. This clearly amounts to a punishment for her adhering to a religion, which she conscientiously believes to be true. It affords us pleasure to state that another petition embodying the above views, and submitting a sketch of the marriage act, is shortly to be submitted by a section of the native community, and we sincerely hope that it will receive that attention which its importance warrants. We really think that the legislation on the subject of widow marriage ought to be on sound principles—on principles which may give full justice to the Hindu woman, and conduce to the establishment of her identity.

* Doe dem Saummoney Dossee, vs Nemychurn Doss, Bell and Taylor's Reports of the Supreme Court, Calcutta, Vol 2, p 300

ART II—*Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus* By
H H Wilson, L L D, and F R S Calcutta, 1846

To convey a clear and distinct idea of the nature and character of the faith embraced by the Shaktas, some account of Shakti, the great object of their special adoration, appears necessary. On this, as on every other religious topic, there exists among the Hindu writers great difference of opinion. There are no less than three different sets of notions held of this mysterious principle, bearing as many different names, Shakti, Máýá, and Prakriti.

The opinion which, of all others, has a claim to highest antiquity, though perhaps not the most popular, considers Shakti as the power and energy of the divine nature in action. This active energy is, agreeably to the genius of the Hindu mythology, personified and invested with a female form. The notion of this female principle, is something distinct from the divine essence, has evidently originated in the literal interpretation of the figurative language of the Vedas, respecting the first indication of wish or will in the Supreme Being. These most ancient authorities of the Hindu religion, speaking in a sense which is manifestly metaphorical, represent the *will or purpose to create* the universe, as not only originating from the supreme Brahm, but “co-existent with him as his bride and part of himself.” Thus, we read in the *Rig Veda*, “The Divine Spirit breathed without afflation single, with (Shiwadha) her who is sustained within him, other than him nothing existed. First desire was formed in his mind, and that became the original productive seed.” To the same purpose, but more distinctly, the *Sama Veda* says,—“He felt not delight being alone. He wished another, and instantly became such. He caused his ownself to fall in twain, and thus became husband and wife. He approached her, and thus were human beings produced.” These metaphorical expressions have, in the course of time, and with the corruption of the doctrines of the Vedas, lost then figurative signification, and, with the progress of the present mythological system, been interpreted in a literal sense, and some of the Purans have evidently contributed to form the notion of the female principle as distinct from the supreme Brahm. For, although they adopt a style very nearly the same with that of the Vedas, yet they inculcate nothing which they do not mean to be literally understood. They teach that Brahm, being devoid of all attributes, was alone, in a state of perfect insensibility, till having awaked from his profound and dreamless

sleep, he permitted to be generated within himself the wish to be multiplied, and then created beings were produced by the union of the wish with the divine nature. Thus, in the *Brahma Vairbhṭa Puraṇa*, it is said, that "The Lord was alone, 'invested with the supreme form, and beheld the whole world, 'with the sky and regions of space, a void. Having contemplated all things in His mind, He, without any assistant, began with the *will* to create all things, He, the Lord, endowed with the wish for creation." This first manifestation of the divine energy, the *will* or the *wish*, is Shakti, otherwise called *Ichhārupā*, a very significant name, meaning, literally personified desire, *i. e.*, desire assuming a *rup* or form, and thereby becoming in itself a separate and living existence, and the feminine termination *ā*, shows that the form which it assumes is that of a female. A like epithet is given to the Creator, who is called *Ichhamayā*, united with His own will,—the one male, the other female. This is clearly declared in the *Prakṛiti Khanda*, a section of the *Brahma Vairbhṭa Puraṇa*, which is wholly devoted to the manifestations of the female principle. "Brahm, or the Supreme Being, having determined to create the universe by the power of *yoga*, became 'himself two-fold in the act of creation, the right half becoming a male, the left half a female.'

The notion, which is the most popular, prevailing among the Hindus of all classes, is derived originally from the Vedānta philosophy, but supported and disseminated chiefly by a portion of the Puraṇas. According to this theory, all created things are held to be illusory, and the Shakti, or active will of the deity, is always designated and spoken of as "Māyā or Mahāmāyā, original deceit or illusion." Thus, in the *Karma Puraṇa*, "His energy being the universal form of all the world, is called Māyā, for so does the 'Lord, the best of males, and endowed with illusion, cause 'it to revolve. That Shakti, of which the essence is illusion, is omniform and eternal, and constantly displays the 'universal shape of Mahesa."

Another theory, which has contributed to form the character of Shakti, is founded on the Sāṅkhya philosophy. According to this system, nature, which is called Prakṛiti, Mula Prakṛiti, A'di Prakṛiti, is defined "to be of eternal existence, and independent origin, distinct from the Supreme Spirit, productive, 'though no production, and the plastic origin of all things, 'including even the gods." The *Gītā* and some of the Puraṇas sanction this doctrine. Thus we read in the former—"This my Prakṛiti, (says Brahm himself,) is inher-

'rently eightfold, or earth, water, fire, air, ether, mind, intellect, individuality" And the passage from the *Karma Puran* quoted above, may very advantageously be cited in corroboration of the present doctrine For there the Shakti of Brahma is represented "as the universal form of all the world, omniform and eternal'

It is not improbable also, as some learned analysts of the Hindu religion suppose, that the doctrine of the eternity of matter was introduced by the worshippers of the joint form of Shiva and Shakti Conformably to the universal maxim of all the Hindu sects, each of whom would identify the preferential object of their worship with the Supreme Being, and ascribe to the former all the attributes of the latter, the followers of Shiva and Shakti, in order to reconcile the apparent contradiction of assigning the attribute of creation to the principle of destruction, asserted, "that the dissolution or destruction of bodies was not real with respect to matter, which was indestructible in itself, although its modifications were in a constant succession of mutation, that the power, which continually operates these changes, must necessarily unite in itself the attributes of creation and apparent destruction that this power and matter, are two distinct and co-existent principles in nature, the one agent, the other patient, the one male, the other female, and that creation was the effect of the mystic union of these principles'

Though these mythological fancies respecting the character of Shakti appear to us irreconcilable and contradictory, since, in the first case, it is considered as nothing, but the personified will of the supreme Brahma, in the second as the original source of all illusion, and lastly, as something quite distinct from the divine essence, being eternal and of independent existence, yet the Hindu Shastras identify these three characters with each other Prakriti, Māya and Shakti are one and the same being As co-existent with the Supreme Being, Prakriti is identified with his Shakti, or his personified desire, and as one with matter, the source of error, it is again identified with Māyā or delusion It is further called delusion, or appearance, to show that it is something for an occasion, and which, when that occasion is served, will be destroyed Hence they say, that matter is from everlasting but is subject to destruction It is called inanimate energy, as it supplies the forms of things, though the vivifying principle is God To show that Prakriti is made one with Shakti, the will of Brahma, we give the substance of a passage from the *Brahma Vaisnava Puran*—"The Supreme Lord, being

‘ alone invested with the divine nature, behold all one universal
 ‘ blank, and contemplating creation with His mental vision, He
 ‘ began to create all things by His own will, being united with
 ‘ His will, which became manifest as Mula Prakriti.” In
 another passage, it is said, “ from the wish, which is the creative
 ‘ impulse of Sri-Krishna, (who is in this work identified with
 ‘ the Supreme Being), endowed with His will, she, Mula Prak-
 ‘ riti, the supreme, became manifest.” The identifying of Prak-
 riti with Mâyá, may, at once, be inferred from the following
 lines “ she (Prakriti) one with Brahm, is Mâyá, eternal,
 everlasting” (*Prakriti Khandi*) “Prakriti is termed inherent
 Mâyá, because she beguiles all beings” (*Káliká Puran*)
 There is a very striking passage in the *Brahmá Vairbhṭa*
Puran, in which Prakriti, Mâyá and Shakti are all blended
 together “ She (Prakriti) was of one nature with Brahm,
 ‘ she was illusion, eternal, and without end, as is the soul, so is
 ‘ its active energy” Hence we may use the terms Shakti, Mâyá
 and Prakriti synonymously without any fear of contradiction.

The original Prakriti is said to have first assumed a certain
 number of forms. But with regard to these principal modifica-
 tions of the female principle, the Hindu Shastras differ as
 much as with respect to her origin. The theory, which of all
 others, appears to agree most perfectly with the spirit of the
 Hindu religion, which is wholly figurative and emblematical,
 represents her in three different forms, deduced from the
 three Guna or qualities with which the Supreme Being is
 invested while engaged in the work of creation. Or in other
 words, the active energy of Brahm is resolved into three ele-
 ments or attributes, Satwa, Raja and Tama, or the properties
 of goodness, passion and vice, the female personifications of
 which are believed to be the first manifestations of Shakti.
 These are —1st, Vaishnavi, the bride of Vishnu, the male per-
 sonification of the Satwa Guna, 2nd, Brahmáni, the bride of
 Brahma, the male personification of the Raja Guna, 3rd, Rau-
 dri, the bride of Shiva, the male personification of the Tama
 Guna. Each of these three female divinities is known by a
 great variety of names, the most popular of which are Laksh-
 mi of the first, Sharashwati or Sávitri of the second, and
 Durga or Kali of the third. The names first mentioned are
 comprehensive terms, including all the particular denominations
 of the same goddess. Although it is generally admitted, that
 the first of these three is Satwika, or originating from the
 Satwa Guna, the second, Rajasi, or proceeding from the
 Raja Guna, and the third, Tamasi, or born of the Tama
 Guna, yet there is diversity of opinion, both with respect

to their generation and their union or intermarriage with the male divinities, forming the Hindu triad. Thus, in the *Marhadeya Puran*, nature (Prakriti) is said "to have assumed three transcendent forms, according to her three Gunas or qualities, and in each of them to have produced a pair of divinities, Brahma and Lakshmi, Mahesa and Sharashwati, Vishnu and Kali, after whose intermarriage, Brahma and Sharaswati formed the mundane egg, which Mahesa and Kali divided into halves, and Vishnu, together with Lakshmi, presided from destruction." But how the female divinities, being each born with one god, came to be united with another, is not accounted for.

The Tantras, which are full of mysteries and mystical symbols, while they admit the three first forms of the female principle to be severally the representatives of the three primary Guna, derive their origin from the conjunction of Bindu, or the sound called *Anaswara*, and marked (o), with the *Bij* or roots of mantras or incantations. Every specific mantra, or a mantra peculiar or exclusively belonging to any divinity, consists of a *Bij* or root, and the *Anaswara*, which together form what is called a *Nad*, and it is from the *Nád* or the combination of the two symbols, that the three forms of Shakti are said to have had their origin. By this symbolical representation, the Tantras, which exalt Shiva and his bride above all other divinities, mean, that Bindu and *Bij* severally represent Shiva and his Shakti, the parents of all other gods and goddesses. Thus — "The Bindu, which is the soul of *Shiva*, and the *Bij* which is the soul of Shakti, together form the *Nád*, from which the three Shaktis are born" (*Kreásara Tantra*). Here is another attempt of the worshippers of Shiva and his Shakti to identify their guardian divinities with the supreme Brahm.

Some of the Shastras agree only in part with the doctrine which ascribes the birth of the three female forms to the three Guna of Brahm, while others, rejecting it altogether, trace their origin, like the Tantras, to sources altogether different,—striking instances of the wonderful agreement between the writers of the Hindu religion. In a passage of the *Baráha Puran*, which has a whole section devoted to the subject, called *Tre-shákti máhátmya*, it is said, "The white coloured Satwika is the energy of Brahma, the red coloured Rajashi, derived from the *Raja* Guna, is called Vaishnavi, and the black Tamashi, born of the quality of darkness, is Raudra Devi, the wife of Shiva." According to this doctrine, the Shakti of Brahma is deduced from the first of the

three Guna, and Vaishnavi the bride of Vishnu, from the second, just the opposite of what is stated in the theory first noticed—there is an agreement, however, with respect to the generation of Tamasi, the third and the last form of the original Prakriti. Again, in the *Goraksha Samhita*, we read as follows, “Will, action, and intelligence are in order the ‘sources of Gauri, the wife of Shiva, Brahmi, the wife of ‘Brahma, and Vaishnavi, the wife of Vishnu.” This theory dismisses altogether the notion of the three Guna, and substitutes will action and intelligence in their place.

But this is not all. The doctrine of Trishakti itself is rejected by several authorities of the Hindu religion, and superseded by others, which are evidently inventions of a more recent date. As if not satisfied with so small a number as three, they would multiply the number of the first forms of Shakti, to five, eight, and even to nine. The Shastras, it appears, have increased the number of the female divinities, according as they have increased the number of the male deities or their incarnations. The *Kurma Puran* gives five forms of the original Shakti. “And she (Mula Prakriti) became in the act of creation five-fold by the will of the Supreme.” And the forms which, according to this authority, the original Prakriti is said to have assumed, are 1st, Durga, the bride, Shakti, or Mâyâ of Shiva, 2nd, Lukshmi, the bride, Shakti or Mâyâ of Vishnu, 3rd, Shashwati, the same of Brahma, or in the *Brahma Vairbhata Puran* of Hari, whilst the fourth, Sâviti, is the bride of Brahma. The fifth division, Radha, is unquestionably, as Dr Wilson very justly remarks, “a modern intruder into the Hindu pantheon.”

The names of the eight forms of the Shakti (or Ashta Shakti) are the following—1st, Indrani, 2nd, Vaishnavi; 3rd, Brahmani, 4th, Kaumari, 5th, Nârasinhi, 6th, Bârâhi, 7th, Maheshwari, 8th, Bhairabi. (*Brahma Vairbhata Puran*, the section dedicated to the birth of Krishna 119 Adhyâya). The following list contains the names of the nine forms of the female principle, as given in the *Prakriti Khanda* of the same Puran—1st, Vaishnavi, 2nd, Brahmani, 3rd, Raudri; 4th, Maheshwari, 5th, Nârasinhi; 6th, Bârâhi; 7th, Indrani; 8th, Kârtiki; 9th, Sarvva Mangalâ.

Besides these principal manifestations of Shakti, the whole body of the female divinities of every order, and of the nymphs and female saints of all descriptions, and, in fact, all living beings, whether human or brutal, of the female sex, are regarded as emanations of the original Prakriti, in the same way, as the origin of males is referred to the primitive Purusha, or male. In every successive creation of the universe, the

Mula Prakriti is said "to assume the different gradations of 'Ansa-rupini, Kalá-rupini, and Kalánsa-rupini, or manifests herself in portions, parts, and portions of parts, and further subdivisions." Thus the writers of the Purans state—"In every creation of the world, the Devi, through divine yog, assumes different forms, and becomes Ansa-rupá, Kalá-rupá and Kalánsa-rupá, or Ansánsa-rupá." The Ansas form the class in which all the more important manifestations of the Shakti are comprehended, the Kalas include all the secondary Goddesses, and the Kalansas and Ansansas are sub-divisions of the latter, and embrace all womankind, who are distinguished as good, middling, or bad, according as they derive their being from the parts of their great original, in which the Sativa, Raja and Tama Guna predominates. At the same time, being regarded as manifestations of the one Supreme Spirit, they are all entitled not only to respect but to veneration. "Whoever," says the *Brahma Vabertta Puran*, "offends or insults a female, 'incurs the wrath of Prakriti, whilst he who propitiates a female, particularly the youthful daughter of a Brahman, with 'clothes, ornaments and perfumes, offers worship to Prakriti 'herself."

Such is the account given of Shakti in the most authoritative and popular writings of the Hindu Shastras. We shall next determine the questions,—what is a Shakta, and what is the complexion of his faith? By Shaktas are understood the worshippers of Shakti. This is true only when we take the term Shakti in its restricted sense. This term, which had originally but one primary signification, has in the course of time come to be used in two different senses, a general and a limited one. When taken in its widest sense, it means the allegorical representation of the active energy of God, and is synonymous with Mula Prakriti, the primitive source of gods and men. In its limited sense, it is confined to Shiva Shakti, the Tamasi, the offspring of darkness, and the last of the first three forms of the original Prakriti. It is Shakti in this latter sense, the bride of Shiva, whom, in her manifold forms, the Shaktas worship. The followers of the Shiva Shakti then are alone called Shaktas. The worshippers of the Vishnu Shakti are included in the Vaishnava sect, while neither does Brahma nor Bramani his bride appear to have any special adorers among the Hindus. In order to make ourselves better understood, we must observe, that all the religious sects of the orthodox Hindus, however numerous they may appear at first sight, may be reduced into five leading classes, viz., the Vaishnavas, Shivas, Sauras, Ganpatyas and Shaktas. Those who

acknowledge Vishnu or his bride, in one or other of his or her manifold forms, as their guardian divinity, are included in the first class. Those who address their worship to Shiva, as the special object of adoration, are called Shaivas. The followers of Surjya, the sun, and of Gunesh, are severally known by the names of Sauras and Ganpatyas. The last class or Shaktas, comprehend the worshippers of the Shakti of Shiva in all her dreadful forms. These five great classes are commonly known by the name of Pancha-upāsak, or five sorts of worshippers. Every Hindu, whether he be a householder, a Bānprastha, a Sanyasi, a Yogi, or a Brahmachari, must belong to one or other of these five principal sects. He may pay his adoration to all the thirty-three *cots* of gods and goddesses composing the Hindu pantheon, but one and one only of the five divinities above mentioned must be his *Ishta Devatā* or tutelary divinity. Here is the marked distinction between general worshippers and special followers. To render this distinction more clear, we observe, that there are certain *general* formulas and prayers forming the ritual of worship of every particular divinity. These may be learnt by any Hindu from the Shastras, or from the mouth of a Brahman, and used in the adoration of any god or goddess, according to choice or necessity. But besides these general mantras, which may be made use of by any Hindu, without any distinction of sect, there are the Bij or specific formulas, which are received only from the hallowed lips of the guru or spiritual guide. These are kept in great secrecy, and repeated mentally every day, as a matter of highest religious duty. The god or goddess, whose Bij or Mula mantra is received in the prescribed manner, by any devotee, becomes his guardian divinity, and the person thus initiated, becomes the special follower of that divinity. The Shaktas then are the special followers of the Shakti of Shiva. They may in general worship any other god or goddess, but the bride of Shiva, in one or other of her horrid manifestations, must be their guardian divinity. The following passage, quoted from the works of Mr Colebrooke, will much elucidate the subject.

“That the Hindus belong to various sects, is universally known. Five great sects, exclusively worship a single deity. One recognizes the five divinities, which are adored by the other sects, respectively; but the followers of this comprehensive scheme mostly select one object of daily devotion, and pay adoration to other deities on particular occasions only. The Hindu theologians have entered into vain disputes on the question, which, among the attributes of God, shall be deemed charac-

teristic and pre-eminent Sankarāchārjya, the celebrated commentator on the Vedas, contended for the attributes of Siva, and founded or confirmed the sect of Saivas, who worship Mohadeo as the supreme being, and deny the independent existence of Vishnu and other deities. Mādhava A'chārjya and Vallabha A'chārjya have, in like manner, established the sect of Vaishnabs, who adore Vishnu as god. The Sauras (less numerous than the two sects above mentioned) worship the sun, and acknowledge no other divinity. The Ganapatyas adore Ganesa, as uniting in his person all the attributes of the deity. Before I notice the fifth sect, I must remind the reader, that the Hindu Mythology has personified the abstract and active powers of the divinity, and has ascribed sexes to these mythological personages. The Sakti, or energy of an attribute of God, is female, and is fabled as the consort of that personified attribute. * * * The exclusive adorers of the Sakti of Siva, are the Saktas" (*Asiatic Researches, Vol VII, pp 279*)

The Shaktas, who adopt the female principle in the last of her three principal modifications, as their special divinity,—instead of deriving her origin from the supreme Brahm, use to her the language which is invariably applied to the preferential object of worship in every sect, and contemplate her as the only source of life and existence. She is declared to be equally in all things, and that all things are in her, and that besides her there is nothing. In short, she is identified with the supreme being. Thus it is written in the *Kaṣī Khanda*—"Thou art predicated in every prayer—Brahma and the rest are all born from thee. Thou art one with the four objects of life, and from thee they come to fruit. From thee this whole universe proceeds, and in thee, asylum of the world, all is, whether visible or invisible, gross or subtle in its nature what is, thou art in the Shakti form, and except thee nothing has ever been." The Shakti of Shiva, being identified with Shaktiman, the deity, is declared to be not only superior to her lord, but the cause of him. "Of the two objects (Shiva and Shakti) which are eternal, the greater is the Shakti." "Again, Shakti gives strength to Shiva, without her he could not stir a straw. She is therefore the cause of Shiva." (*Sankara Vyāsa*)

Although the Purans do, to a certain extent, authorize the adoration of Shakti, yet the principal rites and incantations are derived from a different source. Of the Purans, those which in particular inculcate the worship of the female principle, are the *Brahma Vairertha*, the *Skanda* and the *Kālikā*.

But neither in them, nor in any other Puran, do we find the Bij or radical mantras which the Shaktas receive from their spiritual guides. These, as well as the greater portion of the formulas intended for general worshippers, are received from an independent series of works, known by the collective name of Tantras. They are very numerous, and in some instances of great magnitude. They are all written in the form of a dialogue between Shiva and his bride, in some one of her many forms, but mostly as Umá and Parvatí. The truth is, that the Hindu writers put into the mouth of Shiva while addressing his wife, that particular name among her numerous titles, which suits the metre best. In the course of conversation with her lord, the goddess introduces the subject of religion, and questions him as to the duties of man,—the best means of procuring a mansion in heaven, and of obtaining final liberation,—the mode of performing the various ceremonies of religion,—and the prayers and mantras to be used in them. These, the god answers in a very affectionate tone, and explains at length, and, at intervals, tries to enhance the value of the matter he discloses, by alleging, that it is only out of love to his consort, that he has undertaken to reveal mysteries not to be divulged to any one else, and, therefore, requiring of her to observe strict secrecy, and on no account to open them to the profane. Speaking of the Tantras, Mr Colebrooke, in his enumeration of the Indian classics, says, "Their fabulous origin derives them from revelations of Siva to Parbatí, confirmed by Vishnu, and therefore called 'A'gama, from the initials of three words in a verse of the *Sadala Tantra*. Coming from the mouth of Siva, heard by the mountain-born goddess, admitted by the son of Vasudeva, it is thence called A'gama."

The Tantrikas, or the followers of the Tantras, regard them as the fifth Veda, in the same way as the Puranikas endeavour to exalt the Purans to the same high station, that is, to the rank of the Vedas. But the disciples of the Tantras go a step higher. They not only maintain that they are contemporary with the four Vedas, but attribute to them a higher degree of authority. Thus in the *Shiva Tantra*, Shiva is made to say:—"The five scriptures issued from my five mouths, are the East, West, South, North, and Upper. The five are known as the paths to final liberation. There are many scriptures, but none are equal to the upper scripture (meaning the Tantras)." Accordingly the observances and ceremonies they prescribe, have indeed, in Bengal, superseded the original or the Vaidik ritual. "They appear also,"

says Dr Wilson, "to have been written chiefly in Bengal and the eastern districts, many of them being unknown in the West and South of India, and the rites they teach having there failed to set aside the ceremonies of the Vedas, although they are not without an important influence upon the belief and the practices of the people."

The Shakti of Shiva, whom the Shaktas make the particular object of their devotion, in preference to and exclusion of all other gods and goddesses, is said to have first assumed sixty different forms, each of which is believed to have a great many modifications. Each of these secondary manifestations of the Shakti, is again said to have taken a variety of forms, and so on almost without end. Even the cow and the jackall are declared to be the parts of Bhagabati, and venerated by the benighted natives of this country. Of the sixty primary forms of the Shiva Sakti, ten are held to be the chief, being distinguished by the name of Dashamābidyā, or ten great Bīdyas. Their names are as follows — 1st, Kālī, 2nd, Tārā, 3rd, Shorasi, 4th, Bhuvaneshwari, 5th, Bagalā, 6th, Chinnamasta, 7th, Dhumābati, 8th, Bhairavi, 9th, Matangi, 10th, Kamalātmikā. These are the forms in which the Shaktas generally adore the bride of Shiva as their guardian divinity.

The Shaktas are divided into two leading branches, the Dakshināchāris, and the Vāmāchāris, or the followers of the right hand and left hand ritual. With the former, the chief authorities, among the Tantras, which are too numerous to be enumerated in this place, are the Mantra Mahodadhī, Sāreda Tileka, Kālīkā Tantra, &c, while the impure ritual adopted by the latter is contained chiefly in the Kulachuramani, Rudra Yāmala, Shyāma Rahasya, Yoni Tantra, and similar abominable works.

OF THE DHAKSHINACHARIS.

When the worship of the Shakti is publicly performed, and in a manner quite harmonious to the Vaidik or Purānik ritual, and free from all obscene practices and impurities, it is termed the Dhakshina or right hand form of worship, and those who adopt this pure ritual are termed Dhakshināchāris. The peculiarities of this sect are described at length in a recent work compiled by Kasinath, and entitled *Dhakshināchāra Tantra Rāja*. According to this authority,—the ritual declared in the Tantras of the Dhakshināchāris is pure, and conformable to the Vedas. The general character of the form of worship embraced by the Dhakshinas, being, as already hinted, in many respects similar to the Puranic ritual, or that which

is common in all the ordinary modes of worship, it does not appear necessary to enter upon a full detail of its particulars. A general statement of its leading parts will be quite sufficient for our purpose. These are as follows:—

1st *Auchmana* The object of this, as well as some other ceremonies that follow, is the purification of the worshippers. It consists in taking up water from a copper vessel, with a small spoon of the same metal, by the left hand, and pouring a small quantity of it on the half closed palm of the right hand, in sipping up this water thrice with the lips, and in touching with the fingers in rapid succession, the lips, the eyes, and other parts of the head, along with the repetition of proper formulæ. With respect to the quantity of water to be sipped, it is directed and strictly enjoined, that it must be such as to run down the throat to the mouth of the œsophagus, and no further.

2nd *Shasthi Bâchana* This part of the ceremony is performed with the view of rendering the result of adoration beneficial to the worshipper. Mention is now made of the month, the age of the moon, and the day in which the ceremony takes place, and then appropriate mantras are repeated, such as, like good omens, are believed to prognosticate happy results.

3rd *Sankalpa* This is like the prayer part of a petition. In this the adorer discloses the immediate object of his worship, mentioning again by name the month, the fortnight, whether dark or bright, and the age of the moon. He mentions also his own proper name and his *gotra*, which is always the name of some *rishi* or saint. A fruit, generally a betel-nut or a *haretaki*, is necessary, which is held in the water contained in the copper vessel called *koshâ*.

4th *Ghatasthapana*, or the placing of a pot. This consists in placing a pot or jar, generally made of earth, but sometimes of brass or any pure metal, on a small elevation formed of mud,—the mud of the thrice sanctifying Ganges is of course preferable to any other. The jar is filled with water, a bunch of mango leaves, with a green cocoanut or a ripe plantain, is placed on its top, and the sectarial mark called the *yantra*, is painted with red lead on its front. This is to serve for a temporary abode of the goddess, whose presence in it is worshipfully solicited.

5th. *Sâmânya Argha Sthâpana*. This part of the devotion is opened by offering prayers to the ten cardinal points, which, according to the Hindus, are the East, South-east, South, South-west, West, North-west, North, North-east, the Zenith

and the Nadir, presided over by Indra, Agni, Yama, Nairi, Baruna, Bâyu, Kubera, Isha or Mohadeva, Brahma and Ananta. After this, what is called an Argha, composed of a small quantity of soaked rice and a few blades of durva grass, is to be placed on a dumb-conch shell, on the left side of the worshipper, and if, besides the worshipper, any Brahman, or Brahmans be present, a few grains of rice must be given to each of them, after which, they all throw the rice on the pot.

6th *A'shan Suddhi*, or literally the purification of the seat, but technically, of the posture in which the worshipper is to sit or stand while engaged in his devotion. This varies according to the immediate object of worship. The Tantras prescribe eighty thousand different sorts of postures. In order to receive clear notions on the point, we requested the learned pundit who favored us with a full explanation of the right-hand ritual, to show some of these by act. He did so, and we found them to be all ludicrous, some very painful and others impossible. These last were of course merely explained and not exhibited. One in particular, the object of which, he said, is the enjoyment of continual soundness of health, struck us more than the rest. In this posture, the body half bent, is supported by one leg, the other being drawn up to the waist, the arms are crossed and the hands folded. We took the liberty to ask the Pundit, what possible connection can there be between this posture and the preservation of health? On which he very smartly replied, "Try for a few minutes, and you will feel your appetite sharpened by the exercise, and what can be a better preservation of health, than that which improves the appetite?" The mode of sitting which is most frequently adopted, is called the Kamalâsana, or the lily seat. In this, the devotee, by folding both legs, supports himself on the posteriors. After taking this or any other position, he must purify it by repeating certain incantations.

7th *Bhuta Shuddhi*, or the purification of the body. It is called Bhuta Suddhi, for the body is believed to be composed of the five elementary substances called bhuta, viz, earth, water, fire, air, and ether. In this observance, the worshipper is to conceive that his old body is consumed, and that a new and purified one is put on. It is declared that fire and nectar (Amrita) are deposited in every man's forehead, and it is by this brain-fire that the old body is to be conceived to be reduced to ashes, on which nectar being mentally sprinkled over, a regenerated body must be conceived to come to existence by virtue of the mantras

8th and 9th *Pránáyān and Rishyádinyās* These are introductory prayers, inviting the presence of the goddess. There is one thing in them which deserves particular notice. The worshipper, while repeating the mantras, stops his breath by shutting the nostrils with his hand, and tries to continue in this state as long as possible. This exercise is said to lead to miraculous results. By persevering in it, the devotee first begins to feel himself light, he feels gradually lighter and lighter, till he perceives within himself a tendency to rise upwards. And if he can so far succeed by the aid of the mantras, as to live without breathing for a few hours together, he at last conquers his gravity, tramples upon the laws of nature, and, by his inward buoyancy, ascends into the air in the sitting posture. Many persons are at this day believed to possess this supernatural power, the wonderful effect of devotional exercise.

10th and 11th *Mātrikānyās and Barnanyās* These are singular rites, in which the worshipper repeats in order all the letters of the Sanskrit alphabet, both vowels and consonants, from अ to अः and from क to कः, each with the Anaswāra combined, as *ang, āng, kang, khang, gang, ghang*, and so on with the rest. And as he repeats these letters, which are fifty in number, he touches fifty different parts of his own body, according to directions minutely laid down in the Tantras, and when an earthen image of the goddess is to be worshipped for the first time, the officiating priest touches also the corresponding parts of the idol.

12th *Dyāna* In this, the worshipper is required, by closing both his eyes, to form the image of his guardian divinity in his mind, and to fix his mental vision upon it for some time. The mantra, which he has to repeat on the occasion, gives a full description of the form, shape, and all the bodily features of the goddess.

13th *A'bāhan, Chakshudān and Prānpratisthá* When the worship is performed without an image of the goddess, she is invoked to vouchsafe her presence in the jar. This is simple A'bāhan (invitation), and the mantras used in it are, "Oh goddess! come here, come here, stay here, stay here. Take up thine abode here, and receive my worship." But when there is an earthen or any other image to be vivified or made alive, the two last rites, Chaksud'āna and Prānpratisthá are to be performed, or the acts of giving eyes and life to the dumb clay, which now becomes an object of worship. Here the worshipper touches with the two fore-fingers of his right hand, the breast, the two cheeks, the eyes, and the forehead.

of the image As he touches these places, he repeats the mantra, "let the soul of the goddess long continue in happiness in this image."

14th *Pujah*, or the presenting of offerings of rice, fruit, incense, &c. The *pujah* is of two kinds, *Pāñchopachára* and *Shorasopachára*. In the first, which is less expensive, only five things are required, viz, *dhupa*, incense, *dipa*, lighted lamp, *gandha*, powder of sandel-wood, *pushpa*, flowers, and *nai-bidda*, soaked rice in the form of a cone, adorned with fruits, grains, curd, sweetmeats, &c. In the second, sixteen different sorts of offerings are presented, which, besides the five already mentioned, are,—*A'shana*, meaning a seat, and being a small piece of square gold or silver for the goddess to sit upon,—*Swagata*, a kind of reception, in which the adorer asks the *Devi*, if she has arrived happily, adding the answer himself, "very happily,"—*Padya*, water for washing the feet, offered by taking it with a spoon from one vessel and pouring it into another,—*Argha*, consisting of ten or fifteen blades of *durva* grass, sandel-wood powder, rice, &c, presented as a mark of respect,—*A'ñchmania*, water for washing the mouth,—*Madhuparka*, a small copper pot containing ghee, honey and sugar—*A'ñchmania*, water to wash the mouth a second time, *Snána*, water for bathing,—*Basana*, wearing apparel,—*Avaran*, ornaments for the feet, arms, fingers, nose, ears,—*Bandaná*, in which the *Brahmanical* priest walks round the image seven times, repeating forms of petition and praise. Besides these two regular methods of *pujah*, there are others, very simple and inexpensive, intended for persons of no capacity or fortune, in which nothing but water, flowers and sandel-wood powder are deemed sufficient for the purpose, and when even these are not procurable, water alone becomes the substitute for all the necessary articles. And the *Hindus* of the present day, too frequently avail themselves of this last and simplest method, and without expense or trouble, satisfy their own consciences, and the appetites and desires of their gods and goddesses, with cold water!

15th *Lelehi Mudrá*, or the performance of the gesticulation called *Lelehi*, which consists in putting the palm of the right hand upon the back of the left, and shaking the fingers. There are no less than sixty-four thousand different sorts of *Mudra* prescribed in the *Tantras*.

16th *Abarana Pujah*, or the worship of the attendants of the goddess. These are the *Dákínis*, *Sankhínis*, *Bhuts*, *Preτας* and other infernal and monstrous beings, who form the retinue of the *Shiva Sakti*.

17th *Mahákála Pujah*, or the adoration of *Mahákála*, a form

of Shiva. In every form of the worship of the Shakti, the paying of divine honors to Shiva, her husband, forms an essential part. To worship the Shakti alone is declared to be a great sin, and is threatened with severe punishments. Thus, "the joint form of Shiva and Shakti alone is to be worshipped by the virtuous. Whoever adores Shakti, and offers not adoration to Shiva, that person is diseased; he is a sinner, and hell will be his portion."

18th *Baldán*, or the offering of sacrifice, commonly a blood offering.

19th *Kabajan Patheth*. Reciting the glorious exploits and deeds of the goddess, and extolling her by praises.

20th *Homa*. This concluding ceremony consists in pouring clarified butter upon the consecrated fire, made for the purpose, on a bed of sand about one foot square. The leaves of the vilwa tree, and one or two plantains dipped in ghee are also consumed. The ashes are worn on the forehead, and the residue carefully deposited or buried in a corner of the house.

Such being the ritual of the pure Shaktas, the question may be asked, do they go through this curriculum of rites every day? The answer is, no, not all. The Hindu system, which is perfectly conciliatory, consults the time, ease, and convenience of its followers as much as their eternal welfare. After presenting to them the complete form of any sort of worship, and requiring them, if possible, to go through all its rites, it gradually mitigates its demands according to their circumstances, till the man of business is required to do nothing more than repeat his Mula mantra a hundred and eight times.

Of all the rites observed by the followers of the right hand ritual, that which can be supposed to form an exception to the general rule, and which places the Dhakhinas almost on a level with the Vamacháris, is the blood offering. In this barbarous practice, a number of helpless animals, generally kids, but not unfrequently sheep and buffaloes, are decapitated. Here we may observe in passing, that, according to the Hindu Shastras, there are two kinds of *Bali*, the *Rájasa* and *Satwika*, the first consists of meat, and includes three kinds of flesh,—the second of edible grain and rice-milk, with the three sweet articles, ghee, honey and sugar. The Puranas, for the most part, though not all, recommend the latter, and condemn the former as involving the person who offers it in sin. Thus, the *Brahma Vavertta Puran* observes,—“Let the Brahman, always pure, offer only the *Satwika Bali*,” and again, “The animal sacrifices, it is true, gratify Durga; but they at the same time subject the sacrificer to the sin

‘ which attaches to the destroyer of animal life It is declared
 ‘ in the Vedas, that he who slays an animal, is hereafter slain
 ‘ by the slain ” But such is not the language of all the
 Purans, some of them do not only recommend the offering of
 animal victims, but enforce the sacrifice of human beings, and
 to show how minute and definite they are on the subject of
 Bali, as well as to illustrate the creed of the Shaktas, we quote
 the following passage from a section of the *Kālikā Puran*,
 called the *Rudhiradāya*, or the sanguinary chapter, the whole
 of which is devoted, as the name implies, to the subject
 of blood offering

SHIVA ADDRESSES BETAL, BHAIKAV AND BHAIKAVA

“ I will relate you, my sons, the ceremonies and rules to be
 ‘ observed in sacrifices, which being duly attended to, are pro-
 ‘ ductive of the divine favor

“ Birds, tortoises, alligators, fish, nine species of wild ani-
 ‘ mals, buffaloes, bulls, he-goats, ichneumons, wild boars, rhino-
 ‘ ceroses, antelopes, guanas, rein-deer, lions, tigers, men,
 ‘ and blood drawn from the offerers own body, are look-
 ‘ ed upon as proper oblations to the goddess Chandikā, the
 ‘ Bhairavas, &c

“ It is through sacrifices that princes obtain bliss, heaven,
 ‘ and victory over their enemies

“ The pleasure which the goddess receives from an oblation
 ‘ of the blood of fish and tortoises, is of one month’s duration,
 ‘ and three from that of a crocodile By the blood of the
 ‘ nine species of wild animals, the goddess is satisfied nine
 ‘ months, and for that space of time continues propitious to
 ‘ the offerer’s welfare The blood of the wild bull and guana
 ‘ gives pleasure for one year, and that of the antelope and
 ‘ wild boar for twelve years The *sarabha*’s* blood satisfies
 ‘ the goddess for twenty-five years, and the buffalo’s and rhino-
 ‘ ceros’s blood for a hundred, and that of the tiger an equal
 ‘ number That of the lion, rein-deer, and the human species,
 ‘ produces pleasure which lasts a thousand years The flesh
 ‘ of these, severally, gives the goddess pleasure for the same
 ‘ duration of time as their blood

“ By a human sacrifice, attended by the forms laid down,
 ‘ Devi is pleased one thousand years, by a sacrifice of three
 ‘ men, one hundred thousand years By human flesh, Kama-
 ‘ khyā, Chandikā, and Bhairava, who assumes my shape, are
 ‘ pleased one thousand years An oblation of blood, which
 ‘ has been rendered pure by holy texts, is equal to ambrosia ;

* A fabulous animal said to have eight legs.

‘ the head and flesh also afford much delight to the goddess
 ‘ Chandika Let therefore the learned, when paying adora-
 ‘ tion to the goddess, offer blood and the head, and when per-
 ‘ forming the sacrifice to fire, make oblations of flesh

“ Let the sacrificer repeat the word Kali twice, then the
 ‘ words Devī Bajreshwari, then Lawhá Dandāyai Namah !”
 ‘ (which words may be rendered, hail ! Kali, Kali ! hail !
 ‘ Devi ! goddess of thunder, hail ! iron-sceptered goddess !)

“ Let him then take the axe in his hand, and again invoke the
 ‘ same by the Kálatrya text as follows —

“ Let the sacrificer say, hrang, hring, Kali, Kali O ! horrid
 ‘ toothed goddess, eat, cut, destroy all the malignant, cut
 ‘ with this axe, bind, bind, seize, seize, drink blood, *spheng*,
 ‘ *spheng*, secure, secure Salutations to Kali Thus ends the
 ‘ Kálatrya mantra

“ The Kharga being invoked by this text, called the Kálra-
 ‘ trya mantra, Kalratrī (the goddess of darkness) herself
 ‘ presides over the axe uplifted for the destruction of the
 ‘ sacrificer’s enemies

“ The sacrificers must make use of all the texts directed
 ‘ previous to the sacrifice, and also of the following, addressing
 ‘ himself to the victim

“ Beasts were created by the self-existing himself, to be im-
 ‘ molated at sacrifices I therefore immolate thee, without in-
 ‘ curring any sin in depriving thee of life” (*Sir William Jones’s Works, supplemental, Vol II*)

Such being the creed of the Shaktas, the question may very naturally be asked, what is their actual practice, in the offering of sacrifices ? Of all the animals named in the above passage, only four sorts are now known to be offered, viz, he-goats, sheep, buffaloes, and a particular species of fish called the mágura. After the animal intended for a victim is bathed either in the river, or in the house, the officiating priest puts his hand on its forehead, marks its horns and forehead with red lead, and reads an incantation, in which he offers it up to the goddess thus, “ O goddess, I sacrifice this goat to thee, ‘ that I may live in thy heaven to the end of ten years ” He then says a mantra in its ear, and puts flowers, and sprinkles water on its head The *kharga*, or the instrument with which the animal is killed, is consecrated by placing upon it flowers, red lead, &c., and writing on it the incantation which is given to the disciples of the goddess The officiating Brahman next puts the instrument of death on the neck of the animal, and, after presenting him with a flower as a blessing, then into the hand of the person appointed to slay the

animal, who is generally the blacksmith, but sometimes the worshipper himself, or any other person dexterous in the business. Here we may observe in passing, that the Hindus covet the honor of cutting off the head of an animal dexterously at the time of these sacrifices. The assistants put the goat's neck into an upright post excavated at the top, so as to admit the neck betwixt its two sides, the body remaining on one side of the post, and the head on the other. An earthen vessel containing a plantain is placed upon a plantain leaf, after which the blacksmith cuts off the head at one blow, and another person holds up the body, and drains out the blood upon the plantain in the basin. If it be not done at one blow, they drive the blacksmith away in disgrace. The Shastras have denounced vengeance on the person who shall fail to cut off the head at one blow: his son will die, or the goddess of fortune will forsake him. If the person who performs the sacrifice does not intend to offer the flesh to the goddess, the slayer cuts only a small morsel from the neck and puts it on the plantain, when some one carries it, and the head, and places them before the image, putting on the head a lighted lamp. After this, the officiating priest repeats certain prayers over these offerings, and presents them to the goddess. At the time of the public festivals, in which the worship of the Shakti is performed, a large number of goats, sheep and buffaloes are sometimes sacrificed, at the close of which, the conduct of the Shaktas is such as to remind us of the horrid dances of the naked savages round their human victims described in *Robinson Crusoe*. If a stranger, unacquainted with the character of the Hindus, were for the first time to meet the Shaktas, while engaged in the rite called *Kādūmāti*, their faces besmeared with blood, and their bodies covered with clay, he would most likely either fall flat on the ground, giving up all hope of his life, and expecting every moment to be devoured by those whom he could not but take for a set of cannibals, or if his courage prevailed over his fears, he would run with the utmost speed, just as he would fly from the mouth of a ferocious beast of prey. Every thing goes on slowly, silently and solemnly, till the animal's neck is put in the excavated block called the *Hārhat*, and formed like the letter Y, when all the spectators and assistants cry out as loudly as they can, O' mother, Durga, O' Kali, Jagadamba! &c., and continue crying till the stroke of death falls on the neck of the victim. And no sooner is the stroke given, than the tum-tums or cymbals strike up, the pipes are blown, and the

whole assembly, shouting, daub their faces with blood; they roll themselves in it, dance like furies and demoniacs, and accompany their dances with obscene songs and indecent gestures. When a number of animals are slain, a dead calm follows at each interval, and this savage practice is reserved for the last. In a state of high intoxication as it were, the Shaktas, bidding farewell to shame and decency, dance along the streets, leading to the river or to a neighbouring pond, where they bathe themselves, and then return to their homes in a more decent style.

THE VAMIS OR VAMACHARIS

The Vāmis or the left-hand worshippers, *adopt a form of worship* contrary to that which is usual, and they not only worship the Shakti of Shiva in all her terrific forms, but pay adoration to her numerous fiend-like attendants, the Yoginis, Dakinis, and the Sankinis. In common with the other branch of the Shaktas, Shiva is also admitted to a share of their worshipful homage, especially in the form of Bhairava, as it is with this modification of the deity, that the Vāmā worshipper is required to conceive himself to be identified, just before he engages himself in the orgies peculiar to his sect. Thus, "I am Bhairava, I am the 'omniscient, endowed with qualities. Having thus meditated, let the devotee proceed to the Kula worship" (*Shyāma Rāhasya*). The object presented to the followers of the left-hand ritual, is nothing less than an identification with Shiva and his Shakti after death, and the possession of supernatural powers in this life. The ritual of worship adopted by the Vāmāchāris, is sanctioned by a portion of the Tantras, from which it is exclusively derived. It has no precedent either in the Purans or in the Vedas. It is quite peculiar in itself, and perfectly distinct from every other form of worship. It resolves itself into various subjects, apparently into different sects, of which that of the Kaula or Kulina is exalted above all the rest. Thus the Kulārṇava Tantra declares—"The Vedas are pre-eminent over all works, the Vaishnava sect excels the Vedas, the Saiva sect is preferable to that of Vishnu, and the right-hand Shakta to that of Shiva—the left-hand is better than the right-hand division, and the Siddhanta is better still—the Kaula is better than the Siddhanta, and there is none better than it." The Vāmāchāris in general, and the Kaulas in particular, make a great secret of their faith, not because they are in any way ashamed to avow the impure rites they perform, but because, by being made public, the rites are said to lose their efficacy, and become

abortive. "Inwardly Shaktas, outwardly Shaivas, and in society nominally Vaishnavas, the Kaulas assuming various forms traverse the earth"

The form of worship varies according to the end proposed by the worshippers but in all the forms, the five Makáras are indispensably necessary. These are, Mánśya, Matsya, Madya, Maithuna, and Mudra, (flesh, fish, spirituous liquor, women and certain mystical gesticulations). They are called Makára, because they all begin with the letters m (म). Thus we read in *Shyáma Rahásya* — "Wine, flesh, fish, Mudra and Maithuna, 'are the five-fold Makára, which takes away all sin'". Appropriate mantras are also indispensable, according to the immediate object of the adorer. These incantations are no more intelligible to us than Egyptian hieroglyphics, and consist of meaningless monosyllabic combinations of letters. They are very great in number, and are all declared to be highly efficacious, if properly used according to the dictates of the Tantras. The following will serve as a specimen. The mantra which we here adduce, is called the Prasáda mantra. It is composed of the two letters, H and S, and is one of the very few to which any meaning is attempted to be attached. The Kulárnava describes in the following words its excellent virtues and unerring efficacy — "He who knows the 'excellent Prasád mantra, that was promulgated by the fifth Veda (the Tantras) and which is the supreme form of us both, 'he is himself Shiva, this mantra is present in all beings that 'breathe from Shiva to the worm, and exists in states of expiration and inspiration" "The letter H is the expired and S 'the inspired letter, and as these two acts constitute life, the 'mantra they express is the same with life the animated world 'would not have been formed without it, and exists but as long 'as it exists, and it is an integral part of the universe, without 'being distinct from it, as the fragrance of flowers, and sweetness of sugar, oil of sesamum seed, and Shakti of Shiva. He 'who knows it, needs no other knowledge—he who repeats it, 'needs practice no other act of adoration". The authority here cited is very elaborate upon the subject.

The rites practised by the Vámácháris are so grossly obscene, as to cast into shade the worst inventions which the most impure imagination can conceive. "In this last mentioned sect, (the Shaktas)," says a learned Sanskrit scholar, "as in most others, there is a right-handed and decent path, and a left-handed and indecent mode of worship, but the indecent worship of this sect is most grossly so, and consists of unbridled debauchery, with wine and women. This profligate sect is supposed to

be numerous, though unavowed. In most parts of India, if not in all, they are held in deserved detestation; and even the decent Shaktas do not make public profession of their tenets, nor wear on their foreheads the mark of the sect, lest they should be suspected of belonging to the other branch of it." Solitude and secrecy being strictly enjoined to the Vāmīs, they invariably celebrate their rites at midnight, and in most unfrequented and private places. They neither acknowledge their participation in these most scandalous orgies, nor, as we have already remarked, confess that they belong to any branch of the Shakta sect, although their reserve in this respect is becoming every day more and more relaxed, if not of all, at least, of many. Those, whose immediate object is the attainment of super-human powers, or whose end is specific, aiming at some particular boon or gift, are more strict on the point, lest they reap no fruits of their devotion. They never admit a companion, not even one of their own fraternity, into the place of their worship. Even when they are believed by the credulous Hindus to have become Shiddhas, that is, possessed of supernatural powers, or in other words, when they have acquired sufficient art to impose upon their ignorant and superstitious countrymen, and have established their reputation as men capable of working miracles, they take every care not to disclose the means through which they have attained the object of their wishes, unless revealed by some accidental occurrence or unlooked-for circumstance. Those whose object is of a general character, hold a sort of convivial party, eating and drinking together in large numbers, without any great fear of detection. But yet they always take care to choose such secluded spots for the scenes of their devotion, as lie quite concealed from the public view. They generally pass unnoticed, and are traced out only when we make it our aim to detect them, by watching over their movements like a spy. At present, as their chief desire appears to be only the gratification of sensual appetites, they are at all times found to be more attentive to points which have a direct reference to the indulgence of their favourite passions, than those minor injunctions which require of them secrecy and solitude. These, however, they are obliged to observe, at least in part, for their own account, for the abominations which, under the name of religious rites, they practise, cannot but expose them to disgrace and reproach, even among the degenerate Hindus.

We shall now enumerate some of the leading rites observed by the Vāmācharīs of this country. The drinking of spirituous liquors, more or less, is with them no less a habit than a reli-

gious practice They will perform no religious ceremony without wine In their various forms of daily worship, in the performance of all their ceremonial rites, in the celebration of all their public festivals, and in all their Sanskárás and occasional devotions, wine is indispensable Every article of food which they offer to their goddess, is sprinkled over with the intoxicating liquor Here it should be observed, that the orthodox Vámis will never touch any foreign liquor or wine, but use only the country *doasta*, which they drink out of a cup formed either of the nut of a cocoa, or of a human skull They hold the bowl on the ends of the three fingers of the left hand, viz., the thumb, the little finger, and the one next to the thumb, closing the two other fingers The liquor is first offered to their especial divinity in quart bottles or pints, but more frequently in *chaupalas* and earthen jars, and then distributed round the company, each member having a cup exclusively his own The practice of offering spirits to the goddess is authorized by the Shastras "The gourd, sugar cane, spirituous liquors, and fermented liquors, are looked upon as equivalent to other offerings, and please the goddess for the same duration of time as the sacrifice of a goat" (*Kalká Puran*) If there be no company, the worshipper pours the liquor into his own cup, and after holding it in the manner just described, repeats his *by mantra*, while covering it with his right hand The Vámáchári then, whether he be a sole worshipper or a member of a party, brings the cup filled with the heart-stirring liquid in contact with his forehead, as a mark of homage paid, and then empties it at a single sip No symptom of nausea must be shown, and no spittle must be thrown, indicating dis-relish of the celestial nectar, to which the liquor is said to be converted by the repetition of the holy text Three times the cup must go round over and over, before any food can be put to the mouth There are certain technicalities in vogue among these sons of Bacchus, which they use in their parties For instance, when boiled rice is to be served, they say distribute the *flowers*, the drinking cup is called *pattra*, onions, *nutmegs*, the bottles, *jantras*, &c They call themselves and all other men that drink wine, *birs* or heroes, and those that abstain from drinking, *pasus*, i. e., beasts No sooner is a child born, than they pour into its mouth a drop or two of wine, at the time of its first Sankára, called the *Anna prasana*, which takes place at the sixth moon from its birth, if it be a male, or at the seventh moon, if it be a female, they give it pieces of cork or *shola* dipped in wine, to be sucked, so they habituate the child from its cradle, in the drinking of spirituous liquors At the time of the principal initiation, or

mantra grahana, that is, when the specific or Bij mantra is received from the Guru, he and his new disciple drink together, the former at intervals giving instructions to the latter as to the proper mode of drinking. Whenever the spiritual guide visits a Kaula family, all its members, men, women and children, gather round him, and with great cheers and feasting, drink his health as he drinks theirs. There are many such families in Calcutta and its vicinity. Many ludicrous anecdotes are told of Kaula Gurus and disciples, when heated with the intoxicating drug, and had we sufficient time and space, we would insert some of them. Suffice it therefore to say, that when their brains are excited by drinking copiously, their conduct towards each other does little agree with the relation which subsists between them. Sometimes the relation is quite inverted, and the disciple acts the part of the Guru, and puts his feet on his head, while the latter quietly submits to this height of profanation on the part of the former. This shows to what extent the Vāmis carry their habit of drinking, since they become so devoid of sense as to offer insult to the Guru, the highest object of their veneration. And this is no wonder, when their principle is, "drink, and drink, and drink again, till you fall flat on the ground, the moment you rise, drink again, and you shall obtain final liberation." "The zeal that is prescribed," says Dr Wilson, "might suit some more civilized associations —

"Let him pledge the wine cup again and again,
Till he measures his length on the ground
Let him rise and once more the goblet drain
And with freedom for aye, from a life of pain,
Shall the glorious feat be crowned"

In justice to those who form exceptions to this general rule, we must observe that all Vāmāchāris are not drunkards, though they all drink. Some of the Tantras prescribe the exact quantity to be drunk. According to their prescription, the least dose to be taken is an ounce, and the largest not exceeding three ounces. Many strictly adhere to this rule, and are never known to go beyond the limit. Others are very delicate on the subject of drinking. Their account is extremely singular. They keep wine in a phial with a very slender straw dipped in it, and at stated periods they touch the end of their tongue with that extremity of the straw which lies immersed in the liquor. There is still another variety of the Vāmis who substitute certain mixtures in the place of wine. These mixtures are declared in the Tantras to be equivalent to wine, and to possess all its intrinsic virtues without the power of intoxication, such as the juice of the cocoanut received in a vessel made of

lansa, the juice of the water-lemon mixed with sugar, and exposed to the sun; molasses dissolved in water, and contained in a copper vessel, the juice of the plant called *Somalatí*; &c, &c

The mode of drinking in parties before described, being that which the Vámis adopt when assembled, not for religious purposes of a specific nature, but for the avowed purpose of drinking wine under the sanction of religion, or for the usual forms of daily worship (*Nityakríá*), they sometimes admit into these societies companions, if very intimate friends, who abstain from wine altogether, and do not like to taste it even from the end of a straw. These are obliged to dip one of their fingers in the *pátrá*, and with the liquor so taken, to make a spot on the forehead.

In all the ceremonies, which not only comprehend the worship of the Shakti, but are performed for the attainment of some proposed object, the presence of a female, as the living representative, and the type of the goddess, is indispensably necessary. Such ceremonies are specific in their nature, and are called *Shadhanás*. Some who are more decent than the rest of the sect, join with their wives in the celebration of the gloomy rites of Kali. Others make their beloved mistresses partners in their joint devotion. Here the rite assumes a blacker aspect. The favourite concubine is disrobed, and placed by the side or on the thigh of her naked paramour. In this situation, the usual calmness of the mind must be preserved, and no evil lodged in it. Such is the requisition of the *Shastras*, say the Vámis, when reproached for their brutal practices. But here we first remind them of the five-fold *Makára*, and then ask them the plain question, how many among them can really boast of ever attaining to such a state of perfection, and such thorough control over the passions, as to keep them unruffled, or from being inflamed in the midst of such exciting causes.

In this way is performed the rite called the *Mantra Sádhaná*. It is, as must be expected, carried on in great secrecy, and is said to lead to the possession of supernatural powers. The religious part of it is very simple, consisting merely of the repetition of the *Mula mantra*, which may or may not be preceded by the usual mode of Shakta worship. Hence it is called the *Mantra Sádhaná*, to distinguish it from other sorts of *Sádhanás*, which we shall presently notice. After ten P.M., the devotee, under pretence of going to bed, retires into a private chamber, where, calling in his wife or mistress, and procuring all the necessary articles of worship, such as wine, grains, water,

a string of beads, &c., he shuts the doors and the windows of the room, and, sitting before a lighted lamp, joins with his fair partner in drinking. The use of this preliminary is obvious. When, by the power of the spirits, the veil of shame is withdrawn, he, making his wife or mistress sit in the manner already described, begins to repeat his mantra, and continues to do so till one, two, or three o'clock in the morning. At intervals the glass is repeated, and the ceremony is closed in a manner which decency does not allow us to state.

One of our neighbours, a rich and respectable man in the native community, was in the habit of holding private meetings with his mistress every night, for the purpose of making the *Sádhana*. He had a string of beads made of chandal's teeth, which is yet preserved in his family, as a precious relic. The beads are believed to be endowed with a sort of animation, to drink or absorb milk, and to show the appearance of grim laughter when wine is sprinkled over it. We have ourselves seen the rosary and tried its alleged virtues, but found nothing in it verifying the above statements. We may moreover observe, with respect to this native gentleman (for so he was regarded by all who knew him), that he never went to any distance without his favorite mistress, for without her, who was fully initiated in all the Shaktya rites, he could not perform his abominable devotion. He retained her in his own house in the midst of his family,—a thing deservedly reproachful even in the eyes of the profligate Hindus.

There is another sort of devotion, called the *Shava Sádhaná*, the object of which is to acquire an interview with and command over the impure spirits, such as the *Danas*, *Tál*, *Betal*, *Bhutas*, *Pretas*, *Sankinis*, *Dákinis* and other male and female goblins, so that they may be ready at command to do whatever task the worshipper shall be pleased to commit to their charge. In this horrible ceremony, a dead body is necessary. The corpse of a *chandala* is preferable to any other. But that which is declared to be the most meritorious, forming the shortest path to the acquisition of infernal dominion, is the body of a *chandala*, having died a violent death, on Tuesday or Saturday, days sacred to *Kali*, and on the day of the total wane of the moon. Such a conjunction of circumstances can rarely take place, and consequently any dead body serves the purpose. The rite assumes different forms. According to some authorities, the adept is to be alone at midnight in a *smashána*, or a place where dead bodies are either buried or burned, and there to perform the prescribed rights, seated on the corpse. Accord-

ing to others, he must procure in the dead of night, four lifeless bodies, cut off their heads, and then bring them home. Placing these at the four corners of a square board, he should take his seat upon it, which with the worshipper upon it, must be supported by the four heads. In this latter method, the Guru is sometimes seated in the front, for giving necessary directions, as well as for the purpose of encouraging the novice and to prevent his sinking down under fear. But whatever be this preliminary step, the leading features in either case are the same. The worshipper must be furnished with spirituous liquors and fried rice and grain. Thus supplied, he, after performing the worship of the Shakti in the usual manner, must continue repeating his Mula Mantra without interruption. This sort of prayer is called *Jap Ere* long, he is said to be troubled with a hundred fears, and assailed by a thousand hideous appearances. Infernal beings, some skeleton-like, and others pale as death, some one-legged, and others with feet turned backwards, some with flaming brands taken from funeral piles in their hands, and others tall as palm trees, emaciated, with hideous faces, and worms hanging from every part of their bodies, now dance round him, now terrify him with frowning countenances, and now threaten him with destruction. The corpse itself, upon which he has taken his seat, seems suddenly to revive, its pale eyes begin to sparkle and wear a furious look, now it laughs and then opens wide its mouth, as if to devour him, who is thus oppressing it with his burden, and, Oh! dreadful to mention, now it attempts to rise and mount the air. The heads also, are said to show the same fearful appearances. In the midst of these terrors, the devotee is required to persevere, to keep steadily in view the object of his devotion, to fix his mind firmly on his tutelary goddess, and to pay no regard to the fiend-like phantoms. To the reviving corpse and heads, he is directed to present wine and food, with the view of pacifying them. If by giving way to fear, he tries to escape by flight, he instantly falls down insensible on the ground, and either dies on the spot or turns mad for life. But if, in spite of such appalling dangers, he can continually maintain his ground, the evil spirits gradually cease to frighten him, and are at last enslaved to his absolute will, like the genu represented in the story of Aladdin's wonderful lamp.

We now come to the blackest part of the Vāmā worship. Nothing can be more disgusting, nothing more abominable, nothing more scandalously obscene, than the rite we are about to describe. Human nature, even when it shall have reached the lowest depths of degeneracy, can never be supposed to

perpetrate deeds so grossly impure, as those that are here enjoined as religious acts of the highest merit and efficacy. The ceremony is entitled Sri-Chakra, Purnábbhisheka, the ring or full initiation. This worship is mostly celebrated in mixed societies, composed of motley groups of persons of various castes, though not of creeds. This is quite extraordinary, since, according to the established laws of the caste system, no Hindu is permitted to eat with an inferior. But here the law is at once done away with, and persons of high caste, low caste and no caste, sit, eat and drink together. This is authorized by the Shastras in the following text:—"Whilst the Bhairavi Tantra (the ceremony of the Chakra) is proceeding, all castes are Brahmans—when it is concluded they are again distinct" (*Shyáma Rahásya*). Thus, while the votaries of the Shakti observe all the distinctions of caste in public, they neglect them altogether in the performance of her orgies.

The principal part of the rite called the Chakra is Shakti Sádhaná, or the purification of the female representing the Shakti. In the ceremony termed the mantra Sádhaná, we have already noticed the introduction of a female, the devotee always making his wife or mistress partner in his devotion. This cannot be done in a mixed society. For although the Vámis are so far degenerated as to perform rites such as human nature, corrupt as it is, revolts from with detestation, yet they have not sunk to that depth of depravity as to give up their wives to the licentiousness of men of beastly conduct. Neither is it the ordination of the Shastras. For this purpose they prescribe females of various descriptions, particularly "a dancing girl, a female devotee, a harlot, a washer-woman, or barber's wife, a female of the Bramameal or Sudra tribe, a flower girl, or a milk-maid" (*Dev Rahásya*). Some of the Tantras add a few more to the list, such as "a princess, the wife of a Kápalí, or of a chandal, of a kulála, or of a conch seller" (*Rebati Tantra*). Others increase the number to twenty-six, and a few even to sixty-four. These females are distinguished by the name of Kula Shakti. Selecting and procuring females from the preceding classes, the Vámacháris are to assemble at midnight in some sequestered spot, in eight, nine or eleven couples, the men representing Bhairavas or Vras, and the women Bhairavis or Náyikás. In some cases a single female personating the Shakti is to be procured. For this purpose a woman of a black complexion is always preferred. In all cases, the Kula Shakti is placed disrobed, but richly adorned with ornaments on the left of a circle (chakra) described for the purpose, whence the ceremony derives its name. Some-

times she is made to stand, stark naked, with protuberant tongue and dishevelled hair. She is then purified by the recitation of many mantras and texts, and by the performance of the mudra or gesticulations. Finally, she is sprinkled over with wine, and if not previously initiated, the *By* mantra is thrice repeated in her ear. To this succeeds the worship of the guardian divinity, and after this, that of the female, to whom are now offered broiled fish, flesh, fried peas, rice, spirituous liquors, sweetmeats, flowers and other offerings, which are all purified by the repeating of incantations and the sprinkling of wine. It is now left to her choice to partake of the offerings, or to rest contented simply with verbal worship. Most frequently she eats and drinks till she is perfectly satisfied, and the refuse is shared by the persons present. It, in any case, she refuses to touch or try either meat or wine, her worshippers pour wine on her tongue while standing, and receive it as it runs down her body in a vessel held below. This wine is sprinkled over all the dishes which are now served among the votaries.

Such is the preliminary called the purification of the Shakti. To this succeeds the devotional part of the ceremony. The devotees are now to repeat their radical mantra, but in a manner unutterably obscene. Then follow things too abominable to enter the ears of men, or to be borne by the feelings of an enlightened community, things of which a Tiberius would be ashamed, and from which the rudest savage would turn away his face with disgust. And these very things are contained in the directions of the Shastras, which is proved by the subjoined quotation * Here the diabolical business closes-

* মহানিশায়া মানীয় নব কন্ঠাশ্চ ভৈববান্ । একাঙ্গশ্চ নবাকৌবা
কৌঙ্গিকঃ কৌলিকেশ্বরী । শোধয়েন্নবভির্মন্ত্রৈঃ পূজয়েৎ কৌলিকোত্তমঃ ॥
তদীয়ং মন্ত্রমালিখ্য তস্মিন্ তামেব পূজয়েৎ । ত্রীচক্রে হৃদয়ৈর্দ্বায়ে
কন্ঠাং ভৈবব বল্লভাং ॥ মুক্তকেশাং বীত লজ্জাং সর্বাভবণ ভূষিতাং ।
আনন্দ লীন হৃদয়াং সৌন্দর্যাগতি মনোহরাং ॥ শোধয়েৎ শুদ্ধি মন্ত্রেণ
সুপ্রানন্দামৃতাম্ভুতিং । মন্ত্রেণানেন দেবেশি কামিনীমভিসিঞ্চয়েৎ ॥
এবং শোধন মন্ত্রান্তে বর্ণিতাশ্চ পৃথক্ ময়া । * * * । অলীকিতাপি
দেবেশি দীক্ষিতৈব ভবেত্তদা ॥ দীক্ষিতঃ শোধিতো বীরো ভবেৎ সর্বার্থ
সিদ্ধয়ে । * * * । পটশ প্রণব মুক্ততা মন্ত্রবাক্যং কুলেশ্বরী ॥

We fully agree with Mr Ward in his remarks on the extent and nature of the above practices "At present," he says, "the persons (Vámácháris) committing the abominations, are becoming more and more numerous, and in proportion as they increase, the ceremonies are more and more indecent. They are performed in secret, but that these practices are becoming very frequent among the Brahmans and others, is a fact known to all. Those who abide by the rules of the Shastras are comparatively few, the generality confine themselves chiefly to those parts that belong to gluttony, drunkenness and whoredom, without acquainting themselves with all the minute rules and incantations of the Shastras."

It is not unfrequent also, for men of this sect, to honor (as they deem it) their private meetings with the name of Chakra, although the object of such assemblies is nothing more than simple merriment, to eat flesh and drink wine with a freedom not enjoyed by the Hindus in general. On this point we are exactly of the same opinion with Dr Wilson "In truth," he observes, "few of the ceremonies, there is reason to believe, are ever observed, and although the Chakra is said to be not uncommon, and by some of the zealous Shaktas, it is scarcely concealed, it is usually nothing more than a convivial party, consisting of the members of a single family, or at

ধর্ম্মার্থ হবির্দীপ্তে স্বাহাগ্নৌমনসাক্রচা ॥ স্তম্ভা বস্ত্রনা নিত্য নক্ষ
বৃত্তিং জুহোমাহং । স্বাহান্তং মত্ত মুচ্চার্যাজপ মূলং স্মরণং ॥

* * * ॥ তারদ্বয়ান্তবগতং পবমানন্দ কাবণং । ওঁ প্রকাশাকাশ
হস্তান্তা মবলদ্বোম্ননীক্রচা । ধর্ম্মার্থ কলান্তেহ পূর্ণ বহৌ জুহোমাহং ॥

* * * ॥ সম্পূজা কান্তাং সন্তপ্য স্তম্ভানস্তা পরম্পরং । সংহার
মুদ্রা মত্তা শক্তিবীরান্ বিসর্জয়েৎ ॥

(*Devi Rahasya*, a section of the *Rudra Yamal*.) The following is a partial translation of the passage as given by Dr Wilson, leaving out, of course, parts too obscene to be translated —

* * * It is to be performed at midnight, with a party of eight nine, or eleven couples, as the Bhairavas and Bhairavis. Appropriate mantras are to be used, according to the description of the person selected for the Shakti, who is then to be worshipped, according to prescribed forms, she is placed disrobed, but richly ornamented, on the left of a circle (Chakra) described for the purpose, with various mantras and gesticulations, and is to be rendered pure by the repetition of different formulas. Being finally sprinkled over with wine, the act being sanctified by the peculiar mantra * * * The Shakti is now purified but if not previously initiated, she is to be further made an adept by the communication of the radical mantra, whispered thrice in her ear when the object of the ceremony is complete. The finale is what might be anticipated, but accompanied throughout with mantras and forms of meditation, suggesting notions very foreign to the scene."

‘ which men only are assembled, and the company are glad to
 ‘ eat flesh and drink spirits, under the pretence of a religious
 ‘ observance ”

Here it should be observed in justice to the doctrines of the Tantras, that the rites of the Vāmīs, if practised for the sole purpose of sensual gratification, are condemned as illicit and reprehensible. The *Kulārṇava* has the following and many similar passages: they are also found in other Tantras. “Many false pretenders to knowledge, and who have not been duly initiated, pretend to practise the Kaula rites, but if perfection be obtained by drinking wine, independently of my commands, then every drunkard is a saint; if virtue consist in eating flesh, then every carnivorous animal in the world is virtuous; if eternal happiness be derived from sensual intercourse, then all beings will be entitled to it. A follower of the Kaula doctrine is blameless in my sight, if he reproves those of other creeds, who quit their established observances—those of other sects, who use the articles of the Kaula worship, shall be condemned to repeated generations as numerous as the hairs of the body.” “It is only to be added,” says Dr. Wilson, “that if the promulgators of these doctrines were sincere, they must have been filled with a strange phrenzy, and have been strangely ignorant of human nature.”

THE OUTWARD MARKS BY WHICH THE SHAKTAS ARE DISTINGUISHED FROM OTHER SECTS.

The Shaktas delineate on their foreheads three horizontal and semi-circular lines, with ashes, obtained, if possible, from the hearth on which a consecrated fire is perpetually maintained. But as such ashes are not always procurable, they generally draw lines of red sandal or vermilion. They sometimes add a red streak up the middle of the forehead, with a red circlet at the root of the nose. This circular spot, they mark, when they avow themselves, either with saffron or with turmeric and borax, but most frequently with red sandal, which, however, properly belongs to the Shaiva sect.

For the purpose of keeping an exact reckoning of the number of times the radical mantra is repeated, without which, it is declared the worshipper loses the fruit of his devotion, every Hindu counts it either on the digits of his fingers, or on a bead-roll. But the mode in which this is done is different in different sects. The Shaktas adopt the following method. Taking three digits in every finger, they begin at the middle digit of the finger next to the little finger, touching it with the end of the thumb,—they then touch the digit at the bottom of the

same finger, and then go over all the digits of the little finger, commencing from the bottom,—they then come to the uppermost digit of the finger next to it, and then coming from the top downwards, through all the three digits of the middle finger, end at the bottom of the finger next to the thumb, which all the time serves as an index, pointing to and moving over each digit. In this way they get the number ten. And while the right hand is employed in counting the mantra from one to ten, the left hand in the same manner marks the number of tens, so that when the index has gone over all the ten specified digits of the left hand, the mantra must have been repeated one hundred times. When the mantra has been repeated one hundred times, they put before them as a symbol of one hundred a grain of *chhola*, a quantity of which they always procure before hand.

The bead-rolls, which are used in japs, but more frequently in the repetition of the name of the goddess, have indices affixed to them, called *shakshus* (witnesses), and consist generally of such a number of beads as gives the number a hundred by being multiplied by any whole number. To mark the knot where the two ends of a string of beads meet, a bead of a different shape, or a tassel of silk or cotton thread, is placed. At one end is the index, consisting of a thread doubled round the string, with a knot at its end to prevent its falling off. When all the beads are once turned over, the index is placed after one bead, after another revolution, after two, so that the number of beads between the index and the knot where the two ends of the string meet, shows the number of revolutions which, multiplied by the number of beads in the bead-roll, will give the number of times the name of the goddess is repeated. The beads are made either of coral, or of a certain species of stone called *Sphatic*, or of human bone, or of the teeth of a chandala. This last sort is said to be replete with miracles, and is much valued by the Vāmāchāris. The seeds of the rudraksha, and more especially what they call the *sunkhya gutika*, are highly prized by the Dhakshinās. The beads of the latter sort are composed of five ingredients, namely, shell-lac, red lead, red sandal, cow-dung, and the ashes of cow-dung burnt. Strings of rudraksha seeds are also worn by the Shaktas round their heads, necks and arms, as those of tulasi are worn by the Vaishnavas.

Various mystical figures or marks called yantras, are appropriated to the several divinities and to the different titles of each. Such figures are usually drawn on the spot, where a consecrated jar is to be placed, or delineated on

the jar itself. These yantras, which are believed by the superstitious Hindus to possess many occult powers, are treated of at great length by the Tantras, but seem to be unknown to the Vedas and Purans. The yantra, sacred to Vishnu, is marked ✠, the sectarial ensign of the Shaivas, is a double triangle. One triangle represents Shiva, uniting in himself the three great attributes, the other triangle signifies his consort with the same character and attributes. The characteristic mark of the Shaktas is an angle bisected by a straight line.

CONCLUSION

The Shaktas form the great majority of the Hindus in Bengal. It has been found by computation, that at least three-fourths are of this sect, of the remaining fourth, three parts are Vaishnavas and one Shaiva, &c. The Shaktas are at the same time the most powerful and influential party among our countrymen. This is owing, not so much to their superiority in number, as to their pre-eminence in rank among the various grades of caste. Men of higher classes are for the most part followers of the Shakti,—those belonging to the lower grades are generally the worshippers of Vishnu. This is owing to a circumstance peculiar to the Hindus, and therefore cannot be rendered intelligible to foreigners without a detailed explanation. A high caste and pure Brahman sinks in society, if he were to act as an officiating priest to a Sudra, even of high rank, though not so far down as to become an out-caste. Of the Sudras, the Káyastas and nine other secondary classes are regarded as *Sat* or pure Sudras. Those Brahmans who perform the religious rites on behalf of Sudras lower in rank than the foregoing, are excommunicated, and become *Patita*, or degenerated Brahmans, forming of themselves a distinct class. But there is a set of Brahmans who form exceptions to this rule, and who go and give mantras to Sudras of every grade and rank, and eat in their houses without fear of excommunication. These are the Goshmamis, the hereditary Gurus of the Vaishnavas. But although the Goshmamis are not treated as out-castes, yet, in many respects, they hold a rank much inferior to that of the high caste Brahmans. The Vaishnavas are, in consequence, regarded as inferior to the Shaktas, who would never acknowledge any Brahman as his Guru, who mixes freely with Sudras of all descriptions, pure and impure. This accounts for the fact that men of the higher classes are for the most part the worshippers of the

female divinity, and in this is implied a certain pre-eminence in rank enjoyed by the Shaktas

The religious practices of the Shaktas being such as are believed to lead to the possession of supernatural powers, many persons of this sect, taking advantage of the religious blindness of the great mass of the people, practise the most bare-faced impositions. The credulity of the Hindus becomes to many an unexhaustible source of wealth, especially to those who are at the head of any religious establishment, where any form of the Shakti is the presiding divinity. These priests, who day and night attend on the goddess, and perform various mystical rites, gradually acquire the credit of having close intimacy and secret communication with her, and then gifts, presents and votive offerings are incessantly poured on the altar. Under pretence of healing diseases of children, and curing barrenness, mothers and young women are induced to join in the worship of Kali, when the worthy votaries of the black goddess, the priests, thank her for having fulfilled the object of their wishes. Offerings are presented, not only for receiving blessings, but also for personal safety. Life and death are said to be in the hands of these *Shuddhas*. They, if provoked, can sooner or later, kill the offender by the power of their mantras. This deadly ceremony is called *Māranuchhātan*. There is in a district with which we are familiar a temple dedicated to Shiddheswari, a form of Kali, the late attending priest of which was a man universally believed to be of no common rate. The belief yet prevails in the neighbourhood, that once in the height of indignation he caused the death of a rich native for having indirectly called him a drunkard. The story runs thus. At a feast given to the Brahmans by this native gentleman, the priest of Shiddheswari was invited to his house,—the latter, on account of the manifold duties of the temple, was late in his attendance, on which the host, being displeased with his conduct, for the lateness of one affects the whole company, said to him as he entered the doors, “Well Bhattacharyya, now I believe the dimness of your eyes has vanished,” alluding to his known habit of drinking. At this railery, the rage of the favorite of Kali knew no bounds. He instantly returned to the temple and closed its doors, strictly enjoining his servants not to disturb his meditation before flames from the funeral pile of the wretched host ascend to the skies. And, wonderful to relate, an hour had scarcely elapsed before the sons of the host came to the priest with clothes round their necks, fell suppliant on their knees, and with folded hands implored his

mercy, saying "O! Sir, save us and our family." The priest, smiling, asked them what was the matter, to which they replied, weeping, "Our father is no more. No sooner had your holy feet left our doors, than on a sudden blood came out rushing from his mouth, he fell on the ground and expired. Save us, we entreat thee and the rest of his family, for we have not offended against thy holy divinity." On this the wrath of the priest was pacified, and he spoke to them in an affectionate tone, "No fear, my children, you are safe, go home and perform your father's funeral obsequies." Another marvellous anecdote is told of him, as well as of many others of similar character. When on one occasion he was bringing liquor concealed in a water pot, a person whose object was to expose him, stopped him on the way and wanted to see what was in the pot. To which he calmly replied, nothing but milk. Saying this, he poured out the contents, and the liquor was found converted into milk. Such persons, by taking advantage of the fears of the superstitious Hindus, extort money and other presents from them.

There is another set of impostors who pretend to have obtained dominion over the impure spirits. These go about doing miracles among the ignorant Hindus, by whom they are called in for various purposes, generally for curing diseases, barrenness, &c. They invariably come at night, in a body of two, three or four persons, one of whom is always a ventriloquist. They require to be brought yavá flowers, which are sacred to Kali, sweetmeats, curds, &c, which being placed on the floor of a room, they and the visitors enter the room. The worship of the Shakti is now performed, and then the lights are extinguished. The chief actor then begins to call his vassal goblin by name, saying, "Arambaraye, Arambaraye," and a hollow voice answers from a distance, "Here I am coming." Soon after, a variety of sounds are heard, as of some one knocking at the door, windows, roof, &c, or if it be a cot, the thatches shake, the bamboos crack, &c, in short, the room is filled with the presence of the spirit. Now the head impostor asks him a number of questions as to the nature of the disease to be cured, and then begs some medicine to be given, on which a sound is heard, as if something were thrown on the floor. The lights being then brought in, roots of plants or some such things are discovered. In this way the commanders of ghosts impose upon the credulous Hindus. The process is called *Chanduyágina*, or awakening the ghost. The impostors always fail before men of sense in their attempt to call in the ghost.

Much of the splendour of the Hindu idolatry consists in the celebration of the Shakta rites. The great festivals, which are annually celebrated in Bengal, such as the Durga Puja, the Jagaddhatrî and Kali Pujas, the Charak, the Basanti, Rutanti and Falahâri Pujas, are all Shaktya observances, and for the most part performed by the worshippers of the Shakti. These festivals themselves, and the exhibitions that accompany them, exert a pernicious influence over the morals of the people. The spirit in which these religious days are kept, the splendid and fascinating ceremonies connected with them, and the merry exhibitions, including savage music and indecent dancing, that form a part of the worship, cannot but captivate and corrupt the heart and overpower the judgment of youth. The Hindu temples are, by far the greater number, dedicated to the joint form of Shiva and his Shakti, represented by the *Linga* and the *Gauripatta*. Take our own city, the great metropolis of British India, and you can scarcely point out a street in the native town, where there is no temple consecrated to Kali, or to one or other of her numerous modifications. In the immediate vicinity of Calcutta, the temple of Chitteshwarî at Chitpore, where human sacrifices were formerly offered, and the grand temple of Kali at Kalighat, are famous seats of Hindu idolatry. In the interiors, wherever you see any religious establishment, you are sure to find on enquiring that it is one where the combined form of Shiva and his Shakti, or the goddess alone, is the presiding divinity. These are all places of Shakta worship, where the Shakta rites are performed day by day, with more or less splendour, where the bloody sacrifices are hourly offered; and where large numbers of Brahmans assemble for worship, and an immense concourse of men and women, for the purpose of presenting their votive offerings. Sightings like these cannot fail to produce strong and lasting impressions upon the minds of those that witness these scenes from their infancy. Even the most inattentive passers by cannot but mark men, who either standing before the temples, call aloud "Kali, Kali, O! mother, save us, protect us," or falling prostrate on the ground, implore her mercy. The youth is every moment reminded of the veneration he owes to the goddess by such spectacles. In proportion as his respect for the Shakta divinities increases, his morals are corrupted by witnessing scenes of impurity which we cannot commit to writing. The Shakta temples are the favorite haunts of drunkards, thieves, robbers, impostors of all descriptions, and women of ill fame.

The Shakta processions are utterly abominable. One of

these processions takes place after the blood-offerings at public festivals, which we have already described. Of a similar character are those which both go before and follow the images, when carried to be thrown into the river or into a pond. On these occasions the Shaktas utter terms most grossly obscene, loudly and repeatedly, and make gestures the most indecent that can be imagined, and all this before their goddess and the public. What a pernicious example does this afford to the Hindu youth, who is from his early stage of life familiarized to scenes which should call forth his feelings of abhorrence and disgust. What wonder then that decency is so little observed among the Hindus?

The habit of drinking wine, which prevails so widely among the Shaktas, produces baneful effects on the minds of the Hindus. Leaving the Kaulas as out of the question, since they themselves train up their children in the habit of drinking, the Shaktas in general are more forward in trying the qualities of the prohibited article than any other sect of the orthodox Hindus, and their example stimulates others to do the same. This is one of the reasons why the drinking of spirituous liquors, which was almost unknown among the Hindus of yore, has gradually become so prevalent among them, as at this day. The tenets of the Shaktas open the way for the gratification of all the sensual appetites, they hold out encouragement to drunkards, thieves and dacoits, they present the means of satisfying every lustful desire, they blunt the feelings by authorizing the most cruel practices, and lead men to commit abominations which place them on a level with the beasts. The Shaktya worship is impure in itself, obscene in its practices, and highly injurious to the life and character of men.

ART III—*Salem, an Indian Collectorate, by J W B. Dykes, Civil Service*

WE have somewhere met with an old proverb, that a late spring brings a great plenty. In writing of India, after so many have ably written, we certainly carry out the first part of the proverb, and can honestly lay claim to being late in the season, but whether we shall verify the latter part remains to be proved. Indeed, so much has been written, and so many questions discussed, regarding the future of India, that if we escape the imputation of being of the "*imitatores, servum pecus*," we shall give ourselves credit, as well as for the modesty of confessing that we are only urging what many have urged before, and are only giving new form, not matter, to this *vetusta questio*. Surely, if there is any truth in the old adage, "enough is as good as a feast," we have a rare feast of books set out before us, a sort of monster picnic, to which several have contributed various dishes, cooked and composed after their own peculiar tastes. One worthy gentleman, Mr Campbell, devoted to his own service, gives us the length and breadth of India in square feet, tells us of the animal, mineral and vegetable kingdoms, speaks of vast improvements introduced into the country, and gigantic measures in prospect, reads us a lesson in finance, in moral and material improvement, throughout all of which, taking considerable pains to deify the Civil Service, he somewhat depreciates the army, delicately drawing his readers to the conclusion, that if a man is not a C S, he is nothing. And how can it be otherwise? A man who has passed through the trials of Haileybury, owned a cap and gown, read Greek and Latin plays, bolted the elements of Sanscrit and Political Economy, wandered and groped about in a maze of Hydraulics, Trigonometry, Dynamics and Astronomy, with a smattering of Hindoostani, Telugu and Persian, and, perhaps, seen the back of a Blackstone, and tried his hand at an essay, and all this in somewhere about one year and a half, how can he be otherwise than a ready-made Metcalfe or Munro, or what is more to the point, and nearer the truth, how can he help fancying himself so?

His book approves, on the whole, of the present administration, with the exception of its want of progressiveness and generalization, but does not give so favorable an account of our judicial system, deficient as we are in good laws and good lawyers. He advocates the village system, condemns the ryotwari, and founds the justice of his conclusions on the fixed confusion and

to hit upon a policy more capable of suppressing agriculture altogether than the following —

“ In the Ceded Districts dry lands are occasionally assessed with an extra assessment, but the practice is hardly just. In a few places, from the peculiarity of the soil and the proximity of hills, land assessed as dry, retains the water in seasons of heavy rains by small embankments being thrown across the fields, and advantage has been taken of this to fix an extra assessment upon these dry lands. There are no wells, tanks or nullahs, but only periodical rains.” A poor ryot toils from morning to evening, builds up a small embankment, retains by that means the rains upon his fields, grows a dearer produce and, *miserable dictu*, finds his field doubly assessed, his hopes of profit vanished, and his labour vain. Here is encouragement to labour, to weed his lands, manure his fields and improve his property !

Again we read —

“ The rule as regards lands assessed as doofacel (or two crop lands) is not to collect only two thirds of the assessment fixed for two crops, when *only* one crop is sown. Even when the certainty of water is precarious, the *whole* assessment is collected, whether one or two crops are sown. In one crop land on the contrary, where two crops are reared, full jastee, or half the fyen assessment is collected. Frequently two crop lands as so assessed at the survey, for want of water, are left unsown for the second crop, and one crop lands from having water are sown. The extra assessment is levied in both cases, in the 1st by no remission of the fyen assessment being granted, in the 2nd by a direct extra tax being put on.”

Examples of this kind might be multiplied at pleasure, and reading them, how strange it is that men at home, wise men from the East, should so lose sight of the question, and confounding systems and restrictions, condemning this and approving of that, fight and fidget for a particular mode of collecting the revenue, forgetting all the while that the very best system in the world could never prosper, if hampered with such restrictions as above.

Any attempt to account for their existence, would be quixotic. If we reverse the picture and fancy our policy to have been the suppression of agriculture, all is natural enough, and the present condition of the ryot in the Ceded Districts clearly accounted for.

- ART IV —1 *The Gong, or Reminiscences of India* By Major Vetch Edinburgh, 1852
- 2 *India and the Hindoos, being a Popular View of History, Manners, &c, with an account of Christian Missions among them* By F D W Ward Glasgow
- 3 *India, its History, Climate, &c* By J H Stocqueler London, 1853
- 4 *India, Pictorial, Descriptive and Historical* London, 1854
- 5 *The Three Presidencies of India* By John Capper, F R A S London, 1853
- 6 *History of British India, (Gleig's School Series)* London, 1853

STRANGE and fickle as the manifestations of literary activity may seem in this book-making age, we believe that they can be reduced to certain fixed and definite laws, more than sufficient to account for all the "curiosities of literature" Only let the induction be sufficiently wide, and the process of generalisation careful, and there is no eccentricity of the book-world, no marvel in the department of literature, that may not be reduced to a class like itself, based on some great general principle, or otherwise accounted for We must admit the great truth, for the first time fully reasoned out by comparative philology, that, as there is an intimate and indissoluble connexion between thought and its expression—language, so the literature of every age or country must ever, even in its minutest shades, correspond with the history, morality, intelligence, or other natural characteristics of the time Given a certain state of opinion, a certain tendency of belief, and a certain manner of living, to produce in the same external circumstances, the same form of literature all the world over The great pulse of humanity beats at the same rate, the great mind of humanity thinks with the same intensity, in the same mode and to the same extent, other things being equal If then we bring the idea of the "comparative" to bear on all mental manifestations, why may not the laws that regulate literary activity and productions, be reduced to the same uniformity, as those that have been generalised from the facts of outward and material nature? Why should we not have a "science of the laws that regulate mental manifestations?" call it by what name you will, to which, in all cases of difficulty

or discrepancy, critics might appeal with perfect confidence and success. It is Whewell, we think, who has asked this question, but in vain, so far as any tangible result is concerned, except in the case of Mr Dallas, who has attempted to answer it partly, in his work on "Poetics." We fear such a question as this will never be fully solved, until our modern philosophy is placed on a securer and more universal basis, than either the Ontology of Germany, or the Eclecticism of France has been able to give it. We are met at the outset by the difficulty that attends all psychological enquiries of this nature, we must judge of the subjective, by the subjective itself—we must objectify one part of the Ego, that with the other we may study it. Thus oscillating between the two, we fall into continual error and doubt, and relinquish in despair the hope of attaining definite certitude on the laws of literature.

The literature of India, or rather the literature regarding India, furnishes us with many hints that might at least guide us in arriving at a partial conclusion. The aspect that it at this day presents, is a strange one. A country of vast extent, embracing in its wide expanse all the productions and scenery of every clime, containing nations of every shade of colour, variety of religion, physical structure, and mode of belief, with languages of great perfection, the origin of which is lost in a dark antiquity, and literature corresponding with a history, which, for the light and shade that chequer it, for the interest, surpassing that of romance, that is thrown over it, and for the great lessons to be drawn from it, is unsurpassed by that of any other country, with capabilities for development and improvement that seem infinite, and natural treasures that are boundless, long the field of conquest for the greatest nations of antiquity, and the source of interest and cupidity to all the mercantile nations of the world, the scene of some of Britain's greatest triumphs, and the brightest dependency of her crown, the home of many of her sons, the cause of many a broken heart, and the last resting-place of many a weary body, the field, too, where many of our greatest men have won their first and proudest laurels, as warriors, statesmen, legislators, judges and scholars—yet, until within the last few years, has it never excited any general interest for its own sake, or called forth any continued and prolonged efforts to elevate it in any sense as a nation and a land.

Cause for this reproach has now passed away, and the amount of literary activity on the one subject of India, has been during the last three years far greater than on any other sub-

ject, the one engrossing topic of the War excepted India has seemed, for the last hundred years that the British have ruled her as territorial Governors, to hide her head in obscurity, and that with the full consent and wish of those who desired to retain a rich monopoly for ever in their hands, to get as much out of, and do as little for her as possible. Hence the great ignorance regarding her—an ignorance fostered by all her servants—an ignorance that gave rise to all the absurd stories regarding her and her Governors—an ignorance that has been a fruitful subject for her novel-writers, from the days of Fielding to those of Thackeray, and that lesser star John Lang. It would be the most interesting chapter in the history of fiction, were all the stories current regarding her, and related with such zest and piquancy by all the novelists of the last century, to be collected. Add to those the griffinisms of new-comers, and the practical jokes played off on them, either in imagination or reality, and the book would immediately take the first rank in all circulating libraries, a sure evidence of at least temporary popularity. Let us suggest this to some of our Anglo-Indian writers, who waste their "leisure" in useless translations, unpoetical sonnets, or unreal and stiff descriptions of the "Gorgeous Orient." This is decidedly a desideratum in literature.

All full and accurate information on India having thus, as it were, by tacit consent, been kept back for so many years, it was to be expected that, when the secret seal was broken, and the haze of mystery displayed to men, it should gradually clear away before the inquisitive searchings of public opinion. India has now rushed to the opposite extreme, it has become the fashion to know about it, and to regard a somewhat accurate knowledge of it as part of the education of a gentleman, even our legislators have condescended to set out a few debates, which have suddenly become interesting, for the first time since the walls of the house echoed back the names of Nuncomar, Sujah Dowlah, Cheyte Singh, and the Begums of Oude, when Sheridan fell into the arms of the admiring Burke, and the great orator himself impeached the first, and, in some respects, the noblest Governor-General of India. The literary market still cries for more works on India, and obscure *litterateurs* come forth with inaccurate compilations, and old Indians with the fruit of many years' experience. Even our school-boys have now the hope of knowing something more, than that the Great Mogul is King of Ethiopia, and Plassey was fought in the days of Sultan Mahmoud.

In the successive numbers of the *Review*, we have noticed

some of the more important works that have issued from the press on India, and things pertaining to it. The list of books placed at the head of this Article, includes only a few of the many of minor importance that are ever being furnished. The realization of the hope approaches more and more closely, that at no distant day, India shall assume her proper place in the intelligent study and concern of all, who care for watching the gradual elevation of 150 millions of human beings, and the practical solution of problems, philological, religious, educational, scientific and social, on which the civilisation of the West has not ventured further than in controversial theory. Large as has been the number of the publications of the last five years, regarding all Indian subjects, it has been ridiculously small, when viewed in the light of the extent and character of the country treated of, and the importance of the interests at stake. The whole tendency of Parliamentary, as distinguished from East India Company Legislation, has been the abolition of monopoly, the public freedom and display of all things, the honest adoption of generally recognised principles of truth and just government, and the opening of the services to all whom not interest and influence, but merit and acquirements, render fitted for responsible positions. In a word, from Pitt's famous Charter of 1784, which created the Board of Control, to the bill of 1853, which, in after history, will be still more famous, liberality, honesty, just government, freedom of discussion, have been the recognised point at which to aim, if they have not often been realised. In proportion as the prospects of the mass, of obtaining a share in the Government of India, have been widened, their interest in all matters relating to it has been increased, and the discussion of the India Bill of 1853, the opening of the services, the recent education despatch, and still more, the document with regard to the education of the future Civil Servants, have caused all intelligent men to feel that not merely is India in itself worthy of careful study, but with reference to themselves and their own interests, it would be well fully to understand it. Hence the literary activity of the past few years, which we believe is but the beginning of a course of authorship and intelligent enquiry, that will finally cause Mr Titmarsh and his *confrères* to produce in abundance such works as a *Journey from Cornhill to Calcutta*, *Holiday Ramble in the Himalayas*, *A Vacation Tour on the Banks of the Bhavany*, *Mr Albert Smith's Ascent of Mount Dhwalagiri*, *Murray's Hand-book to the Mullah and Damoodah*, *Jottings on the Deck of a Steamer on the Godavery*, *Waltonianism on the Toombudra*, by a Brother

of the Angle *The Farm Yard*—a Treatise on the best modes of rearing the Mongoose, the Elephant and the Alligator, with an Appendix on the Cobra de Capella, *Doubtful Plays and Poems of Kalidas*, from a Manuscript discovered in the Chakrabartian Library, with Notes and Emendations, *Memours of a Labouring Ryot*, by the President of the India Reform Association, *Sunny Memories of the Jullunder Doab*, by a Koolin's twentieth wife, *Life in the Patshalla, the Karkhana and the Rajbaree*, by Mrs Kenneth Collinson, &c &c

We can easily understand that a publisher's Overland Literary Circular of the next twenty years, will contain such announcements as the above. The Khyber Pass will then be as often trodden by Cockneys as the Trosachs or Killicrankie is now, the great inland seas of America, and the mighty falls of the Niagara will be despised, before the Chilka lake and the cataracts of the Cavery, and the sonorous voice of the travelled John Bull will be heard abusing the "young men" in the hotels of Kashmir, in as choice Hindustani, as is the French, wherewith he now signalises himself in the Champs Elysées, or at Baden Baden. Mr Doyle will not confine the foreign tour of his protégés Brown, Jones and Robinson, to the narrow limits of one Continent, but will plant them on the summits of the Vindhya range, or picture them and their adventures in the far south of the Carnatic. The ridiculous in India will no longer be represented by the *Delhi Sketch Book*, but Punch himself, with his dog carefully packed, and Judy sent to rusticate in the wilds of Killarney, will entrust his precious personage to the steamer at Marseilles, and, scorning the rail and Nile boat alike, will emulate the fame of Cleopatra, and be the first to navigate the Suez canal. Then let the Mulls, the Ditchers and the Ducks, beware of him, whose eye no folly can escape, whose sarcasm no vice can overcome.

Comparatively many, however, as have been the works of late published on India, none seem to have taken the proper view of its past, its present and its future, the motives from which these works have been written, have been very various, but yet all more or less one-sided. All depends, in any subject, on the platform on which an author places himself, on the stand-point from which he takes his view. Every work must be unworthy of India, that is not, like itself, vast, wide, extensive, all-embracing, filled with a liberal and catholic spirit, radiant and bright as the sun that shines upon it, but at the same time, having a vein of great earnestness, of deep longing, of half-concealed melancholy running through it, so expressive of the moral and social state of its many millions, of the sor-

rows and regrets of its English civilisers. A good book on India must be an exact type of itself, the writer must have entered into all its shades and characteristics, he must have become subjectively Indianized. There must be no doubting of its glorious future, no scepticism as to its final redemption. A note of triumph must often be heard above the jarring discords of present evils and follies, as a knowledge of the present elements of good comes into view, is a trustful faith in the nature of the present energies adopted, is felt. In all works on India, how little has this been the case, men have made fortunes and gone home to enjoy an easy independence, they have come to the country from wrong motives, they have got out of it all the worldly good possible in their case, they have tolerated it only for this object, and they have gone home to deepen the impression that India is a fearful land, that it is the region of the shadow of death. There are many stand-points from which it has been viewed, let us consider them for a little, and see how far they fall short of what they ought to be, illustrating our remarks by extracts from some of the works, whose titles are given above.

The *scholar* comes out fresh to India, either ready-made or in embryo. He is a philologist, and as he walks among the millions of India, and listens to what would be to others a Babel-like confusion of tongues, his soul swells with an enthusiasm exceeding that of even Sir W. Jones. Here is the land of the Arian races, from these northern plains of Hindustan, the ancestors of all Europe sprang, in that strangely difficult speech of the *Asians*, is to be discovered the root and germ of all the Indo-European tongues. Greece is noble, and surrounded with hallowed associations, but nobler far and more awe-inspiring still is the land, which was the womb of Greece. Egypt is enveloped in a dark haze of historical uncertainty, and the mystic symbols of its sacred tongue point back to a period to which history does not go, but more sublimely chronological still is the history of this land of the sun, which disdains millions, and reckons its historical antiquity by ages and cycles of *æons*, passing the limit of the human, and drawing largely on the unbounded epochs of geological time. Homer sinks into insignificance before Valmiki, and the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are modern tales when compared with the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharat*. For him all India bustles with learned truths and historical and linguistic associations, and he lingers in more sacred and ardent admiration over the topes of Bhilsa, or the rock-cut temples of Ellora, than ever he did amid the ruins and colonnades of Stonehenge, or the crumbling

pillars of Palmyra But as he views these ancient remnants of departed greatness, his fancy peoples them not with the inhabitants of old, he sees not the same heart beating under the bronzed breast of the reverend Brahmin, as in the bosom of the white man, who worships a different God in a different form He traces no connexion between the form of belief which these views body forth, and the social state here, and the everlasting state hereafter, of races, whose descendants now wander over the desolated spot, heirs of a glorious destiny, and yet ignorant of its nature and responsibilities He is a dreamer, a book-maker, a collector of facts, nothing more, and having accomplished thus much, his scholastic stand-point lets him do no more, and so—he passes away, and India is not a whit further up the ladder of progress through him

There is another position from which India is viewed, and a much more false one than this—through the stained glass of what has been called the *Services* To eat the Government salt, and yet to turn one's heel against it, would be inconsistent with all the known laws of gratitude, and more especially those of our oriental clime Hence to be in the services, civil, military, medical or marine, covenanted or uncovenanted, is to be in a position of being either positively or negatively in favour of Government Nor do we object to this, as at all inconsistent with a position of independence and courageous private judgment, unless a desire for self-interest and an overpowering eagerness after lucrative appointments, lead one to indiscriminate praise, to throw himself boldly into every little breach, to sound loud trumpets of defence on every little occasion, and to proclaim himself Advocate General for the powers that be No Government can be perfect, much less one in India, all that its critics can fairly demand is, that its principles be honest, the general adherence to them staunch, its objects good, and the general attainment of them not inconsistently slow We believe that since 1833, the Indian Government can stand this test better than perhaps any other, all circumstances considered The only fault has been one for which principles and objects are not to be blamed, the men who have carried them out have not been always the best But with all this, there has insensibly been communicated to all the writings of service-men, a lack of high moral purpose, a tinge of toadyism, a slight flush of self-interested partiality. And this too is natural; the civilian loves his service, and the officer his, and both think them the finest in the world, and of great benefit to the country Were this not the case, they would work with neither enthusiasm nor zeal But however natural,

it is wrong, it is a low position on which to place one's self, and such had better not write about India at all. What are the contents of their works? Are they military men, who write? Then the books may be very amusing, but for all purposes of good they are useless. Some days' ramble in the Himalayas and Neilgherries, in which there is much pleasant adventure, and a few facts about natural history—the romance of war, descriptions of battles, surveys of newly ceded or annexed districts, camp-life, flirtation in the Presidency cities, or the hill sanatoria, the ribaldry of the mess, and the consequent duels, and the faint attempt at mental or physical work of some kind, dispel the unsupportable ennui which results in sentimental sonnets, or inaccurate and inelegant translations. We do not object to all this in itself. But does it not seem trifling, when you consider that the authors of such works have been living in the midst of 150 millions of human beings, who are at least a thousand years behind them in all the comforts, amenities, and beliefs of civilised life? Are they on the other hand civilians who write? Then will the tinge of their works be different. Something more solid will be given. There will be an attempt at thought, a striving to reach just principles, and at least an array of facts, from which others may generalise principles. Brought more into contact with the native population around them, and thus knowing more of their necessities, social and physical, they may be led to think that they can suggest measures for their good. There have been many honourable cases of this kind, which would have been more so, but for the "Service" medium, through which all things have been viewed.

✓ The Medical Service has not taken its full share in the literature of and about India. Were we to create an author, who should be best fitted to write such a book about India, as would be worthy of the country and the cause, it would be one in the circumstances and position of a member of the Medical Service. He has at once the physical and the metaphysical, the external and the internal, the mind and body requisites for successfully accomplishing it well and accurately. Trained up in acquaintance with the facts and principles of all the physical sciences, the whole unexplored domain of Indian science and products lies open before him, and the question of the relation in which they stand to the social and economic position of the masses. Brought into contact on the other hand with most of the ills that flesh is heir to, witness of the abnormal states and aberrations of the mind, as well as of the body, introduced often into these

secret chambers of the soul, where "latent agencies" abide, and ever and anon come forth to astonish, by their eccentricity and supernatural character, seeing human nature on a grander scale, and its vices and virtues of a greater magnitude than at home, having a heart thus naturally opened up and softened by the tenderest of scenes, having a soul capable of understanding the hidden springs of action, and the deep and often deferred hopes of degraded yet aspiring natures, the Indian Doctor ought to take a professional position above that of all others, and ought so to avail himself of his opportunities for doing good, that, as healer of soul and body, he might act as a great lever to raise India to her proper position in the scale of nations. Why this has not been the case, why the service is left almost unrepresented, except in strictly professional works, why the highest ambition with the majority seems to have been, to become a Presidency Surgeon, make a fortune, and go home as soon as possible, we leave with the Service themselves to answer. As professional men and as earnest and successful students of the Physical Sciences in India, many of them are worthy of all praise, but as good-doers for the sake of good-doing, and the rewards that it brings in itself, as men who have recognized their responsibilities and opportunities, in a land of mental and moral, as well as physical disease, the majority of them have fallen short of what they ought, as a class, to have been.

Another stand-point from which India has been much and most partially viewed, is that of the merchant and the manufacturer. Although abstractly it may seem a harsh statement, and would be indignantly repelled by both, yet the country is viewed by them, as a place where there are certain capabilities for raising certain products, which have a certain marketable value, and would yield a certain return to the speculator, and that these must be raised at the cheapest rate possible from the smallest number of men, who will do the greatest amount of work, as labour-machines composed of bone, sinew and marrow. However true and immutable the principles of a sound political economy may be, they are after all in the daily life of such men, unscriptural, unnatural and unhuman. It is not that they are utilitarian, that is, except when philosophically viewed, but a small matter, it is that they are materialistic, earthy and soul-destroying. None can admire more than we do the energy that the Manchester Chamber of Commerce have shown, in surveying and reporting on the cotton-growing districts of India, but we cannot,

with all charity, avoid noting the motive of their so doing—a motive as plainly self-interested, and only self-interested, as the peace agitation and pro-Russian tendencies of their chiefs. Cobden and Bright We are afraid that the history of all mercantile effort in India, from the establishment of the trading Company, to the failure of the Union Bank, and, indeed, the most recent times, proves that, however true and immutable the honest principles of commercial activity may be, the men who carry them out in India, are either themselves very crooked, or apply them in a most unskilful way What a strange spectacle does India present to the eager and avaricious soul of such! Not merely does it seem filled with Rupees, a very forest of pagoda trees, but it is to be studied, and lived in, and tolerated only for the sake of these It seems to consist of but two great elements—on the one hand it is a mass of minerals, metals, fibres and other products in a raw state, and on the other, it bears in its mighty extent a dense array of human machinery, who constitute the labour market It is the object of the mercantile man to bring these to bear on each other, and mutually conduce to his own aggrandisement and wealth There may be such, and blessed be God, there generally are such glorious results, as an extension of civilisation, a diffusion of comforts, morality and religion, but such results never enter into the calculations of the Manchester and merchant-men, nor do they personally in the least strive to produce them The human soul beats but for them, the human energy is exerted but for them, and the glorious bloom of holy emotion and heaven-ward aspirations, destined to bear fruit in eternity, is gathered here to adorn the products of the loom, or to line the purses of so called Christians The merchant as such has taken but an insignificant place in the ranks of Anglo-Indian writers Confined chiefly to the Presidency Cities, or a few of the larger Mofussil towns, which have become quite anglicised, he knows nothing of the land, its inhabitants or their necessities, and is content to take as much information as will do for his practical purposes at second hand, from the reports of Government surveyors, and the records of Government offices

Perhaps the largest class of writers on India, and those who have most contributed to diffuse the popular notions regarding it, and the English in it, may be represented under the terms of the *adventurer*, the *dilettante* and the *litterateur* Recognising no higher end than the pleasure of the hour, the reputation of authorship, or the chance of pecuniary success, they leave home

in every sort of character, and play a most eccentric part in a land where all is so strange, that people have ceased to wonder at aberrations of any kind. How many such are there in India at this moment, noble fellows they might have been, filled with all the British energy and strong will, fitted to gain success for themselves, and to make others succeed, but from some moral blight, from some screw loose in the higher region of the soul, they pass through a strangely chequered life, with the reputation of clever fellows, companions of a circle of society infinitely low and degraded, addicted to petty and sometimes even to startling vices, living from hand to mouth—, abusing the country and its natives, and having done no good to themselves or others, the only legacy they leave behind them, is a book, full of pungent wit, cutting sarcasm, or pointless drollery, but ignoring all moral principle, except what is the lowest, on which the decencies of life rest. What a book would the “History of Personal Adventure in India” be, from the days of the runaway younger sons of English families, the military Frenchmen of the time of Clive and Hastings, and the Jacobins of Wellesley, to the present, when our hospitals, indigo factories and Mofussil obscurities might tell a strange tale. But there are others of this class more harmless and less *outré*, than these. You can recognise them in the works that picture the life of a Cadet, from Portsmouth to Peshawur, that minutely detail his adventures and *amours* on board the East Indiaman, that introduce him to the gaieties and vices of Calcutta life, that lead him into all sorts of scrapes there, and suddenly transfer him to all the realities of the goose-step at Baraset. Such picture him on his way up the river to join his regiment, the pranks and tricks of his senior Officers, the elegant conversation of the mess-table, the desperate efforts to kill time leisurely, to get up enough of the Vernacular for an interpretership, or to move heaven and earth for a staff appointment. According as fancy or whim prompts, they either lead him into all the blood of the oft-described Afghan and Sikh campaigns, and make him to die fighting bravely, pressing a locket or a picture to his lips, or they send him home after many an adventure, to become the *nawab* of the London circles and the London novelists, to storm, rage and fume, to abuse every thing and every body, to have his angelic daughter carried off by a poor, but noble youth, and finally to die of bile or apoplexy, cutting her off with a shilling, and leaving his large fortune to the “Philanthropic Institution, for the taming of the animals that have hitherto

been called wild beasts," after a splendid monument, copied from the Taj Mehal, has been erected over his remains. Alas! how little such writers know of a care for India! Like Goldsmith with his "Animated Nature," who "hardly knew an ass from a mule, or a goose from a turkey, except when he saw it on the table," they write to meet present wants, as the hack of a publisher, the sub-editor of a newspaper, or its Indian correspondent. In face of the eternal interests of a multitude of semi-civilised races, which have been trampled on and set aside, in face of a present fearful degradation and a future glorious destiny, they scratch and scribble their little pens upon them, and then themselves drop into forgetfulness. If this class of writers has produced the most amusing and interesting works on India, they have been at the same time the most inaccurate, ephemeral, and void of any high moral purpose.

Higher in aim, in execution, though perhaps not in worldly wisdom, and scholarly elegance, is the Missionary Literature. When we say that it is by this means that India was first fully opened up in every sense to the Western world, we but state an universally recognised fact. In education, in high moral purpose, in sound views of Government, in a knowledge of native character and necessities, in authorship, in literary efforts, and, we had almost said, in scholarship, the missionary was the pioneer, the spur, the example to a then unenlightened Government, which proscribed him, and under the plea of neutrality and tolerance, was as intolerant as the Propaganda of Rome. The man who had been obliged to sneak out to India, to skulk in the Sunderbunds, and then to establish himself in a foreign settlement, finally forced the power that had abused him and the cause which he represented, to acknowledge his usefulness even to them, and, with perhaps too great haste, he accepted of their honours and their Rupees. The despised Baptist cobbler became Professor of Sanscrit, the associate of proud officials, the admired, courted and dreaded of unfledged writers. Of all that we have already noticed, the missionary has the highest stand-point,—not that it is the best possible, or what it ought to be, or might be, but it is infinitely better than all others. Taking his stand as he professes to do, and generally does, on the great idea of *non-self*, on the abnegation of self, and that too, in circumstances and in a country where such a position is difficult to be consistently borne, he at once commands the admiration, and calls forth the gratitude of all, who can appreciate the disinterested and

the noble He looks not upon India as a land of Rupees, to be tolerated for a few years, and then abandoned for ever, he considers not its natives as a band of deceitful and stupid knaves, whose moral sense is so blunted, that they are almost irreclaimable, he strives not to quench the Spirit nor limit the extent of its power, he looks not on the glorious land as forever abandoned physically to the jungle and its inhabitants, and morally to those passions of which Siva and Durga are the incarnation, but he says in the spirit of a trustful faith, the deeper the degradation, the more grand the destiny, the chiefier the sinner, the more all-embracing and all-purifying the salvation. But while his is, in happier moments, a confidence that is full of sure certainty, and the object at which it aims one of unmitigated and unalloyed happiness, it would not be wonderful if the basis were sometimes insecure, the means by which it attains its ends sometimes fickle, inconsistent and unsound. There are dangers besetting the missionary's path on the right hand and the left. He may be over-sanguine. A great thing you say in a land where lassitude and idleness are the rule. But a most deadly error, if it misleads himself into the belief that great ends can be accomplished by insufficient means, if it lead a whole nation or church into the error that India is at the foot of the cross, that all the preparations are made for resuming the old days of Pentecost, that Koolinism, Polygamy, Caste, Vedantism, are tottering, and will soon fall with the crash of Babylon of old. If such is the case, then to be sanguine is to be criminal, to be over-hopeful is to be foolish, to be too eager is to be hypocritical. Another insecure point on which he is in danger of placing himself, is the cause that he assigns for the deferred hope of final regeneration, for the comparative non-success that everywhere follows his efforts. Though sanguine, modest and humble, he may yet, by a strange fatality, look too much out of self for the cause. He may view the mysterious dealings of God's Providence too much, his own fitness for his work too little. Filled with an overpowering sense of the greatness of the cause in which he is engaged, and the dignity of service in it, he is in danger of looking only to the Master, and by a false view of the relations in which he stands to him, of resting upon them entirely with an almost pantheistic passivity. If no success comes, or none commensurate with the means employed, he may be too apt at once to fly to another, instead of questioning his own faith, energy, and wisdom, to forget that God will do his part only when

man does his, that it is possible to work always, and pray always too, that a steady adherence to duty is of more use than elaborate reports, large committees, enthusiastic meetings, and long subscription lists. It was a common saying of a great workman in India, who burned the oil of life too fast, that he prays best who works best. In his mouth, the "prayer of work" was a powerful phrase. Again, the missionary coming more closely than any other class of men into contact with the native character, which exhibits itself to him alone, without the disguises that it assumes in its dealings with those whose favour it is of importance to court, it were no matter of wonder if he were sometimes to fall into despondency, and forgetting at once the power and the promises of God, were to take up the language of despair, and to conclude that these dry bones can never live. Such are the opposite errors into which the missionary is in danger of falling. That all have avoided the one or the other, it were too much to assert, but we do think it remarkable that they have avoided them so generally as they actually have done. Not so rare is the error of committing himself, from custom, authority, or choice, to a certain plan of action, in which only a set of influences is brought to bear on the regeneration of a country, and of course only a partial success is attained. He is evangelistic or educational, he preaches or he teaches, but he is not Baconian, he learns not the lessons of experience, nor does he generalise from them.

The Missionary Literature about India is most wide and extensive, as there is hardly a man in the class who has not written of it and its wants, in some shape or other. The book, whose name we have placed at the head of this article, is a favourable specimen of its class—the minor missionary literature. Its author is Mr Ward, an American missionary, who laboured for many years in the most important of the Missionary stations in Southern India—in Madura, Tinnevely, Madras, and also in Ceylon. He embodies in a succinct form, all that the popular mind need know about India in its widest extent. Of course, a considerable portion of the book is devoted to missions, which he views with a sanguine spirit. In a chapter on the *Means for advancing Christianity in India*, he shews the necessity for a missionary being something more than a mere Theological student, who can preach his stated sermon with civilised elegance, and be done with it.

The objections urged against Christianity are of such a character, that a missionary would be not a little ashamed, if conscious of an inability to

return satisfactory replies; and yet these may be presented in a form so novel, and urged with a manner so confident and earnest, that he is often quite at a loss what to say, and the reader can well imagine the use that his opponent (if a shrewd and wily Brahmin) will make of his momentary hesitancy, in turning against him the sneer and laugh of ridicule. "Do you believe the words of your Saviour?" inquired a Brahmin, as a missionary was addressing an assembled audience. Upon hearing an affirmative reply, he continued, "Jesus said, 'if any man take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also,' you are well dressed and I half naked, pray give me your garments." He also said, 'Whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also,' suppose I give you a blow on the face, will you act in obedience to this command?" Before the missionary had time to answer, there was general laughter and interruption. When a reply can be given something in the style of the question asked, the effect is often very good. As one of the first missionaries in Bengal was preaching in a street of Calcutta, a baboo passing by cast a contemptuous glance at him, and said, "You, padres, are just like the hypocrites of whom your Jesus said, They love to pray standing in the synagogues and in the corners of the streets, that they may be seen of men." "Yes, my friend," replied the missionary, "but with this difference, they did it that they might be praised, and we are scoffed at and despised for it."

A missionary in Bengal being asked by a philosophical Brahmin, "What do you preach here?" replied, "We teach the knowledge of the true God," "Who is he? I am God," said the Hindoo. "I thought," said the missionary afterwards, "that it would be an easy matter to confute him, but I soon discovered my mistake." "This is very extraordinary," said I, "are you then almighty?" "No," he replied "if I had created the sun I should be almighty, but I have not." "How can you pretend to be God if you are not almighty?" "This question shows your ignorance," said he, "What do you see here?" pointing to the Ganges. "Water." "And what is in this vessel?" at the same time pouring out a little into a cup. "This is water likewise." "What is the difference between this water and that of the Ganges?" "There is none." "Oh, I see a great difference that water carries ships, this does not. God is Almighty, I am only a part of the god-head, and therefore I am not almighty, and yet I am God, just as these drops in the cup are real water." "According to your representation God is divided into many thousand portions, one is in me, and another is in you." "Oh," said the Brahmin, "this remark is owing to your ignorance how many suns do you see in the sky?" "Only one." "But if you fill a thousand vessels with water, what do you see in each?" "The image of the sun." "But if you see the image of the sun in so many vessels, does it prove that there are a thousand suns in the firmament?" "No! there is only one sun, but it is reflected a thousand times in the water." "So likewise there is, but one God, but his image and brightness are reflected in every human being." The missionary, instead of stopping to point out the falsity of the comparison, preferred trying to touch his conscience. "God," he continued, "is holy, are you holy?" "I am not, I am doing many things that are wrong, and that I know to be wrong." "How, then, can you say that you are God?" "Oh, I see," said the former, "that you need a little more intellect to be put into your head before you can argue with us. God is fire, fire is the purest element in the creation; but if you throw dirt upon it, a bad odour will arise, it is

not the fault of the fire, but of that which is cast upon it. Thus God in me is perfectly pure, but He is surrounded by matter. He does not desire sin, He hates it, but it arises from matter." In this way the conversation continued long, but at the end the missionary found that he had made but little progress in convincing his opponent. Many a person who can fill a pulpit in America or England with respectability and credit, would undoubtedly break down, if called to make an attempt among the Hindoos, and this not for want of mental strength or furniture, but from the peculiar manner in which objections are presented, and the confidence with which they are uttered. Readiness in apprehending the point of an opponent's arguments, and tact in returning a brief but satisfactory reply, are of far more value in such circumstances than depth of mind or extent of scientific acquirement. Quickness conquers where research loses the day.

Large calls are also made upon the *better feelings of the heart*, especially patience and forbearance. The missionary hears his motives impugned in a manner very painful to one of honourable purpose, and conscious of sincere integrity and benevolence. Said a missionary to a Hindoo, "What do you think is the reason why we leave our native country, come to your villages, establish schools, and expend so much in the education of your children?" One replied, "You expect by this good deed the more certainly to reach heaven," while another answered, "Oh! it is your nature, just as it is the nature of the jackal to prowl abroad at night stealing fowls and geese." How often have I been compelled to hear the name of the blessed Redeemer blasphemed, and his most gracious acts misconstrued and vilified in a manner tending to awaken feelings akin to those of the too zealous disciple, when he said, "Shall we not call down fire from heaven and consume them!" But his thoughts and feelings, though bitter to agony, the missionary must not express, except in the language of pity and compassion for to get his opponent irritated and vexed, is the Hindoo disputant's most earnest endeavour. This done, and he leaves the field with the triumphant exclamation, "The padre is angry, is angry, and the day is won!"

What then is the proper spirit to approach India with—from what stand-point ought it to be viewed? How many so-called Christian Europeans are there spread over the wide extent of India, who have influences of some kind upon it? The first necessity for a man who has the great good of India at heart, is for him to recur to first principles, to recognise fully what he is, where he stands, what he is doing. He must first fix his own present stand-point, and then that on which he ought to be. Of what use am I, what am I about in this land of the Devil and of his children? Some such self-question as this may bring him to the first. What ought I to be, what is the only just principle, before God and these Heathens, who neither know nor care for Him, by which my conduct ought to be regulated, and my relations towards both them and Him ought to be guided? Were the author of the *Latter-day Pamphlets* and *Sartor Resartua*,

baptised with a new spirit, were he to be placed here where we careless ones are dreaming, beating the air, and gold-hunting, how would the "everlasting yea" assert itself victorious, and lift up the mass of black and blackened devil's-children into a destiny as glorious, as it is certain. He must feel too that humanity is a unity, and that though marred, it is still beauteous in its ruins, that hope ends but with death, nay, that it rises in proportion to difficulties and despair. He must not be *essentially* of this sect or that, devoted to this profession or that, but with a pulse that beats fast for all humanity, he must be an earnest and a liberal cosmopolite. He cannot be happy in his labours, without acknowledging the existence of good elements on which to work, nor earnest, without feeling intensely how these have been overlaid by crime, ignorance and folly. A student of human nature, its blackest vices will thus not repel him, nor its fairest virtues make him over-sanguine. Not merely must he have a heart that can feel for a land so fair, and yet marred by evil of every kind, but he must have an intellect that can lay wise plans to reform it, a judgment that can decide in the midst of contending schemes, a common sense that can base them on the recognised principles of action and universal instincts of mankind, and a power of will and knowledge of the springs of action, that can bend others under him, can assign to them their various spheres, encourage them in the execution of their taste, and animate all by his own great spirit. In the midst of all this, there must ever be that humility or diffidence that imparts a charm to the energetic character, and is based on no distrust of self in comparison with man, but in the light of that Great Being who has promised His Spirit to guide the hopeful trusting heart, by bringing it into contact with the Great Teacher, who came to regenerate a world. A few such men in, and a few such writers about India—men of thought as well as feeling, of action as well as fancy, men on whom the awful sense of a ruined land has fallen with a crushing power, and has stirred up to do and to dare all things for its final salvation, such would have motives of the right kind, and success beyond expectation.

How many such have there been in India? Let its present state answer. Placing yourself in the centre of the greatest of its mercantile cities—Calcutta—you feel surrounded by life in its fullest and most busy aspects. Everywhere is action ceaseless and ever-repeated, energy developed on a grand scale and fastening on mighty schemes. You feel that the

city is making fast to be rich, and that all, white and black, and every shade between, pursue eagerly the one object—self. Is it the merchant at his desk, or the shroff at his table counting his gains, or the kite and the vulture at the auction, snatching at the relics of once happy homes, or the stray sweepings of foreign investments, is it the clerk in his office, thinking of nothing but the assistant above him, and the “step” that he would get were he removed, and having his moral nature sapped under the cursed evils of the seniority system, or is it the comparatively poor servant who trades on his earnings and thinks the usury of 40 per cent but trifling interest? In all the same characteristics are developed, and this in the face of eternal realities that will sometimes, as unbidden guests, nestle in the nooks and crannies of the heart, and whisper now and then to its owner of something beyond rupees, annas and pie, indigo, opium and silk.

Pass from this along the level plain, which serves as the lungs of Calcutta, and up the wide and fashionable Chowringhee, to where the tall Casuarina waves mournfully around the graves of the English dead, and lordly monuments are erected over their dust, which soon crumble down and desolately mingle with it, a fitter tomb than marble or stone. Cross the Circular Road and over the Great Ditch, which still recalls the Mahratta Philistines, and into a Mahommedan suburb, where decaying bazaars are covered with filth, and the lazy dogs around look, if possible, more lean than the filthy carcasses in the shambles within. Straight in, and there a little to the right, and the top of one or two tottering urns tells you that here is another home of the dead. What Scotchman's heart has not beat here as he has stood amid the bones of his countrymen, and said “I too may soon be here.” Place yourself amid mounds that are firmly built over, that no jackal's teeth, no dog's jaws “may lazily mumble the bones of the dead,” and you have a true stand point from which to view life and labour in India. What a book would that be—*Autobiography of the Dead in a Calcutta Cemetery*—what a record of motive, of desire, of despair, of remorse, and of successful faith and glorious triumph as well. Here would be a representative of every class that we have mentioned, and of many more, and here by the side of the adventurer, the merchant and the self-seeker, would be found the dust of John Macdonald and Andrew Morgan.

The first attempt made to view India in the true spirit

was in Arnold's work, *Oakfield or Fellowship in the East*, which, as it has been already reviewed in a previous Number, we need not do more than again commend to our readers. Somewhat based on the same great truths, but far lighter in execution and more superficial in high moral purpose, is '*The Gong*,' by Major Vetch. Originally published in *Hogg's Instructor*, we are delighted to recognise it now in a complete and artistic shape. Written in a kindly genial spirit, full of interesting adventures, though not always within the range of the "probable," recognising at all times the great feelings of the soul and principles of the conscience, which it never shocks, nor even delicately offends, it is lacking only in the stand-point that is assumed, which is not so much deficient in the kind as in the degree of its elevation and enlargement. His subject is the trite one, a Cadet going to, in, and returning from India, but he throws a new charm over the old story, illustrating the lines of Horace —

Publica materies privati juris erit, si
Nec circa vilem patulumque moraberis orbem

Gregory, for such is the euphonious name of the hero, is introduced as having returned from India and settled down in one of those exquisite old-fashioned houses in the Canongate of Edinburgh, the modern filth of which now dissipates all antiquarian enthusiasm. His only companion is his old nurse Tibby, who has waited so long in the sure faith that "her bairn" would one day return from "the jungles" to comfort her in her old age. Knowing the power of the association of ideas, he had only to toll (should it not be strike?) a gong, and away he was in the land of the sun, once more beside its dusky inhabitants, once more in his bungalow under the mango tope, once more in the courts of Delhi or beside the pagodas of Benares. The gong tolls eighteen times, and at each stroke, a new chapter in his life is laid open. An idle contemplative boy, he is suddenly aroused from his dreaminess by the demand of his uncle, "what do you intend to be?" and the adventurous spirit of the youth who, in imagination, had roamed over many lands, immediately fixes on a military career. A Cadetship in the service is obtained, and down he goes to Portsmouth, where he meets with others in the same position as himself. Among these is an Irish youth named Jerry, whose adventures are sufficiently amusing in the early part of the volume. Unable to pay Mrs. M'Cutlets, his land-lady, he of course absconds, and keeps himself in hiding till the vessel shall

sail Jerry in his den had heard the gun-signal for departure

"That's it, my honeys!" cried Jerry, as he started up at the sound, buttoned up his surtout, set his beaver on one side of his head, poused his shillela quarter-staff, and, like an honest man, tossed sixpence to the old woman of the attic, and descended the trap-stair, singing,

"To seek for promotion,
I cross'd the wide ocean"

Having gained the lane, he hurried on to the shore, but what was his horror and surprise when, reaching the beach, he beheld a sight more dreadful than apparition, for there stood in *propria persona*, the worthy Mrs M'Cutlets, attended by an ill-favoured sinister-looking man, who, from a short baton in his hand, Jerry could not for a moment doubt, had unfriendly intentions towards himself. Mrs M'Cutlets was eagerly watching every youthful adventurer as he took his place in the boats, in hopes of finding among them her young gentleman blackguard

This was a damper even to Jerry Jenkins, he saw the coast fairly shut against him. No time was to be lost, he paused for a moment, and, seeing that it would be impossible to carry the day by force of arms, he resolved to have recourse to the stratagems of war, so, hurrying back into the lane, he plunged into an old-clothes shop, kept by a countryman of the name of Murphy, with whom he had had some dealings, and exclaimed, "Here, Mr Murphy, look at this purty dress I have on, it is yours for the oldest, ugliest suit of ragamuffin regimentals in your dirty shop, and be quick, for time and tide wait for no man"

While Jerry was divesting himself of his own, Mr Murphy, seeing no objections to the terms of exchange, was selecting what had once been a private's suit in the "Buffs," which might well have been supposed to have seen the last of its fields, but was now to be employed again in one which would tarnish for ever all its former glory. Jerry, having assumed the soldier's garb, called in the barber from the neighbouring door, who in a moment cropped him to the bone, and, according to his instructions, glued two of his finest severed locks as appendages to his upper lip, intersecting the face at the same time with patches of black plaster placed at various angles to each other

"And now, Mr Murphy," said Jerry, "there is the finest beaver hat in all the city of Cork to you as a present, and toss me that ould Scotch bonnet in its place" The exchange being made, Jerry continued, "And now, Mr Murphy, I leave in pawn with you this handsome shillela, and take as acknowledgment of the same this broomstick, and, if ever you visit the East Indies, ask for Major-General Jeremy Jenkins, and I shall redeem my pledge by giving you one of the soundest drubbings you ever got in your life, for having taken in a gentleman-cadet of the Honourable East India Company"

So saying, he tossed a penny to the shaver, and sallied from the door, while Murphy and his wife, with one child in her arms and six at her feet, with the barber, all issued into the street, following with their looks and shouts of laughter their comical customer. Jerry turned round for a moment at the sound, shook his broomstick at the group, and, turning a corner, was out of sight and the scene of embarkation was again before him, where stood at her post his dreaded landlady, and still more dreadful man-at-arms

"Neck or nothing," said Jerry to himself, "a faint heart never won a fair woman," nor cheated an old one, he might have added. Though Jerry mustered all his impudence, it was not without a tremulous misgiving that he rubbed elbows with his worst enemy, but there was no cause of alarm, for so completely was the young gentleman metamorphosed, that his own mother would not have recognised him, far less old Mrs M'Cutlets.

He passed her all unsuspected, and took his seat at the stern of the boat, with his face towards the enemy, and when the barge had fairly pushed off, and Jerry felt safe on the high seas, he could not resist the temptation of giving a demonstration of his triumph. Rubbing off the moustaches and plasters from his face with one hand, and taking off his bonnet with the other, with a stentorian voice, he thus saluted his landlady, "I say, Mrs M'Cutlets, was you ever in the army?" The sound of Jerry's voice opened Mrs M'Cutlets' eyes and ears at the same moment, and, in the agony of grief, disappointment, and despair, she exclaimed, "The scoundrel's aff, efrir a'," and sunk senseless, exhausted with vexation and fatigue, in the arms of the bailiff, who conveyed her to her home, and before any measures could be adopted for discovering Jerry's ship, or apprehending him at sea, he was on his way to the East with a fair breeze.

The usual adventures in the outward voyage follow, and at last the Ganges is reached.

We shall not recapitulate the often-detailed dreariness of the scene on first entering the Ganges, but merely subjoin some lines descriptive of one or two features in the desolate picture, by Major Markem —

Again restored to India here we are —
 What's that upon the Ganges' bosom floating?
 No lotus flower that sends sweet scent afar
 It is a native's corpse half ate, half rotten
 It glides, with its white ribs exposed to view
 A wreck of man, and carrion-crows the crew
 One vast expanse above of brazen skies
 One vast expanse of dazzling plain below —
 The mighty, silent stream like Lethe lies —
 A pillar'd funeral flame ascending slow —
 And where the river round yon sand is bending
 Vultures and dogs are for a corpse contending

The custom in the old Indian days, when European ladies seldom blessed India with their smiling faces and happy hearts, of Mrs —; when she arrived, holding a sort of levee, *en reine*, when all were introduced to her, is described rather humorously, with something of the fun of Charles Lever

General Frohck, being aware that a *particular friend* of his own in the upper station expected his wife to arrive on the present occasion, was no sooner apprised of her non-arrival than he determined to personate the lady *himself*, and, before the public had time to discover the trick, issued the usual notice, that "Mrs Blowse having arrived, would receive the company of Calcutta in the town-hall that evening."

Getting the master of the ceremonies and a few friends to enter with him into the joke, and having disguised his aged and portly figure in a lady's

costume, and being deeply veiled, as female modesty justly required on such a public exhibition, he ascended the vacant throne, which he nobly filled, and, with his hands clasped most effectively across his breast, and twirling his thumbs, he awaited the arrival of his visitors in silent state

No sooner was the sun set, and the mosquitoes on the wing, than carriages of all descriptions, and palanquins, with feathered dames and cocked-hatted gentlemen, arrived in front of the building, and, ascending the magnificent staircase, entered the hall of audience, and, arm-in-arm passing the throne, were introduced by name to Mrs Blowse, and moved on

On the personal appearance of the enthroned it was impossible to make, from the veiled state of the countenance, any other but one remark, which was audibly whispered by the gentlemen now and then—"Very stout," while some of the ladies, who had brought from the boarding-school a smattering of French, sweetly lisped, sneeringly, the words "*En bon point*"

When the General, who, though hid from others, saw distinctly through his gauze all that was going on, observed that there ceased to be any accession to the company, he rose to close the ceremony. Throwing back his veil, he first of all disclosed a face so remote from anything feminine or lovely, that the company might almost have supposed it a vision of Moore's Mokanna unveiled, if the General had given them time to fancy anything so fearful, but he instantly followed up the throwing back of the gauze, by raising aloft his brawny arms in that vulgar ogre-like attitude, used by a person just roused from an after-noon nap in the easy-chair, and, after a long and terrific yawn, in accents of the broadest and most vulgar Scotch, he made the splendid hall resound with the following exclamation—"Hech, sirs! what a het country this o' yours is, for I'm a' in a muck o' sweat!"

The Cadets are marched off to Baraset, there to be initiated into all the disagreeables of a military life, which results in a slight mutiny among the unfledged warriors, in which our old friend Jerry distinguishes himself, and ends his Indian career by being finally packed home to become a merchant and Mayor of Cork. But Gregory passes his period of dull probation, and is posted to his regiment, which he speedily joins. He sails slowly up

"By Cheral's dark wandering streams,
Where cane-tufts shadow all the wild,
Sweet visions haunt my waking dreams
Of Teviot loved while yet a child"

Soon he becomes acquainted with all the monotony of river scenery, which is relieved by the first entrance on the mighty Ganges. Our author, whose descriptive powers are by no means of a low order, thus paints it —

At last, one forenoon, amidst the tropic's awful silence, an exulting shout arose from the boatmen on shore of "*Gunga-jee-salam!*" ("Hail to our sovereign lady Ganges!") startling the mid-day profound. Gregory stepped on deck, when he found the reed crowned banks of the narrow stream, opening into the horizon-bounded vale of the mighty Ganges, at

this season of the year one boundless expanse of dreary sand, with here and there a vein of glittering water winding through it

The first view of the ocean to an inland inhabitant is always an impressive sight of wonder, but perhaps there is something still more impressive in the first view of a tropic desert. Of a great mass of water we have always formed a somewhat correct idea, but all the visible part of the creation suddenly spread before the sight in one unvaried expanse of desolate and dazzling sand, is an object that, even after the most animated description, the mind is scarcely able fully to realise. Gregory felt it in all its overwhelming power, and drew his breath deeply for relief. Nothing seemed now wanting to complete the feeling of utter expatriation, but at the same time there was something not uncongenial to his mind, that had little or no fellowship with mankind, in finding a world of which man and his works formed no part. There was an indescribable and strange exultation on finding himself alone amid this dreary and illimitable solitude.

Sometimes the stream, dividing, left a low and flat sandy island in the midst, and it was a new and fearful sight to see (where all other animals of the upper world were wanting) these islets peopled with crocodiles and alligators, in motionless and terrific repose, their wide-expanded, dagger-implanted jaws turned upward to the sky in huge, horrific grin, as if with satanic rage they were telling the tropic sun how they hated his beams.

But, shuddering as it is to see the upper world thus tenanted, it is nothing to the sensations of horror and astonishment excited, when the voyager for the first time, amid the dread silence and intolerable sunshine of a tropic noon, sees, from the oozy deep of the sleeping stream, first one and then another of these magnificent monsters emerging from the mysterious and unexplored watery world below, into the light of day. Milton's lion "pawing to get free" from the solid earth, is neither half so appalling, picturesque, nor poetical. First comes the dragon looking head, the organ of insatiable destructiveness, then the enormous fin-like arms, then the long-arched back, crested with its defying *chevaux de frise*, then the second pair of shapeless limbs, and, lastly, the vast length of cumass-tail which, in the slow and struggling progress made by legs less suited for the field than the flood, seems to have no end—at length the amphibious monarch lies revealed in his leviathan longitude, his invulnerable scaly armour reflecting from its dewy surface the beams of a vertical sun.

What would that dear gentle angler, honest Isaac Walton, have said in his poetic prose, if, while fishing on the banks of his favourite Dove, such a fish had issued from the pool below to claim his acquaintance?

'Tis all very fearfully fine to sit by the fireside, and, through the wild imaginings of Coleridge, listen to the ancient mysterious mariner "calling spirits from the vasty deep," and telling of

"Slimy things that crawl with legs
Upon the slimy sea,"

but it is a very different thing to gaze in reality on these aquatic monsters emerging from the gloomy waters of the Ganges.

To the Hindoos of Gregory's river-retinue, the sight of the main stream of their deified, purifying flood was, of course, one of the most joyous occasions of their most joyless existence.

For some days, Gregory pursued his way up one or other of the streams that winded through the world of arid desolation. A range of hills at

length began to loom on the far western horizon, and on the third day afterwards the southern extremity approached the river

On the table-land at their base, overhanging the Ganges, stand the magnificent ruins of Rajmahal, once the residence of the royal prince Sultan Souja, unfortunate brother of the infamous Aurungzebe. Its palaces and towers are now silent, deserted, and weed-grown, and the humble, thatched cottages of the natives, interspersed among the dilapidated remnants, are the only occupied habitations of the place

By the traveller coming through such a lengthened tract of wilderness, Rajmahal must ever be regarded with intense interest, both on account of itself and the most welcome variety it affords. It is a Tadmor of the desert. But its chief charm to the British wanderer is that one of these Palmyra cottages is occupied by a Hindoo official of government, who has charge of the post-office, and this is the first point of communication with the European world since entering the Ganges—the connecting link between exile and all that is dear on earth. And oh, what throbbings and thrillings in thousands of British bosoms has that place known!

No sooner does the boat touch the run-clustered bank, than the eager voyager springs on shore, and, guided by a boatman, hurries unheeding through echoing archways and deserted palace-halls, till he reaches the humble hut containing more to him than all "the gems of Ind." The sable official knows the call, and out he comes with an armful of letters which he throws on the ground for the stranger's inspection

One episode follows, which, to say the least, is most improbable, and Gregory is with his regiment. He is introduced to his brother officers, who seem a motley crew, having as their Colonel an old sea-captain, whose marine tastes are still strong even on the plains of India. All in fact are characters in their way—the Captain a very Don Quixote, who delights to relate "how Cornwallis conquered Teepoo," the Doctor, who is ever experimenting in chemistry, and blowing himself and his house up, a Captain M'Allan, who has all the courage and superstition of his Highland race, and whose fate becomes linked with that of Gregory, and a Lieut Turf, who delights in taming wild beasts, and has a pet tiger that finally runs off with the new-comer. Soon he enters active service with his corps, and a graphic description is given of the reduction of one of those strong hill forts, with which North Western and Southern India abounds. In this a Glaucus and Diomedes-like episode occurs. A terrible assault has been made, and the brave antagonists on both sides, M'Allan and the son of Zuber Khan, single out each other

The young Hindoo hero marked out M'Allan as his antagonist, and with his shield and sabre raised, advanced to meet him. The Highlander bounded at him like a mountain-deer, and with one irresistible thrust sent his broadsword through the Hindoo shield, as if it had been pasteboard, disabling the wearer's arm, and laying him prostrate at his mercy. The fall of the chief was instantly followed by a charge of sepoy bayonets, which drove the assailants from the battery

M'Allan was much struck with the appearance of his youthful foe, and said, "Who are you?"

"You deserve to know—I am the son of Zubber Khan"

"You are more—you are a noble fellow by nature. Rise, and follow your brave routed soldiers, and tell your sire, with my salaam, that, if you have been overmatched, it was by one older in arms, and sprung from a race as renowned in song as your own Roostam Khan. I only ask the shield from your disabled arm, to hang up in the hall of my fathers, a memorial of this day's meeting, accept, in return, the claymore that pierced it, as a token of friendly remembrance"

The exchange was made, a friendly grasp of the hands given, and the young warrior disappeared in the cover, on his return to the fort

The gallant exploit was soon circulated through the British camp

The officers of M'Allan's regiment had assembled round the mess-table in the evening, and were loud in their praises of their brave brother-officer, who, being relieved from his duty, now entered the mess-tent, when "Hurrah for M'Allan!" brought the blush into his manly face. Gregory was deeply affected. He rose from his seat, and, unable to speak, grasped his friend fondly by the hand. The major also rose, as he passed his chair, and heartily wished him joy of his fresh laurels

"Come along, shipmate," said Broadsides, as M'Allan reached the further end of the table, where a place had been reserved for him on the right hand of the Colonel, "come away, my lad. Thanks for the honour you have done our corps to-day, and I hope, now that the battle has been fought and won, and you still above-board, you will send adrift all your dreaming imaginations"

"In this little skirmish," said M'Allan, with a smile, "I saw no Ensign Gregory by my side. But enough of that."

The approaches continued to be carried on against Zuberghur, and breaching was commenced in one of the curtains

When not on duty, M'Allan and Gregory spent much of their time together. In the course of conversation, M'Allan informed his friend, that his ancestors had possessed extensive domains in the Highlands, but, having taken part in the attempts to restore the Stuart dynasty to the throne, their estates had been confiscated

"My father," continued M'Allan, "who was too young to be a rebel, as they were called, served long and faithfully under the House of Hanover, and, on retiring in his old age, endeavoured to get the forfeited lands and castle restored to him as the rightful heir, but I have lately heard from him that all hopes were lost, and that, abjuring his name and the Highlands, he had retired to the Lowlands of Scotland with his only daughter. I was in hopes I might live to redeem our ancient halls and hills, but that hope is now, I fear, for ever over"

The day appointed for the storming arrived, and the hour was fixed for noon. Gregory having equipped himself for the field, and finding he had a few minutes to spare, proceeded to his captain's tent

M'Allan had just taken down a claymore, which he held in his left hand. Placing his right on a small pocket Bible that lay on the table—the parting gift of an affectionate mother, blessed by her prayers, and bedewed with her tears—he said, "I hope that, amid all the darkness of this pagan land, I have in some degree kept the faith, and, amid many disadvantages, to some extent fought the good fight. One battle more for my country, and then the unfading wreath. But there is the bugle-call. When next the trumpet sounds for me, you, Gregory, will be again by my

side. May our short-lived but pleasing friendship on earth be then renewed, and for ever !”

The friends embraced in silence, and then hastened to their posts on parade

“ With ball and cartridge, prime, and load !” shouted Broad-sides

There is something truly thrilling in the words, heard for the first time, and in the ring of the returning ramrods, that announces all is ready for the work of death

Broad-sides’ battalion was ordered to form part of a force that was to make a diversion by attacking an outwork, or fortified garden (which had been intrusted, as a reward for his bravery, to the son of Zubber Khan), situated on the opposite side of the fort to the one breached. The march upon that outwork was through a ruined village to the right, half-way between the camp and fort. As soon as the force in column defiled through it upon the open plain, the enemy’s cannon opened upon it. Sometimes the balls fell short, and then bounded over the ranks—sometimes too high, and went at once over the bayonets, on which occasions they were hailed with mock salutations of merriment by the gallant Sepoys—sometimes they fell with destructive sweep among the files.

Having arrived within a thousand yards of the enemy’s embattlement, the column halted, and wheeled into line.

At that moment, M’Allan, in passing Gregory, hastily pulled a ribbon and locket from his neck, and said, “ take care of that—the last gift of a beloved sister ”

Gregory cast one short glance on the likeness, and there saw, unconsciously smiling on the death devoting field, the charms that had captivated his lonely heart. He thrust the miniature under his breastplate, next that heart, for protection, and moved on at the brave order, “ Advance,” amid a tumult of indescribable feelings.

At a hundred yards from the walls, the enemy’s breastwork was instantly lined with soldiers, who started up with their matchlocks.

“ Claymore !” once more was shouted by M’Allan, as he rushed to the centre of his company to lead it on. This brought him close in contact with Gregory. The line of matchlocks was levelled, and a volley fired.

M’Allan and Gregory were both struck. The gallant Highlander, shot through the head, fell back dead into Gregory’s arms. The latter was saved by his breastplate, the blow shattering the miniature to atoms. Laying his friend on the ground, Gregory now stood on the verge of the ditch.

That Major Vetch is a true son of Fingal, imaginative as the fleecy clouds on his own hills, and filled with all the superstitions of lone Highland glens, many incidents in the volume shew.

Gregory resolved to watch through the night beside the remains of his friend, and took his seat on a chair at the opposite side of the tent, facing the couch where the body lay. A flood of moonlight streamed into the chamber of death, and fell full on the bier. Overcome with grief and fatigue, Gregory at last sunk into a slumber, but the scene continued the same to his sleeping senses. As he gazed on the illumined gorgeous shroud, a well-known female form, beautiful and ethereal as the pure light through which it moved, gliding in, stood with her hands clasped in agony over her brother, and, struggling with her grief, exclaimed, “ Farewell, best and bravest of brothers ! You have fallen in the midst of your fame,

and no bard to record your deeds I saw thy spirit borne on the cloud through the skies of our native land Mine will not linger long behind. Farewell, for ever, on earth ! Soon may we meet 'in the pleasant fields of our rest ' Last of our race, farewell !"

As she turned to retire, Gregory, spell-bound by his sleep, strove in vain to rise, and in vain his bursting heart strove for utterance The departing Malvina looked in tenderness and pity upon him, and sadly said—"It may not be Thanks are all I have to bestow Friend of my brother, farewell ! The silence betwixt us is broken—and again it is silence for ever !"

But Gregory's life is not confined to the routine of station idleness, or the adventures of fort-storming His regiment is ordered to the city of the Great Mogul himself We had wished that in the following passage the heart of the man, and the responsibility of the moral agent had been a little more seen, as well as the enthusiasm of the warrior and the scholar

The next reflection that suggested itself to Gregory was, that of the wonderful sovereignty of Britain over the dominions lately subject to the Timur dynasty Since the battle of Plassey, about fifty years before, the conquering army of England had advanced, almost unconsciously and imperceptibly, from province to province, till, "awaking with a start," we behold the descendants of Alfred on the throne of Arungzebe, and, where formerly

"The gorgeous East with richest hand
Shower'd on her kings barbaric pearls and gold,"

the British sway now showered far better things—the blessings of protection and peace

From the regal towers of Delhi, the genius of England looked forth upon one of earth's mightiest monarchies prostrate at her feet, bounded on the north by the heaven-piled Himalayan ramparts—on the west by the five classic streams, beyond which the conqueror of the world was unable to penetrate—on the south by the ocean, over which she had ever held her victorious march, whether to combat on the deep or on some far distant shore—and on the east,

"Where the first sun
Gilds Indian mountains, rivers unknown to song"

And what was the nature of the conquest of Hindostan ? Not interminable wastes of American forests, unassociated with one poetical or historical incident—traversed at times only by roving barbarians, who traced their course alone by notches in the trees, or by strewing branches to guide them in their labyrinthian path, not an Australian desert, peopled only by kangaroos, or more dangerous migratory tribes of horrid-looking, spear-armed savage assassins No It is a land whose classic Ganges reflects in its sea-like course the colleges of Hindoo lore, and heaven-piled observatories, where eastern magi nightly, in purest sapphire skies, read "the poetry of heaven," and marked and measured the sublime revolutions of planetary systems,—poetic bowers, vocal with epic, descriptive, and dramatic melody of Sanscrit verse—verse that would not discredit our Spensers, Shaksperes, and Miltons (though, alas ! but as yet too little known to the classic conquerors),—"Looms of Ind," that England, with all her advantages and advances, was unable to rival, till she took her lesson in Cashmere and Cossimbazar, a land bearing aloft on its plains or excavated in her mountains, subterranean temples, elephantine monuments

of human genius, and architectural skill and embellishment, that dispute the palm with pyramidal Egypt, and effected at a period when Britain had nothing better to show than the rude and shapeless mass of gigantic granite at Stonehenge, a land teeming with inhabitants distinguished for arts, sciences, and agriculture, written laws wonderful in a country which had not the light of revelation to guide the lawgivers, a land whose princely bankers negotiated, in perfect confidence and security, money-transactions from Cape Comorin to the confines of Chinese Tartary, in the pure gold of Ophir, a land where every stream flows to the melody of legendary or love-sick strains, where every glen has ~~the~~ traditionary verse, and

“ Not a mountain rears its head unsung ”

Here we are introduced to new characters, and to one who re-calls the early associations of Gregory's boyhood to his soul. When a youth, roaming through the glorious wilds of the west of Scotland, he had often met with a gipsy tribe, and become interested in a gipsy boy. Between the calm contemplative mind of the one, and the oriental affection and fancy of the other, an attachment had sprung up, pure and natural as the water in which they used to angle together. Gregory taught Archie on the Scholar's Rock and in the Scholar's Cave, and he in turn loved him with all the affection of a virgin soul. They parted, and each took his way, the one to his gipsy-court, the other to his corps and his duties in the land of the sun. But Gregory never, even in India, lost his roaming propensities, and often sallied forth from Delhi to survey the surrounding country. It was in such rambles that he entered the wilds of the Mewattee jungles, and there came upon a vast congress of rude tribes, who had met to elect their king, in this, the land of their birth. Physical prowess alone could give a title to the honour, and, as in the jousts of the knights of old, many a match came off, and at last one remained victor.

Is he to be crowned, that Goorka gipsy, that dwarfed but brawny man, is Nepal to have the honour of supplying the gipsy throne? No, another defeats him, and amid the loud shouts of “Wah, Wah, Shabash!” the solitary clear peal of “Scotland for ever” is heard. At last after many trials the new comer is victorious, and, to his astonishment, Gregory recognises his old friend of the Scholar's Cave—Archie Shaw. He has come to claim the gipsy throne of Scotland, and behold he fills that of the world. The old friends recognise each other. Archie leaves his protégé, and receives the command of a corps of irregular cavalry, and with a roving commission, is soon on the way to wealth and power. But Gregory is tired of India, he is too fond of a quiet and meditative life for its hard action and business. He announces his determination to Archie to retire,

and the latter, true to his friendship, retires before him, buys an estate, adorns part of it in Indian style, and astonishes Gregory by his reception of him in the old Scholar's Cave. The scene is well described

It was a long walk for a burning day in July, and welcome was the deep shade of the fondly-remembered woods round Fairy Castle, the distant rushing of the river, and the solemn composing cooing of the wood-pigeon. Oh, that indescribable fulness of the heart, as we approach, for the first time again, after a long absence, some long loved spot of early days!

He passed at a short distance the turreted mansion. He saw no change there, save that a flag-staff had been added to one of the towers, on which languidly waved in the summer zephyr what appeared to Gregory like a Mahratta banner, thus recalling to him other climes in his native land.

Gregory now began to descend, from the high ground through the woods, the footpath that led to the glen. How solemn and magnificent those natural staircases, especially at midsummer, with its burning sky, while we wind slowly down, increases the night-like gloom, and gives a deeper deliciousness to the unsunned dewy coolness that meets the feverish brow! Louder, nearer, more impressive, and almost fearful, ascends the hosannah hymn of nature's "solemn temple," from the unseen river, till at last here and there its silver lightning is seen by fits flashing through the woodland gloom.

Gregory now became excited, even to agony, as he successively recognised some well-known object of early days—an old familiar rock, or deep recess, or lordly tree. He at last turned the projecting cliff—the spot from which he had first beheld the gipsy encampment, and where his first acquaintance with Shaw had taken place. Great was Gregory's surprise when, looking down the dell, he beheld the level ground betwixt the precipice and the river, now occupied by a neat thatched bungalow in strict conformity to those of Bengal, with its open pillared verandah facing the stream.

It stood in perfect solitude and silence, save the consenting Indian melody of the ringdove.

Gregory rubbed his eyes, and began to fear that his return to his native land was only one of those incongruous dreams in which contrarieties are strangely jumbled. Dream or no dream, however, he determined on investigating this unlooked-for metamorphosis, so, crossing a lately-erected rustic bridge of unshaven fir, he entered a garden ground laid out in all the stiff formality of the East. Passing through this, he ascended two or three steps that led to the terraced verandah.

He found the venetian doors all open to the summer air, *a la Hindoostan*. The bungalow consisted of a centre hall and two side bed-rooms. It was furnished after the Indian fashion. On the walls of the hall were paintings of Delhi, Benares, and other famous Bengal cities, together with delineations of the wild sports of the East, and in niches were lifelike effigies of Brahmins and Fakirs, and Gregory observed among the pictures a frame, enclosing a Persian inscription, and, proceeding to read it, what was his astonishment when he found it run as follows —

"The Genius of the place has reared and prepared this retreat for George Gregory Sahib Bahadur, against his return to his native land."

"What can all this mean?" said Gregory "I shall certainly awake and find myself on the banks of the Ganges, and all this fairy vision vanishing before the blaze of a tropic sun In the meantime, however, I shall yield to the influence of the hour, and accept the proffered possession and pleasance, and being somewhat tired with the walk and heat, profiting by this mysterious hospitality of the unseen *genius loci*, rest myself once more on this inviting Indian couch"

So saying, he threw himself on the pulumpore, and was soon in a sound sleep, rich with dreams worthy of the "Thousand and One Nights"

Gregory, however, had not been unobserved, for no sooner had he lain down, than an urchin, who had kept strict watch in the hazel copse immediately behind the bungalow, posted off to the castle, and while Gregory was lying delightfully bewildered in fairy dreams, a middle-aged man, of fine commanding appearance, in the costume of an Indian chief, attended by a dusky page in the rich dress of the court of Delhi, with a guttar slung over his shoulder, were seen descending the path that led to the bungalow

Making a circuit through the woods, they entered the copse behind the retreat

The Asiatic grandee then stole softly into the bungalow, his eyes sparkling with delight when he beheld his slumbering friend He gazed for a minute through gushing tears, and then, softly retiring with his attendant into the copsewood, he left the minstrel there, and returned to the castle The page now, touching the Hindoostanee lyre, sung impromptu, soft and sweetly, the following words to a Mahratta air —

"Welcome, wanderer, here again—

Welcome to the Gipsy Glen —

Welcome, wanderer, welcome home !

Here no noxious thing invades

The shelter of thy native shades ,

Here no bloody tigers roam ,

Here the couch invites repose,

Safely here thine eyes may close

All thy wanderings now are o'er ,

While the murmurs of the stream

Woo to slumber, and thy dream

Other lands and friends restore."

Gregory awoke, the air still continued He sprang from his couch, and looked round in vain for the musician He then exclaimed, with thrilling excitement—

"Friendly Genius—whoever you be, and wherever you are—I conjure you, come forth and receive a stranger's thanks for your ravishing reception"

The music ceased, the page glided forward from the cover, and, leaving his gilded shoes on the threshold, advanced with clasped hands and many a salaam into the hall, and then spoke—

"Sahib Bahadur, the Genius of the place, gratified by your approbation of the bower he has dedicated to you, invites you, through me, to his palace"

"Unwilling," said Gregory, "to dispel the delight of this romance of real life, I follow wherever you lead."

The page led on, and crossing the bridge, threaded the way that led directly to Fairy Castle

Arrived at the outward gate, he exclaimed, "Open Sesame!" and the portals expanded. Crossing the court, they reached the hall-door.

"Open Sesame!" was again given, and the lofty door flew open. No person was seen. The page pointed to an arched door on the opposite side of the hall. A gong of deep and powerful tone rang solemnly through the castle. The portals of the archway expanded, and hurrying forward from the farther end of a magnificent museum-library, in his Eastern dress, Archie Shaw rushed to the embrace of his friend.

After this, might they not well sing those sweet lines of Addison —

"How are Thy servants blessed, O Lord!
 How sure is their defence!
 Eternal Wisdom is their guide,
 Their help Omnipotence.
 In foreign realms and lands remote,
 Supported by Thy care,
 Through burning climes I pass'd unhurt,
 And breathed untainted air"

And thus the last echoes of Gregory's Gong die away into the pleasant land of remembrance. Its tolls are cheerful, but for us their tone is not deep enough. It tells not of a great moral earnestness, of an improved responsibility, of good accomplished, and good resolved on. It causes not such triumphant emotions as those two graves in the Scotch Kirk-yard of Calcutta.

rance that error, suffering, and oppression, will be gradually but completely abolished, and that all the nations will be united in the combined response of praise and worship, to the great Author of their bounties and their joy

If there be those who deem these topics uncongenial to our main subject, they have altogether mistaken our design in reviewing these foregoing details. We wish to join with others in pleading for India, in producing an intelligent interest in her condition, and in exhibiting her necessities and her claims. We cherish the hope that if, unhappily, merchants have heretofore contented themselves with visiting this land for the sole purpose of realizing some rapid gains, the day is coming when they will be animated by nobler sentiments, and allow benevolence the victory over self. It is a narrow and petty fancy which limits the work of elevating the people of this land to Public Officers and Christian Ministers, or which leads any to say to another, 'I have no need of thee'. In the wise appointments of God, there is an endless diversity of gifts, affording infinite degrees of influence. To the statesman the case of India presents, we believe, at the present time, the grandest and the most hopeful sphere in the world, for the exercise of the most enlarged ability, and the most capacious and the warmest philanthropy, but not less to the merchant, who realizes his duty to "consecrate his gain to the Lord, and his substance to the Lord of the whole earth," it affords scope for the noblest liberality, and unrivalled opportunities of speedy and extensive usefulness. Hitherto, there has been little effort to do good, and little desire to gain the attachment of the people, or to deserve their gratitude, there have been few attempts to obtain acquaintance with their true condition,—all has been hurry to gain riches, and hurry to return home, unblest and unloved. If India has been neglected, there have been few at home to claim a hearing on her behalf, fewer still who have spoken, with genuine feeling or intelligence, of her distresses. The general tone of all has been the cold and careless echo of "Am I my brother's keeper?" and it has been seldom that injustice has roused any to demand even a fair and deliberate enquiry. If now the conviction, at least, of *this* duty be spread widely abroad, if the importance of thus commencing the discharge of England's responsibility to this long neglected empire, be now recognized and admitted, we shall look at no distant day for a result surpassing all present apparent probabilities, in the improvement of the Government, in the enlightenment of the people, in the extension of commerce, and in the diffusion of Indian, and British influence, throughout the whole continent of Asia.

ART VI—*Reports of Cases determined in the Court of Nizamut Adawlut at Calcutta for 1855.* Calcutta Thacker, Spink and Co

SIR EDWARD COKE, in the preface to the first part of his Reports, says —“ When I considered how by her Majesty’s princely care and choice, her seats of justice have been ever, for the due execution of her laws, furnished with Judges of such excellent knowledge and wisdom, (whereunto they have attained in this fruitful spring time of her blessed reign), as I fear that succeeding ages shall not afford successors equal unto them, I have adventured to publish certain of their resolutions, &c ” We know not whether similar considerations have weighed with the publishers of the Reports of the Sudder Nizamut Adawlut at Calcutta, the highest Criminal Court in Bengal But with whatever motive they may be published, the volume which we have taken as the subject of this article, (and which has been selected merely because it happens to be the latest,) is very instructive and interesting, and affords abundant materials for reflection

All full accounts of criminal trials are interesting The evidence of the witnesses, when given in detail, shews more of the real manners and customs of the people, than any thing else, short of personal intercourse, can do It may not perhaps be with the best class of the people that the reader is brought into contact but to get a distinct glimpse of the private life of *any* class,—of their motives and feelings,—gives a considerable acquaintance with the whole body We venture to say, that for one whose lot is not cast in India, or rather in the Mofussil, and who is desirous of informing himself as to the manners and customs of the natives in Bengal, no book could be found more fitted than these reports of the Sudder Nizamut Adawlut, to give him the information sought for From them may be seen how the natives live, act and suffer and a fair opinion may be formed of the manner in which criminal justice is administered, and of the state of the country generally If the reader be an Englishman, he will find a further interest in these reports, inasmuch as they will occasionally shew him a good deal of his fellow-countrymen in India, and of the manner in which they comport themselves in their various positions

The cases which come before the Sudder Court are all of them important, the crimes charged being generally the heaviest known to the calendar Some of these cases come up on appeal from the decisions of the Inferior Courts others are referred by the Lower Courts for the final decision of the Sudder The latter course is followed, either where the nature of the crime of

which the prisoner is accused, is such that no Court but the Sudder can deal finally with it, or where the Lower Court considers a more severe punishment necessary than it has power of itself to order,—such as death, or transportation for life. In cases which have to be referred to the Sudder, the Lower Court, after trial in the ordinary manner, records its opinion, recommending the punishment which seems suitable. This recommendation is, in fact, the sentence of the Court making it, and as such we always treat it. It must therefore be borne in mind, that when in the course of the following remarks, we speak of the *sentence* of the Lower Court, we may mean either an actual sentence or only a recommendation.

The Sudder Court is a Court of ultimate Criminal Jurisdiction: its decision is final, there being no appeal from it to the Privy Council, as there is when it sits as a Civil Court. In such a Court, dealing with such subjects as we have described, we should naturally expect to find many questions of law,—we mean pure law,—discussed and decided. But strange to say, this is not the case. If such a point does happen to be decided, it is so merely incidentally, and as if it were the least important part of the whole case. There is no dealing with any subject *generally*, no deliberate laying down of the law, so as to be much of a guide or authority for the future.

- So far as we understand it, the custom is for the Judge of the Lower Court to furnish the Sudder Court with a full statement of the case sent up, and with the conclusions he has come to, and his reasons for coming to them. Along with these, are sent the depositions of the witnesses who have been examined. The manner in which these statements are prepared, is not always very judicial or dignified, and many of them exhibit a playfulness of imagination, which we should hardly have supposed could exist among a set of gentlemen who have spent the best part of their lives in a climate such as that of India. In many cases, they appear to aim much more at what they consider fine writing, than at making a simple, or strictly accurate statement of the matter with which they are dealing.

Thus in the statement of one case, the charge being murder, and there being several prisoners,—one of them a woman whose intrigues with the deceased had probably caused the murder,—we find the following passage —

“The standard of virtue amongst native females is not a high one though I do not mean to say they are *all* unchaste far from it, and if the practice of *Suttee* was restored, scores would resort to it again, on the death of their husbands, to shew by precept that they were chaste

“Chaste as the icicle

That's curdled by the frost from purest snow,
And hangs on Dian's temple”—P 758, *Nov*

—really very poetical and pretty, coming from a gentleman writing on a matter of the life or death of no less than three persons !!

Again, in a case in which arson, robbery, and attacking the police were combined, the Judge of the Lower Court gives a long introduction to his statement. After mentioning that the circumstances out of which the prosecution arose, had their origin in a dispute between two persons who jointly possessed certain estates, one (whom we shall call A), having a $\frac{1}{8}$ share, and the other (whom we shall call B), having a $\frac{6}{8}$ share, the Judge proceeds —

“At length A seems to have resolved on taking vigorous measures to put down opposition, come from what quarter it might. For this purpose he secured the good will of two brothers, indisputably the most notorious, turbulent, characters to be found in this notorious lawless district. These brothers are Gugun Meah and Mohun Meah, (*since not inappropriately named the Gog and Magog of these parts*). The means employed to gain them over was a lease on easy terms of several desirable properties, but this compact was destined to be of short duration, for, &c * * The alliance was thus cut asunder, and these parties became his worst enemies. Innumerable were the cases these parties brought against each other, but the long purse of A soon exhausted the strength of the Meahs in this expensive and profitless warfare, and then the Meahs changed their tactics. Leaving A to the Courts, the Meahs gave him real cause to resort to them. They plundered A's zemindary cutchery, robbed and oppressed all who professed to be favorable to him, and this kind of life proved so tempting, from the plunder obtained, that the Meahs were able, without any means of their own, to collect and keep together a force which A's hired hands were not strong enough to cope with” * * *

Pp 272—3, Feb

He then goes on to state the facts of the case before him. It is to be observed that although one of these identical Meahs was on his trial, there was no evidence whatever before the Judge of any of the matters which furnished him with the introductory flourish, from which we have made the above quotation. The Sudder Court very properly takes notice of the impropriety of thus trying to establish a general imputation against the prisoners but curiously enough, they, at the same moment, adopt the introduction themselves, by adding “though not without foundation.” The judgment of the Sudder Court goes on —

“The report should be founded on matter strictly connected with the several offences charged on the record, and supported by legal evidence. The *soubrequets* of Gog and Magog given to the two brothers, Gugun and Mohun, in the Sessions Judge's letter of reference, are quite out of place, and evince a levity which is too indiscreet to be passed over without some notice”—*P 298, Feb*

It ended in the unfortunate Gog having a sentence passed upon him of imprisonment for fourteen years with irons and labor

The Inferior Courts are not always so respectful to their superiors as they might be. When a case is remanded for review, or any other purpose, such a proceeding is occasionally somewhat irritating to the Judge whose decision is called in question, and the disapprobation which is felt, is sometimes expressed. By the law as it exists in Bengal, if a man is tried on several distinct charges and found guilty on each, the Judge may give him one consolidated sentence for all, instead of a distinct punishment for each offence. Gog, (the same person we have just been speaking of,) and several other persons, were brought up charged on various indictments at once. The Judge tried them on some, and then passed a consolidated sentence on them, without trying them upon the others, or in any way disposing of them. The Sudder Court sent back the proceedings, saying that the prisoners "were entitled to a decision in the Sessions Court, on the charges, which could not be allowed to hang over them, and it was the duty of the Sessions Judge, either to convict or acquit them." The Sessions Judge tried them as desired, but wrote back —

- "Though I did not try the two omitted cases, the charges were not kept pending over the prisoners * * * Every prisoner convicted and sentenced, I should have regarded as done with, but any prisoner acquitted altogether would be subjected to be tried on the two un-investigated charges. Nor can I see any inconvenience or injustice in this. *A man who has broken the laws must be tried in the way most convenient to those who have the administration of the law.* It is better that a prisoner be subjected to trial on a fresh count after his acquittal on some former charge, than that a Sessions Judge should employ his time for five or six days in the trial of a multitude of kindred cases, for fear that the Nizamut Adawlut reverse some of his convictions"—P 271, Feb 7

He also remarks —

"As hanging is the limited punishment for any number of cases of murder, so I regard fourteen years' imprisonment as the proper limit for any number of crimes less than murder" * *

To which the Sudder replies —

"The Sessions Judge has entirely forgotten that, for obvious reasons, the power of Courts of Justice over a criminal must be limited by a sentence of death, while they can exercise the power of secondary punishment at their discretion, to any extent sanctioned

by the law in other cases. The Sessions Judge's reasoning, is therefore both misplaced and illogical."

It is quite incomprehensible, how such a production as that of the Sessions Judge is altogether—for we have given but a small portion of it—should have been tolerated at all. The only excuse for it appears to be, that when the case was originally remanded, neither Court fully understood what the other had done, or intended should be done.

There seems to be no disposition on the part of the Lower Courts to put their light under a bushel, for we find them not unfrequently bringing to the notice of their superiors, the excellent manner in which the prosecution has been conducted, and a conviction obtained. Thus, one Judge, in a murder case, having said that he considered that transportation for life would be a sufficient punishment, on account of the prisoner's youth, continues —

"With these remarks I leave the case in the Court's hands, trusting they will approve of the care and despatch shewn in its preparation and reference, not more than nine days having intervened between the perpetration of the crime, and the recommendation of the prisoner for punishment"—*P 67, July*

The Sudder Court took no notice of this passage, but quietly ordered that the prisoner should be hanged instead of transported,—and indeed, as it happened, he did very well deserve to be hanged.

The number* of cases reported for the year 1865, is 637, and in most of them there was more than one prisoner. In 228, or rather more than one-third of these cases, the prisoners or some of them were successful, 377 persons who had been convicted and sentenced, were acquitted thirty-two persons were released and set at liberty, the proceedings against them being quashed for irregularity the punishments of twenty-six criminals were increased those of 104 were diminished. In all, 507 of the sentences passed by the Lower Courts, were altered, exclusive of the cases in which the proceedings against thirty-two persons were quashed.

Such a state of things is very far from what it ought to be an immediate remedy for it, however, it is not easy to discover. The Sudder Court seems often to interfere very needlessly and capriciously with the decisions of the Lower Courts, in cases

* These figures are *materially* correct. There may for certain reasons be some slight inaccuracy, but none such as in any way to affect the general results shown.

where the whole question is, as to the amount of credit to be given to the evidence adduced. It is not sufficiently borne in mind, that where many witnesses have been examined, and there is much conflict of evidence, no two persons, however careful or intelligent, ever take *exactly* the same view of the matter, and that, under such circumstances, the chances are that the man who is on the spot, and who has personally seen and dealt with the witnesses, is more likely to come to a right conclusion, than the man who has had none of these advantages. These reports, however, fully prove the necessity which exists for having an appeal from the Lower Courts, and that the appeal to the Sudder, even such as it is, is a great benefit, they shew how much more unsafe, both life and liberty would be in the Mofussil, if there were no appeal.

That life and liberty are most unsafe in the Mofussil, is very evident. If so many of those charged with the most heinous crimes, and tried by the most experienced Judges in the country, were improperly convicted and sentenced, what must be the case of the countless alleged offenders brought up on charges summarily disposed of in the Mofussil, and which there is no possibility of bringing in appeal before the Sudder Court. For one case of importance sufficient to give the prisoner the right of appeal to the Sudder Court, there are multitudes disposed of daily, in which he has no such right, and in these minor cases too, the persons who try them are often without any experience whatever,—mere lads learning their business as Magistrates, and barely yet understanding half that is said to them by the prisoners, or any one else in their Court. We say, if there is such a failure of justice in so many of the most important cases, tried with the greatest care, and by the best Judges in the country, what must the failure be in the minor cases, tried with less care, and very often, by confessedly bad Judges? And what an amount of misery and suffering must all this produce?

Contemplate for a moment the sufferings endured by the unjustly convicted men whom the Sudder Court in 1855, acquitted and released. Each of these individuals was taken from his home, seized and examined by the police, (and who shall say what he suffered at *this* stage of the proceedings?), examined and committed by the Magistrate, tried and convicted by the Sessions Judge, sent back to prison (in a few cases perhaps he would be allowed to remain out on bail) and kept in suspense, and agony, until the order for his release arrived from the Sudder Court. Add to this, that in many cases the prisoner has been dragged for miles over the country, to the place of trial, that in nearly all cases, several months elapse, between the original charge and apprehension by the police, and the final

acquittal by the Sudder Court,—and that, throughout the whole proceedings, a constant expenditure of money is requisite! And for all this there is no compensation. Indeed, there can be no compensation, for the injury done to the feelings of the acquitted and of his relatives and friends, is not an injury for which any real amends can be made. To the feelings of a native, if his position in the world be at all above the very lowest, the shock produced by such proceedings, as great as it would, in the like case, be to an Englishman in his own country. But it never seems to occur to any body, from policemen to Sudder Judges, that natives have any feeling, and as to pitying a man for what he has gone through, owing to the blunders or viciousness of the police or of the Courts, or supposing he has any right to complain,—such a thing is never dreamt of. If a prisoner is eventually acquitted, his acquittal never gives much satisfaction to any body, he is thought only too lucky in getting off at all. And lucky indeed he is, for the whole matter is pretty much a calculation of chances!

A case in the Sudder Court is heard in the first instance by two Judges. If they agree in their opinion, they dispose finally of the case; but if they differ, they refer the case to a third Judge, and his decision, if it agrees with that of either of his brethren, concludes the matter. Should he again take a view of his own, distinct from the other two, the case is referred to a fourth Judge,—and so on, until a majority in favor of some one view, can be got.

Of this there is a striking instance, in a case* of affray attended with wilful murder. The Lower Court convicted seven of the prisoners, and sentenced them each to fourteen years' imprisonment with labor. In the Sudder Court, one Judge acquitted them all, but the other acquitted only three of them, confirming the sentence of the Lower Court as to the other four. There being thus a difference of opinion between the two Sudder Judges as to the fate of the latter, the case was, as to them, referred to a third Judge. He took an entirely fresh view of the matter; he approved of their conviction, but not of their punishment, which he considered too light, as they had committed murder, and should, he thought, have been transported for life. As the third Judge thus differed from both the others, a fourth was called in. He agreed with the first, in acquitting all. So in the end, the disputed four were acquitted and set at liberty, after having run the gauntlet of nearly the whole Sudder Bench.

This practice is followed even where the ground of dissent of

the Judge who wishes to interfere with the Lower Court's decision, is that the sentence passed is too light, and ought to have been death. Thus, in a murder case,* the Lower Court considered it proved that the prisoners were guilty,—but apparently only in the second degree,—and sentenced them to transportation for life. This decision was upheld by one of the Judges in appeal. The other, however, was of a different opinion. "The crime of which the prisoners are guilty is 'deliberate and wilful murder, and the penalty is death, and 'to that doom I would consign them both.'" The case was referred to a third Judge, and as he agreed that sentence of death should be passed, the Lower Court's sentence was altered, and the men were hanged.

This does seem to be a very loose and reckless manner of dealing with human life. It is a sufficiently awful and dangerous thing to execute the extreme penalty of the law upon a criminal, even when Juries and Judges are all agreed. But that any two persons should, merely upon reading the depositions of the witnesses, and other papers connected with the case, take upon themselves to convert into a sentence of death, a minor sentence which had appeared sufficient to the Court which tried the prisoner, and to an appellate Judge of position and authority equal to their own, is to us perfectly astonishing. It will not be denied, that no man ought to be punished capitally so long as there is any reasonable doubt of his guilt deserving death—yet it cannot be said, that there is no reasonable doubt, where a man is hanged, notwithstanding the opinion of the Lower Court, and of one of the three Sudder Judges, before whom his case is heard, that he ought not to be so.

The proper apportionment of the punishment to the crime committed, is one of the most important questions for the consideration of the Judge and Magistrate, as well as of the Legislature. There are two principles by which it ought to be regulated. The severity of the punishment should depend on the heinousness of the crime and (which is a corollary of the first) where the crime is the same, the punishment should be the same. But practically these principles are very difficult to carry out, as appears from the great inconsistency and capriciousness often observable in the sentences of Criminal Courts even in England. It is not surprising that we find a good deal of caprice and inconsistency in the punishments awarded here.

At p 973, *Dec*, is the report of the trial of two persons, Akbar and Haran, the former charged with committing a rape, the latter with aiding and abetting. The offence charged, was

proved against each Haran had aided by putting a cloth on the mouth of the prosecutrix, and afterwards by holding back a woman who came to the rescue

At p 994, *Dec*, is the report of the trial of one Sabee for the like offence In this case also the charge was fully proved In both cases, the prosecutrices are said to have been persons of unimpeachable character,—in both the offence was as wanton and gross an outrage as possible,—in neither is there any one ingredient which makes it worse than the other Yet what are the sentences? The one principal, Akbar, gets only four years' imprisonment, the other, Sabee, gets seven years The abettor Haran gets only two years Can it be doubted that there is a failure of justice here? Either Sabee got three years too much, or Akbar got three years too little

Again let us compare the case of Akbar and Haran with the case of Idoo, heard in appeal by the same Judges on the same day* Idoo was tried for attempting to get a situation as cook by means of a forged character The Lower Court states the case thus —

"The prisoner admitted having uttered the certificate, but denied that it was a forgery The prisoners offered himself as a cook to Mrs A, stating that he had served in that capacity in the families of Mr B, and other gentlemen, he produced a certificate signed C B which he said had been written and presented to him by the late Mrs B."

It was proved that the certificate was not written or signed by Mrs B, or any member of the family, and that the prisoner had never served in that family at all The prisoner was therefore very properly convicted and he was sentenced "to imprisonment for three years with labor,—the labor being commutable to a fine of fifty rupees," which sentence was confirmed

Now whether Idoo deserved three years' imprisonment for what he had done, we shall not stop here to enquire very possibly he did But if he did, can any reasonable person deny that Akbar deserved more than four years, for the rape which he committed, and that Haran deserved more than two years for aiding and abetting therein, in the manner we have described? The Sudder Court, by passing these sentences, have in fact, (although doubtless they did not mean to do so), declared it to be their opinion, that it is a less offence by one-third to hold a woman while another commits a rape upon her, than to use a false character in order to get a situation as cook and that to use a false character in getting a place as cook is only by one-fourth a less

heinous crime than actually to commit an atrocious and aggravated rape!

Jealousy is the cause of very many murders, and attempts to murder, and those who commit offences under the influence of it are, as a general rule, dealt with very leniently. Thus we find a prisoner convicted by the Lower Court of assault with wounding, and sentenced to five years' imprisonment with labor. He had inflicted on his victim "a very severe incised wound on the left breast," given by a *dao* or hatchet, but the prosecutor's life was not in danger. The circumstances, under which the wound was given, appear from the remarks of the appellate court —

"We believe the story told by the prosecutor on the spur of the moment, is the true story, that he had an intrigue with the prisoner's wife, and went for that purpose into the house, when he was detected and wounded. We are of opinion, that the assault, which was, we have every reason to suppose, committed under these circumstances, was justifiable. We therefore acquit and release the prisoner"—*P* 214, *Feb*

The prisoner himself simply denied having touched the prosecutor, and set up an alibi!

And so in several other cases. One of them is particularly worthy of notice, because the prisoner was acquitted, although it was proved that the weapon was bought beforehand for the express purpose of attacking the prosecutor,—that "the wound 'was severe and dangerous, the weapon a deadly one, and the 'attack premeditated' "*.

How far such leniency is desirable when assaults of so deadly a nature have been committed, is very questionable. We should rather have expected that in a country where so many people have but too good cause to be jealous, and where every man when excited is ready for violence of any kind, all such sudden outbreaks of passion would be checked with the utmost severity. We confess we do not comprehend how such an excuse can entitle a man to his acquittal.

So uncertain, however, are all things in the law, that defences of this nature, though generally successful, are not always so. This is shewn by a case at *p* 552, *May*, and another at *p* 844, *Nov*. In the latter case, the prisoner was, on his own confession, found guilty of murder and sentenced to transportation for life with labor in irons, although the dishonor of his sister was the exciting cause,—“the provocation was intense, and the ‘act of murder unpremeditated, and on sudden impulse.’”

The reports contain many interesting accounts of affrays and

riots, and they shew that not unfrequently regular pitched battles are fought by large bodies of men, all armed after the native fashion, with clubs, swords, and spears. In such fights, many of the combatants are professional *latteeals*. These persons live by violence, and serve their master chiefly for the purpose of fighting for him. But while they serve as *latteeals*, a good deal of business is generally done by them on their own account as *dacots*, or gang-robbers; indeed, we believe that a large proportion of the hundreds of *dacots* who have of late years been hanged or transported, were also *latteeals*. In many districts, one piece of ground is the scene of so many fights in the course of the season. A claims the ground as belonging to his estate B, as belonging to his. Each keeps his *latteeals* in readiness, knowing well that when the sowing season comes, there must be a struggle. The sowing time arrives, and A sends off his people to sow the disputed territory. Down come B's *latteeals*. A's men advance to support the sowing party, and then ensues a general fight, resulting in broken heads and limbs, and sometimes death. Should the land, notwithstanding, be sown, the same scene may be repeated when A goes to carry off the crop. or, very possibly, B may not have had patience to wait till then, but may have made a desperate, though fruitless, attempt to cut the crop while green, in which he was defeated only by the most strenuous exertions of A's retainers.

All this goes on to a considerable extent even in the more accessible districts, and under the very eyes of Magistrates and Police. Of course it is carried on with tenfold vigour in the more remote parts, where a Magistrate is rarely, or never seen. The truth is, that neither Magistrates nor Police are strong enough to prevent it, all they do,—and under existing circumstances it is probably all they can do,—is to try to find out the aggressors after all is over, and to have them punished. If the Police are present at an affray, they seldom are of the smallest use.

In the report of the trial of some eight persons for riot and wounding, and resisting the Police, after stating that on the application of the landlord to the Police, a *muskoooree peadah* named Bachu had been sent to protect an attachment, issued by the landlord, of the crops of certain tenants who had not paid their rents, the Judge gives the following account of what occurred.

“On the 5th of December, another application was made to the Police to furnish further aid in preserving the attachment, as the villagers seemed inclined to combine, and would in that case carry

off the attached crops Upon this, an order was sent to the *Fouzdary* of Gobindpore to proceed to the spot, and prevent the removal of the crop Accordingly the *Fareedar* having collected from twenty to twenty-five *chowkeydars* from the villages round about, proceeded to the spot, where he found the *peadah* Bachu engaged with ten or fifteen men in cutting the crops He had no sooner arrived than the villagers of Salgong and Burso began simultaneously to appear in large forces, and with shouts of *mar mar*, and armed with clubs, were making towards the *fareedar* and his party The latter were soon dispersed, and those who had the courage to remain were more or less beaten The first scene of the act being over, those of the rioters who came from Salgong returned thither with all speed, and entering the yard in which Luckhun and Ramsook had several joint granaries, the villagers cut the outer mats of the *golas*, whereby the grain in them was poured on the ground A general plunder then ensued, which seems to have been participated in by the women and children of the whole village, and it did not cease till all four *golas* were nearly emptied of their contents"—P 754, June

This was a riot not attended by any act of very great atrocity Here is an account of another, in which the numbers engaged were small, but the violence used great

The landlady, through a servant, had applied for the protection of the Police to distrain property belonging to a defaulting tenant

"A *muskoree peon* was sent from the thannah with the servant, and on reaching the ground, was warned off by the prisoners, Nos 8 and 9, who were armed, and four other armed men with them The prisoner No 8 had a spear and shield No 9 had a sword and shield Prisoners Nos 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14, (servants of the landlady), were cutting the crop on the ground, when the other party attacked them, and they appear to have retreated, throwing bricks and clods No 7, at a little distance off, gave orders for the affray In the affray Gurrib and Maharaj, who were with the landlady's party cutting the crop, were killed Gurrib met his death at the hands of No 8, who speared him in the stomach,—No 9 afterwards striking him with his sword Maharaj was killed by Dewan Sikh Jemadar, on the part of Kaleedass Baboo, who, as well as his master, has since absconded and evaded arrest"—P 455, April

The lower Court sentenced Nos 7 and 8 to seven years' imprisonment with labor in irons in banishment This sentence was confirmed, but such of the landlady's servants as were prisoners were acquitted, the Sudder Court considering that although there were fair grounds for inferring that these prisoners were not altogether so innocent as their witnesses testified, still there was no evidence that they went armed, or opposed with force the violent assault made on them

Two rich widow ladies had large landed estates which were contiguous. The dwelling houses of these ladies were close to each other, and in the immediate neighbourhood of her house, each had a *bazaar*, a village with shops in it, to which shops each expected, and ordered all the tenants on her estate to resort. A disagreement unfortunately took place between the ladies, as to a wall which was being built between their residences. This disagreement in time became a bitter feud. The servants of each began to attempt to entice or drive away the bazaar people of the other, and to interfere with them going to her bazaar, each began to employ *latteals* for the purpose of protecting her own property, and injuring that of her neighbour. Notice of the state of affairs was given to the police by each party, but was apparently unproductive and at last a tremendous riot and fight took place, in which one man was killed, many were wounded, and every possible act of plunder and violence committed*.

Here is a good account of a night attack by one set of villagers upon another —

“Nackua and Chackla are contiguous villages, belonging to two rival Zemindars. The first is owned by Rajnarain Roy, while Prannath Chowdry is proprietor of the second. The villages are in the Soonderbuns, where the scarcity of cultivators makes every man of that class a valuable chattel to the possessor.

“It seems that last year Rajnarain’s agents in Nackua sent an escort of armed men, and brought away at dead of night several of Prannath’s ryots, among whom was the witness Panaullah. There is reason to think, that overtures having been made to him, he became reconciled to his late landlord, and was willing to return to his estate, but where ryots are not plentiful, it is not an easy matter for a ryot to escape from a village, except he consents to do so with the sacrifice of his worldly goods. But a ryot without cattle or plough, and with no means of supporting himself, is but a poor acquisition, and when Panaullah agreed to return to Chackla, it became, of course, necessary to devise means for bringing away his family and property. Accordingly, Prannath’s Naib assembled their dependents and tenants, and on the night of the 5th March, 1855, proceeded to bring away Panaullah, his family, and worldly goods. Their arrival in the village in force, and at that hour of night, caused an uproar, and the object of the nocturnal visit not being altogether unknown to the adherents of Rajnarain Roy, the latter were not slow to call together their men to oppose the invaders. A mutual fight was likely to have occurred, but sudden vigorous measures, on the part of Prannath’s men, quickly decided the issue in their favor, and made their opponents take to flight, *cowed by the sight of two of their num-*

ber mortally wounded Secured against further resistance, Prannath's men collected together whatever property they could lay their hands on, without regard of course whether it belonged to Prannath or not, and then made off in boats to their own village"—P. 954, Dec

Cattle-trespass is a frequent cause of these murderous attacks. There is one case, for instance, in which five persons were tried for riot with murder. A cow had strayed on to a piece of waste land of one of the prisoners. The cowherd who had charge of the animal, went to drive it away. He was struck by one of the people connected with the land. This was the commencement of a riot. The prisoners, and another not yet apprehended, riotously came armed with *lattees*, when the two prosecutors were assaulted and beaten, and one of the prisoners struck the deceased a blow with a club near the region of the heart, which killed him on the spot *

Again in another case —

"The affray seems to have arisen from some dispute regarding the grazing of the belligerents' cattle. On the day previous there had been a dispute, in which the first party (prisoners—1, 2, and 3) had received some wounds. On the next day, a more determined fight took place, when the deceased was killed, and others on both sides were wounded. The prisoners of the second party appear to have • been the aggressors, and to have fought most recklessly. Prisoner No 11 is proved to have struck the deceased with an iron bar, which was the immediate cause of his death."

And yet the punishment for the murder committed was only seven years' labor in irons †

We wish we could find room for some more extracts from the numerous affray cases with murder, which are reported, for they are highly illustrative of the state of the country in general, as well as of the way in which the natives when excited treat each other. It appears to us that an undue leniency is shewn, as regards these affrays, and riots attended with loss of life. One cause of this, no doubt, is the knowledge that affrays are in some degree rendered necessary from the want of any sufficient police, and of the means of enforcing one's right in the country, with any reasonable amount either of certainty or speed. The person employing *lattees* very often does so for the protection merely of his just rights, of which he would otherwise be defrauded, and many an affray which ends in bloodshed, and violence of every description, is commenced, with no evil intention, and in perfect good faith, by one who knows that unless he

* P. 220, Feb.

† P. 119, Jan.

help himself, no one will help him, and he will lose his all. Still while such things last, the country must be in a state of great demoralization, and it is evident that a much stronger ruling hand is required in Bengal than at present exists. These fatal conflicts, and the uncertainty of life and property that they give rise to, call for a speedy and effective remedy,—such as is to be found only in an increased number of Judges and Magistrates, and an improved police.

The history of latteals and dacoits as appearing from these reports,—their roving adventurous lives,—their fights and plundering expeditions, are really quite romantic, and their utter scorn of the very idea of earning their bread honestly, or in any way but by the use of arms and plunder, remind us much of the Highlanders as they existed in Scotland not very many years ago, (though we fear our Scotch cousins will not be much gratified by the comparison.) Bishto Ghose was sentenced to transportation for life for being a dacoit. The Lower Court thus states his case, and the statement is fully borne out by the man's confession, which is unfortunately not set out at length in the case, but which shews him to have been a regular *latteal* for some time before he became a dacoit also —

“The man's history is indeed a most remarkable one, and if any doubt did ever exist in any quarter, as to the need, and the utility of an extraordinary agency to cope with, and suppress the crime of dacoity, the perusal of the prisoner's adventures would dispel such doubts. It will hardly be believed that any one could commit half a hundred *dacoities*, and still leave so little tangible proof of his own guilt, that, were it not that the prisoner criminales himself, there is no other sufficient proof to convict him. Being apprehended, he very soon volunteered to give a history of his life. Interesting as that history is, it may be told in a few words. From tending cattle he became a bold and practised clubman. Expert in the use of his favorite weapon, and made daring by the frequent use of it, he disdained the humble occupation of a cowherd, and readily listened to the first overtures made to him to exchange it for the eventful, easier, and more lucrative life of a *dacoit*. From being a member, he soon became the head of a gang. He recollects the particulars of forty-seven different acts of *dacoity* by land and water, and there is little doubt, he has forgotten twice that number.”—P 648, Oct

At p 523, *May*, we have a trial for murder. The accused was convicted and sentenced to death. He was deaf and dumb, and had been so from infancy but notwithstanding his infirmity, he was a professional *latteal*, and was eventually hanged for a murder committed by him in the ordinary course of the duties of his calling!

The volume teems with dacoity cases, the details of many of

which are very extraordinary. For example, we have* the trial of eleven men for having belonged to a gang of dacoits. These men gave the particulars of numerous dacoities committed by them, some with one gang, some with another. One prisoner admitted that he was present at fifty-eight of these dacoities, another admitted being present at forty, another was concerned in twenty-one, another was present at forty-five, two, at ten, one, at seven, one, at thirteen, another, at fifteen, another, at thirty-two. They were all convicted, chiefly on their own confessions, and sentenced to be transported for life.

While the announcement made by Mr Danby Seymour, that torture was practised as a mean for enforcement of the payment of Revenue took some people by surprise, every person who knew much of India was well aware of its being constantly employed by the police in the discharge of their duties. In truth, torture always has been practised here, and will be so, for many a day to come, and it always has been and is now practised, in a greater or less degree, in every police office in the country, with the full knowledge of every Magistrate and Judge in the country. We do not mean to say that any Magistrate or Judge takes part in, or even is aware of any particular case of torture, while it is going on, but they all daily hear complaints of it from the prisoners brought before them, and they know well that there is some foundation for these complaints. To get at legal proof of such an offence having been committed by the police, is not easy. Besides, the difficulty of proving any thing in a country like India is so great, that by persons of experience in the Mofussil, a little pressure on a prisoner is not looked upon as any thing very unfair or improper for it is known that unless the police succeed in getting information out of the accused themselves, there is but small chance of a conviction.

If proof of this is wanted, let the Reports of the Sudder Nizamut Adawlut be carefully read, *passim* every where will be found abundant evidence of the existence of torture, and of its existence being known to every body. In the volume for 1855, there are several cases in which the offence was actually proved and the offenders punished.

The Darogah, two Jemadars, and two Burkundazes, attached to a thannah or police station within twenty miles of Calcutta, were tried and found guilty by the Lower Court, which makes the following remarks on the case —

“ In fixing a punishment adequate for the offence, and for example at the same time, must be taken into consideration the temptations into which newly appointed native police officers are led, from the

too successful concealment, with which others before them have perpetrated this offence,—two-fold flagitious first for the torture itself, and next in the possibility of its eventually resulting in severest punishment of the innocent. Lukewise is to be considered the temptations they are exposed to, by their being permitted to carry away, on the merest suspicion, to the thannah, servants of houses, in which robberies have taken place, or other suspected parties. The inference they are liable to draw from such permission is, that they may with impunity resort to improper means to procure confessions, while at the same time their superiors, and the parties robbed, press for discovery"—P 106, Jan

The Darogah was imprisoned for four years, and fined 200 rupees, the others for two years, with a fine of 100 rupees

In another case, a police Darogah, two Burkundazes and a Peadah were tried for the culpable homicide of a person whom they had in their custody. The prisoners were convicted, the Lower Court stating the object of the mal-treatment to have been to procure restitution of the stolen property, or a confession of the crime. The Court of Appeal took a surprising view of certain parts of the case

"It is also clearly proved that the deceased was never out of the hands of the police, after having been put on board the boat, and, though a weakly man, the medical evidence shews that he was not suffering from disease, and his death can therefore be accounted for in no other way than as the consequence of the combined mal-treatment he received from them. Lukhun and Nobin were evidently the most active in this outrage, and we see no reason to interfere in their favour, with the sentence passed upon them. It is likewise satisfactorily proved that Nundlol, the Darogah, was in the boat, and cognisant of what passed. *Under ordinary circumstances, a heavy responsibility would fall upon one holding the official position he did, rendering necessary a far severer sentence than that passed by the Sessions Judge but Nundlol is a mere youth, and certainly not qualified for the situation of a Darogah, and it may be fairly inferred that the authority of such a person was neither felt nor respected by his subordinates.* This may be taken into consideration in the punishment"—P 49, Jan.

And accordingly the Darogah got four years' imprisonment without labor, while two of his subordinates were sentenced to the like term of imprisonment with labor in irons!

It is not accused or suspected persons alone that are tortured, or mal-treated by the police. Witnesses are often used in the same way, in order to make them give such evidence as the police may want. Thus we have a case* where eight prisoners were tried for perjury alleged to have been committed by them on a

* P 400, April.

previous criminal trial The Lower Court arrived at the following conclusion —

“ Under these circumstances, I would convict the prisoners of perjury, but with reference to *their offence having originated in ill-treatment and threats of further violence on the part of the police*, I think that one year's imprisonment with labor will be a sufficient punishment *The prisoners are all either women or old men, selected, I doubt not, in a degree on that account as being the more likely to be acted on by ill usage* ”

The Sudder Court acquitted all the prisoners —

“ The Sessions' Judge should not have ordered the commitment of the prisoners for the perjury, as he was convinced that they had been subjected to ill-treatment to cause them to depose as they did depose before the magistrate ”

In about 270 of the 637 cases that came before the Sudder Court in 1855, the prisoners, or some of them, had confessed, or made statements criminating themselves before the police, or the committing magistrate. In very many of these cases, the alleged confessions are wholly repudiated on the trial before the Judge it was either denied that they had ever been made, or it was urged that they had been extorted by ill usage, or obtained under threats or false promises. If a man repudiate his confession, it becomes, as it seems to us, perfectly useless, and his crime should be proved *alunde*, without making him first establish, that he did not in fact confess, or that he did so in consequence of improper pressure. In nine cases out of ten of torture or improper pressure, the prisoner must, from the very nature of the thing, fail in producing legal proof of it, for when it is practised, only the prisoner and the police themselves are present, and the prisoner will find no one to speak for him, but himself.

The police have recently, we believe, been prohibited by an order of Government, from receiving confessions. This is a move in the right direction, but it does not go sufficiently far, for confessions before a magistrate may be received and acted on as formerly, although, as the cases in the volume now before us shew, such confessions are just as little to be trusted as those made before the police, being generally made through their agency.

The police may be ordered not to receive confessions, and may obey that order, but that will not prevent them from extorting admissions, and from using unfair means to induce prisoners to confess to the magistrate. The mere fact of his being in the presence of, or addressing the magistrate, does not remove the unfortunate prisoner from the influence or fear of the police, and

does not cause him to forget what he has suffered, or may suffer at their hands, should he disobey their directions. Of course confessions, if they are not afterwards denied, and there is no doubt of their being *real* confessions, are properly received and acted upon. What we would urge, (and we think it must soon be made the rule in India) is, that considering the known and avowed practices of the police, all confessions denied or repudiated before final conviction, or as to the manner of obtaining which *any* suspicion exists, should be wholly rejected, before whomsoever they may have been made.

In the volume before us, we find case upon case, in which confessions said to have been made before the police, or before the magistrates, were taken as evidence by the Courts, although those who are said to have made them, afterwards repudiated them, and on their trial defended themselves to the utmost,—even to the sending the case up to the Sudder in appeal. It is to us incredible that people should, without any motive or inducement, make statements endangering their own life or liberty, merely for the sake of repudiating them as soon as made.

The confessions of dacoits are in some degree an exception, for they seem, for the most part, to be real confessions, and are comparatively rarely repudiated. These people know that they occupy a peculiar position. They know that there exists a special set of officers whose business it is to hunt them down, that if caught they will be dealt with differently from other offenders, and that they have multitudes of accomplices, any one of whom has it in his power to convict them. They know also that a pardon, more or less complete, is generally the reward of those who give valuable information. No doubt, it is the knowledge of these things, with possibly the addition of some gentle pressure on the part of their captors, that makes them speak so freely. Whatever be the cause, they certainly seem more ready than any other class of prisoners to confess, and to speak the truth when they do so.

The following extracts show pretty clearly the amount of reliance which, in the opinion of the Sudder Court, ought to be placed on their confessions,—and indeed on the police generally. They shew that the Sudder Judges are on the whole careful in the use made of confessions, though they are not quite so much so as they might be. The rule which the Court lays down, but which is by no means strictly attended to, is that to justify the conviction of a confessing prisoner, his confession must be supported by strong corroborative evidence —

“The confessions in our opinion are not calculated to remove the impression, that *the police have got up the evidence in this case,*

and with nothing before us to justify reliance on any part of it, even as to the death of the woman, we must acquit all the prisoners"—*P 18, Jan*

"As confession itself is no evidence against the prisoner, his guilt is by no means satisfactorily established"—*P 62, Jan*

"We cannot upon his confessions alone, unsupported as they are by any circumstantial evidence, concur with the Sessions Judge in convicting the prisoner"—*P 203, Feb*

"*The case has evidently been got up by the police* * * * Upon a perusal of the statement, prisoner No 9 certified by the joint-magistrate to be a *confession* with witnesses attached to it, we find that it is a denial *in toto* it contains a plea of *alibi*, and states that he had been intimidated by the police it admits the prisoner heard (only) of the dacoity Notwithstanding which, the attesting witnesses speak of it as a *confession*, voluntarily made before the magistrate, and the Sessions Judge has convicted him upon the confession, which, of course, will not stand * * * The prisoners are acquitted, and must be immediately released The proceedings of the police officers ought certainly to have drawn the attention of the authorities to the improbabilities they contained, and the whole Mofussil investigation should have been laid before the superintendent of police"—*P 534, May*

"The bare confessions of the prisoners, when *there is so much reason to believe that proof has been made up in the Mofussil*, cannot fairly be read against them"—*P 546, May*

"There being no proof that any murder was committed, and the confessions being unworthy of belief, we acquit the prisoner"—*P 661, June*

"This, *with the irregular manner* in which the other confessions were taken, throws too much doubt on the genuineness of these confessions safely to rely on them We therefore acquit the prisoners"—*P 675, June*

"*The whole case appears so like one that has been got up by the police, that, &c* * * * lead us to regard the recorded confessions with very great suspicion, and prevent our upholding the conviction"—*P 828 June*

"We quite agree with the Deputy Commissioner, that there is good reason to believe the prisoner's confession in the Mofussil, *was not voluntary*, and with such an impression on our minds, we cannot allow the repetition of that confession, when brought before the assistant, to prejudice the prisoner * * * As far as *this prisoner is concerned, the conduct of the Darogah appears very reprehensible*—"*P 19, July*

"*Mofussil confessions obtained under the delay and illegal detention for five days, to which the prisoners were subjected by the police, who were unable to give any explanation when called on by the magistrate, are not to be relied on* * * * Confessions thus taken, backed even by a confession before the magistrate on their arrival at the station, but unsupported by other independent circum-

stantial evidence * * are not grounds which justify conviction."—
P 79, July

And yet in nearly all these cases, the Lower Courts had approved of and acted on the confessions

There are many cases in which the only evidence against the prisoners, in addition to their own confessions, was that of *approvers*. The system of approvers prevails to a considerable extent, especially in dacoity cases. It is found to be very useful in breaking up gangs of scoundrels, it destroys their confidence in each other, and makes those who are apprehended anxious to confess, and give any information they can, lest they should be fore-stalled by their comrades. The principle is a good one, but it requires to be judiciously carried out, for it is only in special cases, that a criminal should be permitted to become an approver. We sympathize with a Sessions Judge whom we find much displeased with his subordinate, because that officer, after a dacoity had been committed, offered not only a free pardon, but "*a reward of 100 rupees to any of the dacoits who would come forward and turn approver*"* The proceeding was, as the Judge says, novel and unheard of

In two cases, there is shewn something like a desire not to act fairly towards approvers, or, in plain English, to break faith with them, and not give them the promised pardon

In the case of dacoity just referred to, one Kallee Mullick, who (we use the Judge's own words) "was one of the principal parties who committed the dacoity, was included in the list of *witnesses*, having received a conditional pardon from the 'magistrate' yet the Judge afterwards sentenced this man to seven years' imprisonment with labor in irons

"The crime of being an accomplice in the dacoity, and having in his possession two rupees, the sale proceeds of a portion of the plundered property, is proved against Kallee Mullick, *by his confessions before the police and the magistrate, and his admissions before the Court*. But although he states that he confessed before the police and the magistrate under a promise of pardon, *I do not consider that such a promise was legal or justified by the circumstances of the case* and whether it was legal or not, the prisoner forfeited his right to his conditional pardon by concealing, &c" * *

Could any thing be more unfair than this? If the Judge thought fit to set aside the magistrate's promise of pardon, on the first of the grounds stated by him, surely he should also have set aside the confessions obtained on the strength of that

promise The second ground for refusing to recognise the promise of pardon, namely, that the prisoner had not fulfilled the condition on which the pardon was to be granted, may have been a good one The Sudder Court, however, held that there was no evidence that the approver had not done all that he undertook to do, and ordered him to be released forthwith

In the other case to which allusion has been made, a dacoit being seized by the police was, before trial or conviction, offered a conditional pardon, if he would turn approver He accepted the offer, and gave much information against himself and others Having got out of him all he knew, the Lower Court put him on his trial, and on his own confessions, corroborated by the records of some previous trials, convicted him, and sentenced him to *imprisonment for life in transportation beyond sea* The Court in a subsequent statement says, that a sentence of only imprisonment for life had been passed, and that that had been passed in the belief that the pardon extended to a dacoity approver, exempted him only from death or transportation, not from imprisonment for life, or any other punishment, (which really was the case with respect to thugs, they being considered irreclaimable, and never under any circumstance being let loose, when once arrested) The Sudder Court observes on this *firstly*, that the Lower Court had proposed a sentence of imprisonment for life *in transportation* *secondly*, that the conditional pardon on account of which the prisoner made his confessions exempted him from the punishment recommended *thirdly*, that he should have been tried, and, if convicted, sentenced in the usual manner before being pardoned with a view to turning approver, on which he would become virtually free, and be let loose on society The proceedings against the prisoner were quashed *

It is well, indeed, that there is an appellate Court to check errors such as these, for it is difficult to conceive any folly, not to use a stronger term, greater than that of not keeping perfect faith with approvers The fact is, that it is in India exceedingly difficult to convict and punish the really guilty and officers with the very best intentions, constantly allow their zeal to carry them a great deal further than they ought to go, and than they would go if their cooler judgment did not yield to the excitement and anxiety of the moment Their zeal is added to by the desire to gain the approbation of their superiors and in India, the character of a judge or magistrate has always been tested by the number of his convictions,—by the quantity, not the quality, of the work done The consequence of this is,

that while in England no man is considered guilty till he is convicted, the reverse is the rule here. On what other principle, can judges be found wringing thus?—

"It remains to say, before proceeding to sentence, why these trials have been closed, *before all the witnesses for the defence have been heard*. Those of the prisoners whose witnesses have not been heard, are Gogun and Baberoollah. The defence of Gogun is that the case is false. *Now any number of witnesses who might depose to this effect, would not shake my belief* that the witnesses for the prosecution have given trustworthy evidence in a matter which occurred before their eyes so that, giving Gogun the utmost benefit which the evidence of his witnesses would be to him, they would not be sufficient to exculpate him—and if so, there is no use in delaying a case already postponed too long"—P 283, Feb

We know of nothing equal to this, but the speech of the foreman of a Scotch jury, who, being asked after the trial was over, how he could possibly have given a verdict of guilty, said,—“from the way the clerk of the Court read out the indictment ‘to us, we knew the prisoner *must* be guilty, so we took care to ‘let nothing shake us!’”

Again —

“The existence of such an order as that issued by the Magistrate, and the abuse it was subject to in the hands of a corrupt and unscrupulous police, *had very nearly induced me to acquit all the prisoners. but as it is so difficult to procure convictions in dacoity cases, I did not think myself altogether justified in doing so*”

“And therefore,” he might have continued, “though not ‘very sure about their guilt, I have actually taken upon myself ‘to sentence four or five persons to imprisonment for seven ‘years with labor in irons’”*

In treating of these matters, however, and in considering the state of the administration of criminal justice in Bengal, we must not lose sight of the extraordinary difficulties with which Courts and magistrates alike have to contend. It is almost impossible to get any good reliable evidence, and the search after truth is in general little more than a groping in the dark. In every case, civil as well as criminal, there is perjury, as a matter of course, on both sides, and commonly forgery also, for however honest and good a case he may have, no native ever trusts to that alone,—he *must* have a got up one. The greater part of the evidence produced on both sides, usually has to be disbelieved. Englishmen, too, in India, keeping entirely aloof from the natives, and never having any really familiar intercourse with

them, are in no degree behind the scenes, and consequently never have an opportunity of seeing any thing more than those immediately about them choose to shew. This is so especially with those who are judges or magistrates, their position is very different from that of those who have had to work their own way on something like a footing of equality with natives, and is such as effectually to prevent their knowing much of what is really going on underneath the surface which is presented to them. That they should be often misled, and at fault, is not to be wondered at.

The following extract shews us something of life (though not perhaps of every-day life) in the mofussil, and how a magistrate is occasionally called upon to execute his own process. Several fruitless attempts had been made to arrest Mohun Meah. He was the individual known as Magog, and the brother of Gugun, who has been mentioned before, and after the conviction of the latter "had turned Gugun's house into a miniature Sebas-topol, and there with a band of *latteals*, armed with spears and shields, set the law and police at defiance." On the 16th of November, 1854, the magistrate entrusted to a darogah a warrant for the apprehension of Mohun. The darogah was directed to go on ahead with his men, sixteen or eighteen in number, and to attempt to serve the process. The Magistrate, two Messrs Morrell, (gentlemen, resident in the neighbourhood, who had been requested to assist), some chuprassies, and five burkundazes followed the darogah at some distance —

"The magistrate and the Messrs Morrell were armed with guns each gentleman had a spare gun one of the Messrs Morrell had a third gun. The party walked some two miles, when they reached a *khal* up to this time no resistance had been offered crossing the *khal*, they advanced up an avenue leading to the house in which were the Meah and his followers. This avenue is described to be from 400 to 500 yards long, and the road as from twelve to thirteen feet broad, lined on both sides by cocoanut trees, and with a deep ditch running on each side. The party proceeded some little distance, when they observed a party of some 100 to 150 men armed with spears, and their bodies protected and almost wholly concealed by shields, advancing in a stooping position, and in ranks four abreast. The magistrate and the police called out to their party to retreat, it was also clearly explained to them, that the magistrate had come in person to apprehend Mohun Meah. This had no effect, the attacking party still advanced. The magistrate then directed his party to retreat, keeping a bold face towards the attacking party. The magistrate's party retreated a few paces,—the attacking party advanced. The magistrate and the Messrs Morrell fired their double-barrelled guns, which were loaded with shot, at the spearmen immediately before them. Several men rolled over to the ground.

they were for the most part hit about the legs, for they managed to get up again and limp off. This first volley did not stop the advance of the attacking party, though it may have for a moment arrested it. The magistrate and the Messrs Morrell were then in self-defence compelled to make use of their spare guns, which were loaded with ball. The three gentlemen fired almost simultaneously, and several men of the attacking party were killed * * * Three, perhaps four, men must have lost their lives. After this second discharge, the whole body of spearmen retreated to the house of Mohun Meah. The magistrate, anxious to avoid further bloodshed, and doubtless feeling that the force at his disposal was quite inadequate to the capture of Mohun Meah and his followers, retreated with his party and gained their boats. The magistrate returned to the station and forwarded an application for troops, which application was not complied with. On the 22nd of December, Mohun Meah made his appearance in the Court of the Sessions Judge, and delivered himself up. The remaining prisoners were apprehended and sent in by the police"—P 692, Oct

Mohun was sentenced to sixteen years' imprisonment with labor in irons in banishment.

To the lovers of the purely horrible, we commend this volume with entire confidence. It contains an account of a series of murders, assaults, and robberies, each one more atrocious in its details than the other, and it is on the whole quite in a position in this respect to compete with the Newgate Calendar. We need not now to resort to this, or to any other book, to learn that when once they are fully excited and roused, there is no possible limit to the savageness or barbarity of the wanton cruelties of which natives are capable, or the tortures which they will inflict on their fellow creatures, if they think they have them fully in their power.

Such is the volume of cases decided in 1855, extending over 1850 closely printed pages. It is well printed, and on good paper. But on the whole, the reports, *as reports*, are badly got up—they have neither index nor marginal notes worthy of the name, for what there are, either are incorrect, or contain little or no information, and the text itself sets forth in full the statements of the Lower Courts with all their faults, instead of recording only the facts which are strictly material. In their present shape, they are much more useful as forming a check upon the Courts, and giving some insight into the condition of the country generally, than as books of criminal law. Perhaps, however, for the present, they are best as they are.



ART II—*Megasthenis Indica Fragmenta collegit, commentationem et indices addidit* E A SCHWANBECK, DR PHIL
Bonnae, MDCCCLVI

WE have in this work another of the many instances that the press is daily giving us of German learning, as distinguished from scholarship, and of the fact that India is better known and understood, or at least is more studied and enquired into, by the Germans, than by ourselves who are its Rulers. Thoroughly practical in mental tendencies, and with a desire to be still more so that the country may be successfully civilised and governed, the English have gone to the opposite extreme, and too much neglected, throughout almost the whole of their past connexion with the country, a *con amore* study of the customs and necessities, and beliefs and languages of its people, with a view to their harmonious government and gradual elevation. While it is well, in the present state of the country, that men who are in places of power and importance should act rather than study, and be manly, common-sense governors instead of apathetic and learned book-worms, it is not well that a stratum of foreign influence should be superinduced on the various layers of native society, ignorant of all their tastes and beliefs, and unable to bend or accommodate Western prejudices and errors to Eastern habits and tendencies. The too great disregard of oriental learning and scholarship among the English in India augurs badly for the permanence or harmony of our future rule. We trust that the day is coming, when it will not be the reproach of our nation in Continental Europe, that, conquer as we may, we cannot bind our conquests to ourselves, and that we fail as statesmen and rulers, from a wilful ignorance of those whom we govern, that Oriental learning has taken refuge in despair in the dreaming dulness of some German University, where she is wooed by book-worms and not men. It is sad to think that we play the part of the old Roman, receiving our oriental literature and scholarship from Hellenic Teutons,—knights of the sword, but not of the pen.

Dr Schwanbeck, feeling that on the one hand almost no part of Greek literature has been so much neglected by the learned as that relating to India, and on the other, that much more information may be extracted from Greek writers as to the early history of India than has hitherto been done, or is generally supposed, sets himself to the task of collecting from all quarters fragments of the work of Megasthenes. From him the most accurate information may be derived, and his work was in fact the source of most of the statements that we find in such approved

writers as Arrian and Curtius. At the same time he considers the whole subject of 'India as known to the Ancients' generally, and estimates, with some degree of critical skill and sagacity, the value of the information conveyed by the writers who have touched upon India in their works. His preface thus begins —

"Nulla fere pars est litterarum Græcarum, cuius cognitio magis a viris doctis sit neglecta, quam quæ pertinet ad descriptionem terrarum gentiumque Græcis ignotarum, quæ quo magis erant Græcis alienæ, eo minus tempore recentiore sunt pertractatæ cuius rei exempla sat multa reperiet, qui in Græcarum litterarum historiam numerum non exiguum talium scriptorum percensere velit, quorum quidem notitia aut prorsus nulla præbetur, aut certe talis, ex qua certi vel nihil fere redundet."

The work is divided into two parts. The first contains, by way of introduction to a commentary on the 'Indica' of Megasthenes, a treatise on the knowledge of India which the Greeks possessed previous to his time, on the amount of confidence that may be placed in him, and his consequent authority and value, and on those writers who wrote about India after him, coming down so far as to the name of Albertus Magnus. The second part takes up in detail the fragments of the Indica, accompanied in all cases by references to the authors from whom they are taken, and generally headed by titles which at once shew the nature and contents of each fragment. The whole is accompanied by notes, either written by the editor himself, in which he weighs the value of the statements in the text, and compares them with those in other works or the remarks of other critics, or taken from great Oriental scholars, such as Schlegel and Lassen. The book is concluded by three carefully prepared Indicæ, the first of writers in whose works fragments of the Indica are found, the second Geographical, and the third an Index Rerum Memorabilium. The work is most creditable to the author, and a valuable addition to the literature of Indian subjects. It is well worthy the attention of the classical scholar, and with reference to the early history of India will be found invaluable.

We do not however propose to tread in Dr Schwanbeck's footsteps, or go over the same ground that he has taken up. We intend rather to gossip for a little on the classical legends regarding India, and the men from whom the ancients derived their knowledge of it, and in whose works accounts of it are found, leaving the far higher and more critical subject of the value of their statements, the sources whence they were derived, and the light that they throw on the dark obscurity of early Indian

history, for future consideration. If once we have a slight knowledge of these authors and the works that they wrote, we shall have a basis on which to go in considering the more important questions.

What did the ancients think of India? Could we so far "subjectify" ourselves as to enter into the spirit of the old republics, what should we find to be their feelings and beliefs as to this orient of ours? The interest in a distant country is not always proportioned to the knowledge that is abroad concerning it. If the popular mind can get but one tangible fact on which to fasten, a fact fitting into their nature and meeting their selfish wants, then will it form the ground of an instinct of curiosity and desire. The history of the 'India Question' from the days of the traditions as to the ants and gold incorporated by Herodotus in his books, from those of Alexander the Great, whose soldiers returned with most exaggerated accounts, to the present time, has been a most curious one. Based as these traditions were on mendacious reports or total ignorance, they had a fascination for the people of the middle ages, and formed a lure to lead them to the noblest discoveries and the most splendid expeditions. India and its gold were at the bottom of their most extensive plans of discovery and adventure, and no efforts were thought too great, no expenditure too lavish, if it could only be reached. Till a very recent period, even after there were few families in Britain that had not sent forth a member to fight or to write in India, this continued, and only the magnitude of the empire, the immense interests at stake, and the position of the central Asia question in European politics, have at last roused even the most intelligent and interested classes to accuracy of knowledge regarding it.

From the days of Herodotus to the present time India has thus assumed very much the appearance of a myth. Based as men's knowledge was on some few distinct and correct facts, every new expedition, every fresh return of an Asiatic army, added to it until it became to the ancient and mediæval world very much what the myths of the ancient and mediæval world are to us—a fairy tale, a creature of the imagination, a dream of a land where monstrous beings, supernaturally endowed philosophers, and miraculous products all existed in endless profusion.

We question much if, previous to the return of Alexander's armies, any knowledge of or interest in India and the adjacent countries had ever penetrated into the Hellenic mind or reached the mass of the people. Stray travellers or scholars, like Hecataeus, Herodotus and Ctesias, might be found, who picked up a few floating facts regarding it, but the mass must have remained utterly ignorant and indifferent. True, the *demos* of the Greek

republics were men of vast intelligence for their day. They who could sit out whole trilogies of Æschylus and Sophocles from sunrise to sunset, must have been men of no ordinary mental power and acquirements. But the mention of India or the far off lands of the East affected them not at all, and the writers whose traditions regarding it were read at their games and festivals were treated more as poets than historians of the real and the actual. The national mind could be roused when the hated Persian's name was mentioned, and the news flew like wild-fire through the city when the sad fate of the Syracusan expedition was announced, but India was a subject on which the poet might dream and a visionary imagination feed.

The points of contrast and comparison between the Greeks and English are many and striking. Both were essentially practical in their genius, both proud and conceited of the national name and requirements. John Bullism existed in Greece, and as the vision of Hercules trode the streets of Athens or Sparta, or visited foreign lands, he made all to feel that he was a Greek, and that it was something so to be. True he might be defeated, and the iron heel of the Roman might be on his neck, but was he not the descendant of the heroes of Marathon and Salamis? Were not Homer and Pericles, Sophocles and Thucydides his fathers? Did not the Roman bow before him, adopt his customs, copy his literature, and worship the Gods of his fathers? In the Greeks conceit was natural, and it kept them from taking that interest in other countries and developing the spirit of adventure and discovery and colonisation to such an extent as to embrace the comparatively unknown and unvisited. All were barbarous save them, and why should they honour far off barbarous lands by noticing or exploring them?

While on its better side this conceit was a just and noble national pride, on its worse it was based on ignorance. A maritime people, many of them almost living on the sea, their boats gliding and dancing amid the glorious Cyclades, it was seldom that they ventured out far to sea, or exposed themselves to its unknown and dreaded dangers. Their natural timidity had been increased by the nature of their traditions and as the Greek boy learned the story of Jason and the famed Argonauts, and conned over all the adventures of the heroes who, returning from the Trojan war, were tempest-tossed for years, so far from feeling his spirit roused to emulate their deeds, he shrank from hardships so prolonged and so untried. The Phœnicians too, desirous to keep for themselves that lucrative trade which they carried on with the distant coasts of the Mediterranean, and even of the Atlantic, had added by the terror of their stories to this fear. The Greeks were also ignorant of many of those arts, a

knowledge of which is necessary to successful adventure and discovery. Unacquainted with navigation, they, in early times, knew not how to observe, or to use their eyes. On meeting with new objects they had no standard of comparison, and, like children, their generalisation was imperfect and their conclusions false. Notwithstanding all that Aristotle had done in later days for the physical sciences, he was but one man, and even his speculations were more a practical application of his *Metaphysics*, than sound scientific observation and classification. A knowledge of every science was wanting, that is now necessary for the traveller who would be useful and successful. The stars, the winds, the phenomena of the atmosphere; the relative position of places on the earth's surface, the nature of the soil, its products, the sea, its influence on temperature, health and national character, the contents of the earth—metals, stones, &c., all these were overlooked by the Greek travellers. From past ignorance he was credulous; from childish wonder at novelty he was indistinctly or inaccurately impressed, and from a love of the marvellous his history was too often an exaggerated record of what he had actually seen and heard. In early days moreover the Greeks never came actually into contact with India and adjoining countries. They might have heard of the fabled expedition of Semiramis, or that of Darius Hystaspes, reaching only to its confines, they received the spoils of the East through middlemen, from the traders and caravans who brought the silks and spices by tedious journeys and through almost pathless deserts, or up the Persian Gulf and Euphrates, or through the Indian ocean and up the Red Sea. One of their nation might occasionally have been in the Persian Court, and have mixed freely with men who had visited some of its outports, but it was emphatically a *terra incognita*, round which the imagination of the poet-historian might play, but which the eye of the accurate annalist could never penetrate. In early times the Greeks had thus no historical relations with India at all, and all their dim dreamy knowledge of the country and its peoples amounted very much to this, that they were a frontier state of their enemy Persia, that Persia had tried to conquer them, and had succeeded in getting a pretty large revenue from them, and that should they conquer Persia, India must follow, that from that direction came some of those luxuries for which their Persian neighbours were notorious, and which the true Greek regarded as effeminate, from India came those spices that ascended daily to the Gods in the shape of sweet incense; that India was the boundary of the world on the one side, as the pillars of Hercules and Britain were on the other.

We must expect then to find the knowledge of India possessed by the Ancients in early times, or previous to Megasthenes, to

be very limited and vague. But it was not on that account the less important, for without it the whole of that period of Indian History must, like the preceding ages, be a blank, to be estimated by yugs or ages, the extent of which only the vast imagination of an oriental can conceive. The peculiar value of the information regarding India derived from the Classics is, that by means of them, and them alone, can we introduce order into native accounts, and reduce a monstrous and fabulous Chronology to harmony and intelligibility. It is only at those points where India, in the course of its history, touches upon other nations, that we can hope for faint rays of light, to relieve the mind that has panted through cycles of ages in search of a resting-place. It is only when a historical being like Alexander, with his trustworthy Ptolemy and Aristobulus, steps on the misty scene, that we can find a place for the feet of our feet, and from that stand-point proceed, as best we may, to look about us in the darkness, to catch forms hitherto ærial and mythical, and to bind all by the sure fetters of an accurate Chronology. Often had scholars, with Arrian and his accurate history beside them, striven to identify Porus and Taxiles and Sandracottus as some of the many rajahs and princes who appear in pure Hindu tradition, but in vain. At the close of the last century Comparative Philology and the whole philosophy of 'comparison,' in science, language and history, were unknown. Many a classical scholar had wasted mines of learning, and still the problem, who in Indian history corresponds to these three or any of them, remained insoluble.

Sir William Jones appeared on the scene. A thorough classical scholar, he set himself to the study of Sanscrit, and thus equipped himself for irrevocably settling doubts and questions at which the first scholars of Europe had stumbled. In his Sanscrit readings, about the year 1780, he often met with the name Chandragupta, Chadrugupta, Chandra Gupta, spelt in all these modes, and not always in exactly the same way in the same author. Similarly in turning to the Greek and Roman Historians, he found a king mentioned under such different names as (*Arrian*) Sandracottus, (*Diodorus Siculus*) Xandrames, (*Quintus Curtius*) Aggrammes, (*Plutarch*) Androcottus, (*Athenæus*) Sandroceptus.

He read in the *Mudra Rakshasa* (since published by Professor Wilson in his "*Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus*") how a Sudra king called Nanda was reigning at Pataliputra. By one wife he had eight sons, by another of low caste one son—Chandra Gupta. The Brahmins, groaning under the tyranny and insolence of the Sudra king, revolted, murdered the nine Nandas, and raised Chandra Gupta to the throne. In this they had been assisted by a northern prince, who was promised an increase of territory for his aid. But the object having been accomplished,

they refused to implement their bargain, and assassinated their northern ally. His son who succeeded him, Malayaketa, burned with revenge, and marched against Chandragupta with a large body of Yavanas, supposed to be Greeks, in his army, but returned after a fruitless expedition. Such is the Hindu side of the story, and it finds its parallel sufficiently complete to be pronounced so, and sufficiently distinct to be viewed as an independent account, in the histories of those later writers who have touched upon the subject of India. From Pliny, Arrian, Athenæus, Strabo, Appian, Plutarch and Justin, the following facts are gathered. In the time of Seleucus Nicator, a king called Sandracottus ruled over the tribes of the Gangaridæ and Prasii, his capital being Palimbothra. The queen, his mother, had put her own husband to death, and marrying a man of low origin, some say a barber, Sandracottus was born. His connexion with Alexander is most uncertain, but in the troubles that ensued on that monarch's death, Sandracottus extended his power over the territories in the Punjab that he had conquered, and subjugated the Greeks who had been left there. As soon however as Seleucus came into undisturbed possession of that part of Alexander's dominions, or about the year 302 B C, he undertook an expedition against Sandracottus, and whatever the character of it was, we know that it resulted in a treaty, by which, in return for 500 war elephants, Seleucus gave up all his territory in the Punjab, and a large portion of that in the hills on the other side of the Indus.

A careful comparison of these two stories, the names of the men, Chandra Gupta in Hindu Literature, Sandracuptos in Greek, of the place, Pataliputra in the former, Palimbothra in the latter, the position of the parties, the locality of the tribes, the origin of the Hindu prince, the troubles in the kingdom, the expedition of the northern king, the fruitless result of it,—all these point out as clear a case as history can shew. Starting then from this point, that Chandragupta is Sandracottus, and Pataliputra is Palimbothra, we have a clue at once chronological and geographical, by which we can unravel the confusion of pure Hindu history. When we find that events before and after harmonise as much as in any similar case they could be supposed to do, we have as clear a certainty as induction can possibly give, that we are on sure historical ground, and that every new discovery will but add to its certainty, and extend its sphere.

The Classics did this for India, and if they had accomplished nothing more we might well be grateful to them. But we believe that a careful study of the language and literature of the Hindus by a thorough classical scholar, who is more especially familiar with those Greek and Latin authors that have treated of India, will lead to harmonies and discoveries still more startling than

this, and will do for India, what has in recent times been so largely and successfully done for Egypt and Syria. If Scholars could have hoped to extract from the stony Sphinx of India anything to illustrate Sacred Scripture or cast light upon its statements, then would Indian antiquities and literature have held a very different position among them from what they now do. But though we cannot hope that India, like Egypt and Syria, will ever cast much light on the Bible, is it not an object worthy of the highest ambition of the Biblicist and the Scholar, to reduce the historical records of this mighty continent to such order, that the approach of the day will be hastened when millions shall be elevated by a knowledge of the truth? Now that the foundations of criticism have been laid anew, that Ethnography and Ethnology have been raised to the rank of independent sciences, that languages are studied with a success and to an extent never known before, and that, above all, comparative Philology is every where recognised as a safe guide to the blind in the greatest difficulties, a revival should take place in Oriental Scholarship, and the old dynasties and seemingly eternal systems of Asia should be brought to light with an accuracy and a vividness such as that which Geology has manifested in disclosing the relics of earlier creations. Sir W Jones having thus struck upon the clue which was to lead through the labyrinth of Indian History and Chronology, it was not long in being followed up by himself and others. For a time it languished however, notwithstanding the establishment of the Asiatic Society in 1787. But when James Prinsep took it up, he pursued it with energy and skill, till such men as he, Professor Wilson, Dr Mill and others, encouraged and aided by the scholars of Europe, succeeded in deciphering many old inscriptions and coins, and added immensely at once to the extent and order of India's past. The Malwa Dagoba did for India what the Rosetta stone accomplished for Egypt, and from that day the riddle was read.

This the old Greek Historians have accomplished for India; thus have they restored her to her place in the page of history, and rescued her from the obscurities of the infinite. It may not then be unprofitable nor uninteresting to ask, what were the early Hellenic legends regarding India, who were the chief men that chronicled them, and what were the sources of their information.

The early allusions to India in the Classics consist of nothing more than vague epithets, often used by the poet or the rhetorician to round a sentence or give pith to a figure of speech. In Scripture the name India occurs only in the book of Esther (i 1, viii 9) in which we are introduced to the Persian kingdom as it was in the 5th century B C. Commentators have

supposed, and not without reason, that the travelling Caravan of Ishmaelites, introduced in the history of Joseph, were engaged in the early overland India trade. We cannot however look upon the passage in which they are mentioned as one in which there is a direct allusion to India. In Esther it is spoken of as one of the provinces subject to King Ahasuerus, but introduced more as the boundary of his vast empire, than as an internal part of it. It is very probable that Solomon long before this had some connexion with the countries adjacent to it, but it was a very indirect one, as indirect as that of the court of Rome or Constantinople with the land of the Seres. There can be little doubt that the ships which landed at Eziongaber all sorts of spices, stones and costly stuffs for the use of the temple which was then being built, brought many of them from India. In the second book of Chronicles (ix 21) it is stated that Solomon's ships went to Tarshish (Tartessus) with the servants of Hiram, and that every three years, or as we prefer to translate it with Michaelis, every third year, they brought gold and silver, ivory, apes and peacocks. We know that the Phœnicians, with all their adventures and geographical knowledge, were not acquainted with the fact of the existence of India until they became thus allied with the Jews. It was after David had made the Great River and the Great Sea his eastern and western boundaries, and the Red Sea his southern, that the Phœnicians commenced the navigation of the latter, with Eloth and Eziongaber as their ports in the Ælanitic Gulf. In some places the districts which they visited are called Tarshish, in others Ophir, but wherever the former may have been—most Scholais think in Spain—the latter must have lain in the direction of the south of Arabia. Solomon and the Phœnicians supplanted the Edomites in a trade which they must have carried on for a very long time, a trade by which they enriched and fertilised their otherwise rocky and barren land, and made Bozrah and Petra the greatest and most splendid cities of their day,—the former a city glorious even in that desolation predicted by Isaiah (xxxiv 13) "Thorns shall come up in her palaces, nettles and brambles in the fortresses thereof." Every thing shews that the Edomites were the earliest people of antiquity who traded with Ophir. The exact locality of Ophir has excited no little controversy among Scholars, but the conclusion of Heeren seems to be the most sensible, that it is "the general name for the rich countries of the south lying on the African, Arabian and Indian Coasts, as far as at that time known." The time of return from the voyages made to it "in the third year" may easily be accounted for, by the existence of the periodical monsoons; and the vessels might have returned, as

Michaelis shews, in 'the third year' though they had been absent but eighteen months. The articles brought from these places, reaching probably to Ceylon, which some think to be Ophir, or at least to the Malabar Coast, correspond very accurately with those mentioned by Herodotus in the Thalia (114) as procured from Ethiopia.

A passage in which many commentators have pretended to find mention of India, or direct allusion to it, is Ezekiel iv 4—15. In that splendid prophecy against the King of Tyre, the prophet numbers and names the countries from which he derived his rich revenues, and pictures the city under the figure of a great ship, exceeding in magnitude and beauty all that ever were before or since. The prophecy of Isaiah also, in which he represents the glory of Tyre as transferred to Jerusalem, points indistinctly to the vast extent of the commerce of the former, reaching even to India.

Coming further down, to the time when the Romans took a leading part in the politics of Asia, and absorbed its western provinces into their mighty empire, we find it mentioned in the Apocryphal book of the Maccabees (I Macc viii 8) as one of the countries taken from Antiochus and given to Eumenes. Critics have attempted to shew that in the passage in Acts ii 9, in which an enumeration is given, of the various countries and cities whose representatives were in Jerusalem at the feast of Pentecost, India should be read instead of Judæa. Others again have contended for Idumœa, and certainly, so far as readings are concerned, much may be said in favour of both *Ἰουδαίαν*, *Ἰνδιαν*, *Ἰδουμαίαν*. These readings have been conjectured to get rid of the difficulty of a statement that the people of Judæa were present at the feast in their own city. But the catalogue of countries proceeds from the north-east to the west and south, and Judæa lies immediately south from Mesopotamia. There is still greater difficulty in supposing that there were Jews in India, or that Indian Jews were present at the feast, whether we believe that by India is meant merely the Punjab and Afghanistan, or little Thibet and surrounding districts. So far as India and the Bible are concerned, we must look to a later period, to the truth that lies at the basis of the tradition about Thomas and Bartholomew, and to the early efforts made by the Nestorians and the Syrian Church to evangelize a large part of it,—efforts so successful that the Portuguese found on their landing on the west coast a large Christian community. This belongs to another and most interesting period of early Indian history, which has yet to be fully investigated.

The first allusion in purely classical literature to India, or the countries that in ancient times went under that name, is in

✓ Homer In the first Book of the *Odyssey*, in the 23rd and 24th lines we have the following —

*Αἰθίοπες, τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαίηται, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν,
Οἱ μὲν δυσόμενου Ὑπεριονος, οἱ δ' αὖν ἄνθρωπος*

This occurs in the opening passage of the poem, where Odysseus is introduced as the man who, of all others, had seen many cities and suffered many griefs. Pitied by all the gods, Poseidon alone was everlastingly angry with him, and had gone to a feast in the land of the Ethiopians. During his absence a council of the gods was held, and the poet takes occasion parenthetically to give an account of the Ethiopians in these lines. They are the most distant of men, they are divided into two parts, some dwell towards the setting of the sun, others towards the rising. It is not impossible that by the eastern Ethiopians the poet dimly alluded to the aborigines of India, who were probably of the same stock as those of Africa, and were at least like them in many particulars, and who inhabited the country previous to the descent and occupation of it by its Aryan invaders, with their Sanscrit speech and Caucasian conformation of face and limb. There can be no doubt that among such early writers on India as Scylax, Hecataeus, Herodotus, and Ctesias, with their vague curiosity and dim knowledge of foreign lands, the term Ethiopians is often used for the aborigines of India.

• Herodotus (vii 70) uses the expression *Ἀιθίοπας ἀπ' ἡλίου ἀνατολεῶν*, and says that they were the neighbours of the Indians, but again (iii 101) he says *το χρώμα φορεῖουσιν ὁμοίον πάντες καὶ παραπλήσιον Αἰθίοψι*, in which he clearly distinguishes between the Indians and Ethiopians. In fact, throughout the whole of early geography and history, the Ethiopians and Indians are confounded, articles of Indian produce being referred to as Ethiopian, and *vice versa*. Thus Ctesias speaks of the *martichora*, a fabulous animal with the body of a lion, the face of a man, and the tail of a scorpion, as being a native of India, and translates the word *ἀνθρωποφάγος* — the man-eater. Professor Tychsen, in the Appendix (iv) to Heeren's 'Asiatic Nations,' connects the word with the Persian *Mard*, man, and *Khorden*, to eat, stating that the Persians still use the expression *mardam-lhor* as applied to an intrepid warrior. Pliny, in his description of Ethiopia proper, speaks of the *Martichora* as being found in it, and cites Ctesias as his authority. So Scylax, in his description of India, speaks of the fabulous nation of the *Sciapodes* as being Ethiopian, while Hecataeus terms them an Indian tribe. Dr Schwanbeck gives other examples of this continual confusion between the two countries, not the least interesting of which as a philological speculation is this. He says that the habitat of the crocodile

is, according to early writers, now in India, now in Ethiopia; but it must have had its origin in India, as the word is evidently derived from the Sanscrit *Carataka*, and as the Greeks continually changed the letters T and K, we have *Κροκοδειλος*, as their version or form of it. Every classical scholar knows how Alexander thought that the Nile took its rise in India, and how the products and animals of both countries are continually confounded and mixed.

✓ In Virgil and Horace we meet with many allusions of a very vague and rhetorical character. India and Britain were the two boundaries of the world, and they both continually serve to heighten the statements of these poets. In the *Georgics* (iii 27) the former sings the praises of Augustus, and represents himself thus

In foribus pugnam ex auro solidoque elephanto
Gangaridum iaciam, victorisque arma Quirini

The Gangarides, who dwelt on the plains of Lower Bengal, are here brought in as being conquered by the emperor, though in reality, no arms of any nation had ever penetrated so far. We have the Ganges mentioned *Georgics* ii 138, and *Æneid* ix 31, India as producing ivory, *Georgics* i 57, and, at still greater length ii 116—122, and in a strong hyperbole, *Æneid* viii 705. Horace speaks of Indian ivory, *Carm* i 31, 6, of the Indian in common with the Mede and Scythian wondering at the glory of Augustus, *Carm* iv 14 42, and in the *Carmen Saeculare* (56) the Indians, *superbi nuper*, figure in the picture that he draws of the golden day about to dawn on the world. Augustus is represented by him as leading in triumph the Seres and the Indi, *subjectos Orientis orae* (*Carm* i, 12 56) and again, in his exquisite epistle to Numicius, in which he teaches him *nil admirari*, he says (i, 66)

Quid censes munera terræ
Quid maris extremos Arabas ditantis et Indos

But to quote from these and other classical poets such allusions would be an endless task. It is difficult in these days, when colonization and adventure have unrobed the most distant places of their obscurity and mystery, to draw any parallel between the feelings of the ancients towards India, and our own towards any similarly distant place. But they must have been much the same as those experienced by Columbus and the thinking minds of Europe in the 15th century, when led by this one fact that India did exist and was a land of wealth, they dared danger in its most terrible form, and discovered the land of the west. The knowledge and feeling were much the same, but the practical effect how different!

When, led by this vague and semi-romantic feeling, which even yet prevails in the West regarding India, we come really to grapple with the early ages of its history, we find ourselves utterly prostrated by the impossibility of gaining from it any one certified historical fact previous to the Invasion of Darius Egypt, with its mighty chronologies and vast dynasties, has at last given forth a sound which seems certain, and rings like that of true history, but India remains like the Sphinx, ever allowing the scholar to solve her mysteries, and unveil her hidden past, and ever destroying those who have attempted it Egypt has had such scholars as Wilkinson, Bunsen and Lepsius, who have probed her records with untiring zeal and ripe scholarship, but India has not been behind her in this We must ascribe the greater success that scholars have met with in reference to that country to the fact of her close connexion with the nations of western antiquity, and the undying remains of her arts that so thickly strew the uplands of the Thebaid and the valley of the Nile But India has a primary political importance which Egypt can never have No longer the granary of the world, as she was in the best days of the Roman Empire, the position of the latter is but secondary, as the way to conquest and empire, as the stepping-stone to power, rather than the prize with which the conqueror may rest satisfied Even the cities of the Mesopotamian Doab have given up their dead, and their riddle is already read Yet India, with all her increased political importance to the nations of Europe, has remained, in her early days, a sealed book

The two causes that seem to have operated against the production of truthful records in India, and the possibility of an approach to an accurate knowledge of her early history now, are, first, the fact that such records are soon obliterated by the hand of time, if permanent and outward, as monuments and coins, &c, or are lost amid the tramp of the invader and the pillage of the maurauder, if less durable, as books and manuscripts Secondly, the genius of the race is against the creation of such records Thoroughly unpractical, if the natural soul of the South-Aryan race will force itself out in thought and feeling, the result will not be that of history or truthful annals, but of such epics as the Ramayan and the Mahabharat, as vast in their extent as they are gigantic in their fancies and imaginings Hence it is that the India of the past must be gathered from the India of the present, and that, taking our stand on the immutability of Indian civilisation, we must rest satisfied that what we now see existed in unaltered uniformity thousands of years ago You cannot do for the early poetry and literature of the Hindu what such men as Niebuhr, Thirlwall and Grote have done for that of the Greek and Roman You cannot,

while disbelieving that an actual Achilles fought, or a real Romulus reigned, be certain that the facts have a true basis. Were Niebuhr or Grote to apply to the Vedantic Literature or Heroic Epos of India the same Baconian tests that they have done to the history of Rome and Greece, the residuum would be monstrous fable or utter nothingness.

Without striving to attempt this for Indian literature proper, however, it may be done with some success for those portions of it where it comes into contact with the West. Previous to the first purely historical fact—the Invasion of Darius, we have four legends or myths which meet us at the very outset. They are

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| 1 —The legend of Dionysus | B C (1,457 ?) |
| 2 —The legend of Semiramis, who is said to have invaded India | 1,978 |
| 3 —The legend of Rameses-Sesostris, according to Dr Hales B C 1,008, or according to Lenglet | 1,618 |
| 4 —The legend of Herakles | 1,300 |

The authority that we have for these legends, whom we shall presently take up, is Ctesias, as followed by Diodorus Siculus and Ælian. There can be no doubt as to their untrustworthiness, but at the basis we may find a little truth.

The legend of Dionysus or Bacchus, and his connexion with India under the name of Parashri, is one of the most famous in antiquity, while in its details it is at the same time the most varied. It has ever been a favourite of the poet in both ancient and modern times. The following by Dr Croly, on an antique gem of Bacchus, we think exquisite. It is headed

THE EDUCATION OF BACCHUS

“ I had a vision !— Twas an Indian vale;
Whose sides were all with rosy thickets crowned
That never felt the biting winter gale —
And soon was heard a most delicious sound,
And to its music danced a nymph embrowned
Leading a lion in a silken twine,
That with his yellow mane would sweep the ground,
Then on his rider fawn—a being divine
While on his foaming lips a nymph showered purple wine ”

Born of Zeus and of Semele, the daughter of Cadmus, according to the common story, he was persecuted by the jealous Hera, and his infancy exposed to the most imminent danger. Accompanied by Hermes however he was protected, and when exposed on Mount Nysa in Thrace, was watched over by many nymphs. The Mount Nysa from which he derived his name—Dionysus or Nysa-sprung—is found in many quarters of the ancient world, and there

were few mountains where he was worshipped, to which this name was not applied. This fact is of importance in reference to his connexion with India. When he grew to manhood the jealous Hera still afflicted him, until being thrown into a state of madness, he wandered all over the East, through Egypt, where King Proteus received him, through Syria, where he slew Damascus, over the Euphrates and Tigris, where a heaven-sprung tiger assisted him, and at last, reaching India, he spent, some traditions say three, others fifty-two years in subduing its fierce tribes, and teaching them cultivation, the pleasures of the grape, and the arts of civilisation. Up to the point of his visiting the East, the general statement is borne out by all traditions, but after that they vary. Euripides in his *Bacchæ* represents the god as speaking of Bactria as the farthest limit of his travels. He says—

Leaving the Lydians' gold abounding fields
The Phrygians' and the Persians' sun-struck plains,
The *Bactrian* walls, and Medians' rugged land,
I came to Araby the blessed, and all
• The coast of Asia, where it stretches out
Along the briny sea, where many Greeks
Mixed with barbarians dwell in fair towered towns—
At length arrived in Greece, I here am come,
That by my dances and my solemn rites
I may assert my high Divinity, &c

From that point, through the accounts of Pausanias, Plutarch and Diodorus Siculus, the limit is extended, until he is made to conquer all Asia and India in their widest sense, and to return in triumph as only such a god can triumph.

Arrian in his *Anabasis* introduces him at the city of Nysa on the banks of the Cophen, near the modern Cabul, which surrendered to Alexander the Great. Wearied with the series of campaigns through which they had passed, and the deserts which they had crossed, the historian, always accurate, trustworthy and common-sense, following Ptolemy and Aristobulus, represents the troops of Alexander as delighted at seeing the ivy and laurel there. Abandoning themselves to the riotous pleasures of the Dionysia, the army then *Bacchanted*, (if we may use the expression) for some days, hymning pæans of praise to the god, the limits of whose conquests they had reached, the extent of which their leader Alexander, a second, yea, a greater than Dionysus, would overpass.

“And brighter still the glory grew,
The wine god drops his sparkling chalice
Each wild Bacchantess eyes dropt dew,
As sweet as flowers by Lydian Halys

All bow before
Such tones of power
As ne'er Tyrrhenian trumpet blew,
Nor yet were woke when Indian valleys
Heard the Panic Eulæen "

Near to the city was Mount Meros, the modern Meru, so called in allusion to the legend of the god having sprung from the *thigh* of father Zeus

There can be little doubt but that all these adventures and names were created by the army themselves, and, as too often in later days, willingly acquiesced in and coloured by the people of the district Thirlwall, in his History of Greece, has at this passage of it an interesting note on the subject Quoting Bohlen's "Indien," he conjectures that the range of Parapanisus was properly Parapanisus, or *above Nisa* It is remarkable that the sun has the name of *Suradevas*, the wine-god, and is born of *Nis*, night Ritter in his "Asien" prefers the derivation *Paro vami*, the mountain city The origin of the story may be seen still farther from the fact, that nothing is so common as the grape in these districts, even in modern times, as every denizen of Calcutta knows The fact then of meeting with the sunny grape of their fatherland in this far off region, a resemblance between the native names of the districts round about, and those belonging to Greece, a rumour already existing that Bacchus had conquered a large part of the East, the desire of the soldiers to praise their general and themselves, and of Alexander to gratify his own ambition as having done more than a god, and to induce his war-worn soldiers to attempt new conquests—all these may have combined with other causes to give rise to this part of the legend of Dionysus

As the basis of it we have little more than this, that it represents the early longing and dim aspirations towards the East, as well as the obscure ideas entertained of it in antiquity Dionysus is the personification of a power of nature, life-giving, joyous and ethereal It is his spirit that fills the soul, when it is carried away from the sober and routine realities of daily life, and elevated into a region of joy and unconsciousness It is at this point that the god becomes the patron of the tragic art, that was first based on the lyric, the chief law of which is unconsciousness This careless joyousness was pre-eminently the character of the Greek, and hence, not in the vulgar sense of the god of drinking, but in the far higher one of the inspirer of freedom from care and joyous life, no divinity was so popular as he, no games so well attended as his. To the East, in its wide and

general extent, the Greeks looked, as the abode of such, and hence the popular myth represents the god as overcoming it, and returning from it in gay and festive triumph, and spreading joy by means of the vine on every side. Hence the poet addresses him —

“Where art thou Conqueror? before whom fell
The jewelled kings of Ind, when the strong swell
Of thy great multitudes came on them, and
Thou hadst thy thyrsus in thy red right hand,
Shaking it over them, till every soul
Grew faint as with wild lightning”

We question if any actual hero or real personage can be looked upon as the basis of the legend. Beyond this then, the story of Dionysus tells us nothing of India,—that part of it seeming rather to be an accretion to the general and original germ, though from it later writers developed the whole.

The legend of Semiramis is almost as much overshadowed by the mythological and supernatural as that of Dionysus. Its origin is to be found in Ctesias, as rendered by Diodorus, but that early writer's statements on Assyrian history are untrustworthy. The whole of the early history of both Babylon and Assyria is, except when touched upon by the Old Testament, purely mythical. The Mosaic account makes Assyria but a colony of Babylon, while Ctesias reverses the order, and represents the former, as it always was represented in Greek History, as by far the greatest empire of antiquity. The legend states that Ninus founded the Assyrian Empire, and built Nineveh. Sprung of a Syrian youth and Derceto the fish-goddess of Ascalon, she was in her origin immortal. Her whole early life was one of special preservation by the gods, seeing that from shame her mother exposed her in the neighbouring hills. Fed by doves, she was adopted by a shepherd, Simmas, who bestowed on her the name by which she is generally known. One of the King's generals married her, and while the Assyrians were engaged in the siege of Bactra she was in the army with her husband. When the efforts of Ninus had failed to take the city, she herself, with consummate courage and ability, approached the walls with a band of followers, leapt up upon them, and soon obtained possession of the town. The Amazonian character which she now gains, she preserves throughout the rest of the story. From gratitude Ninus raised her to be his Queen, and on his death she succeeded to the throne of Assyria. She inaugurated her reign by building all over the surrounding district immense works which were the wonder of antiquity, and in the desire to account for which, probably, the main features of the legend arose. Beginning then her career of

conquest, she subdued Egypt, overran Ethiopia, and subjugating all Asia, found her Empire limited, to the south, only by India. Diodorus lingers in evident wonder over the gigantic preparations that she made to conquer it, and over the terrible defeat with which she met. From his record however we have little information as to the character of Indian states, or of their products, customs, laws and government. Retiring vanquished, she continued to reign till, after forty-two years, she appointed her son Ninus as her successor, and vanished upward in the form of a dove.

Throughout the whole of this, the vast and supernatural continually meet us, and we can treat it as nothing more than one of those Myths, that, in Assyria as everywhere else, cluster round the foundation of an infant state, giving to it the lustre of poetry and the dim grey hoar of age. From the extent of the early Assyrian and Babylonian empires, there can be little doubt that they touched upon the countries generally known as India, and that contests may have often taken place on the frontier, nay even a vast expedition may have been planned and carried out. But beyond this we cannot go, and some better authority than Ctesias must be found for the historical truth of the legend of Semiramis, the goddess of the dove, the Asiatic Aphrodite.

The legend of Rameses-Sesostris seems to have in it more of a historical appearance, but even here there is doubt and uncertainty. The researches of recent scholars have shewn, with some degree of probability, that Rameses II, or the Great, and Sesostris are the same personage. He was the third King of the nineteenth dynasty, and a full account of his expeditions and conquests is given us by Herodotus and Diodorus. From the extent of his public works, and the whole character of his home government, not a few authors have held him to be the Pharaoh of Scripture. Be that as it may, we have sufficient historical ground for believing in the existence of some such great conqueror as Sesostris is represented to have been, from the numerous *stelae* which he everywhere erected as the memorials of his deeds, and many of which existed to a late period in the history of antiquity. Herodotus tells us of two that he himself saw in Syria, and in recent times one of these has been discovered, on the road to Berytus, with a half-defaced inscription, in which however the name Rameses may yet be traced. Another, though all are not agreed that it was one of the *stelae* of Sesostris, has been discovered near Nymphæum. According to the account of Diodorus, his father caused all the boys who were born on the same day to be trained along with him, that in future they might be his most able assistants and advisers. Their first

expedition was into Arabia, and afterwards into the west of Africa. When on the throne he first directed his attention to the internal government of the country, dividing all Egypt into thirty-six provinces, with a governor at the head of each. Having made immense preparations both by sea and land, he subdued Ethiopia, and crossing over to Asia, he overran the whole continent. India in its widest extent to the east, if not to the south, was included in his conquests, so that he swept the whole Gangetic valley, and reached a spot where conqueror had never been before—the coast of the Sinus Gangeticus. Returning northward he subjugated the Scythians, left a colony in Colchis, long afterwards noted for its Egyptian manners, and was only stopped in Thiacce by the scarcity of provisions. Thus the Danube was his boundary on the north-west, the Ganges on the south-east, and there were few countries where there was not a *stela* with this proud, and in his case by no means boastful, inscription —“Sesostris, king of kings and lord of lords, subdued this country by the power of his arms.” Returning to Egypt he adorned his land with the spoils of vanquished nations, and the graces of art and architecture, till becoming blind in his old age, he committed suicide, and died with the character of being the greatest conqueror of his own or any age. While from the existence of these *stelae*, and the testimony of such authors as Manetho and Herodotus in early days, and Tacitus in later, there can be little doubt as to the truth of the general outlines of this career of conquest, we have no details as to India, and no evidence as to the statements regarding it being anything more than a wide and sweeping assertion. It is said that Danaus, who colonized the Peloponnesus, was his brother, and being discovered in a conspiracy which had for its object to murder him on his return from his conquests, was obliged to take refuge in flight.

The last of the legends with which we have to do is that of Herakles, and this is as brief as it is historically unsatisfactory. Of all heroes, he is the most universal, and there are few countries and few literatures in which we do not find a trace of him. He is the cosmopolite of heroes, and hence it is by no means wonderful that he should be represented in India. He performs the same part in the early settlement and civilisation of tribes in antiquity, as Brutus does in those of the dark ages. His footsteps are everywhere, until he seems by universal consent to have been looked on as the incarnation of those who must carry out the primary processes of civilization, such as clearing the woods and jungle, subduing wild beasts, and destroying all that is inimical to the existence of man, as well as to his safety and comfort. He is not therefore in all his deeds and characteristics one being, but the representative

hero of antiquity Pliny in his 'Natural History,' gives to him in his Indian form, the name of *Διοδωτος* Arrian in his 'Indica' alludes to him, and the Greeks believed, in this case as in so many others, that there was a correspondence between the mythologies of their own land and those of India, and that in him they recognised their own Herakles In India, he is said to have married Pandæa, and to have become the founder of a long dynasty of kings The great war between the Kooroos and Pandoos, and the battle fought on the plains of Koorookshetra were taken part in by him He, along with Krishna, Judisthir and his four brothers, was the hero of those glorious exploits which form the chief subject of the Mahabharat Throughout the whole of the legend regarding this we find continual references to countries beyond the Indus and Himalayas, and traces of customs which are new to the Hindus and evidently of Scythian origin The whole of the lunar race of kings was of Scythian origin, and Bhuddistic in their belief Certain it is that the Greek army of Alexander continually recurred to him as well as to Dionysus, and that in the dreadful struggle at the rock Aornus, so graphically and fancifully related by Curtius, Alexander rejoiced that he had reduced a stronghold which Herakles himself had not been able to take When Alexander had reached the Hyphasis and his soldiers refused to advance further, the conqueror, foiled in his ambition, was forced to return, and as he dropped down the river, amid mighty sacrifices and sacred libations, he invoked Herakles to assist him and favour the remainder of his enterprise When he reached that point at which the Hydaspes falls into the Acesines, he encountered a tribe who from their name seem to have been followers of Shiba, and from the use of clubs and the sacred mark in their faces were thought by the Greeks to be the descendants of Herakles Curtius thus speaks of them (IX 14) "*Hinc decurrit in fines Sibirum Hi de exercitu Herculis majores suos esse memorant, aegros relictos esse, cepisse sedem, quam ipsi obtinebant Pelles ferarum pro veste, clavae tela erant, multaque, etiam cum Graeci mores exolevisent, stirpis ostendebant vestigia*" And when, having overcome this tribe, they entered the country of the Oxydracæ and Malli, and saw new dangers before them, Alexander encouraged them by saying that they should pass the limits of the conquests of Father Bacchus and Herakles, and their retreat from India should seem to be not a flight but a triumph "*Herculis et Liberi Patris terminos transituros, illos regi suo, parvo impendio, immortalitatem famæ daturus Paterentur se ex India redire, non fugere*" (IX 16) Herakles appears in the Hindu Pantheon as Bulurama or Buludeva, who founded the famous city of Patuliputra, and the dynasty that there afterwards rose to such

eminence He is said to have also founded Muhavelipûr in the Carnatic and Balipûr in Beder

Such are the four legends in which India seems to be connected with the West, but which yet give us almost no intelligible or valuable information regarding it If we adopt the theory of most modern Ethnologists and students of Comparative Philology, that the Indi and Pelasgi are but the southern and northern branches of the same Indo-European stock, which sprang from the plains of Iran and constitute the great Aryan race, then we have a sure basis on which to rest the common origin of these traditions However different the characteristics and civilisation of these two races may now be, in early days, when both were progressing in the race of refinement, they seem to have very much resembled each other

The great difference arose thus, when the southern race reached a certain platform of civilisation it ceased, its social organisation became stereotyped, and its beliefs immutable, so that all was conservative and as it were fossilized, while the northern, in more favourable climatic circumstances and in closer contact with the first depositories of knowledge—the Semitic race, went on from one degree of polish to another, empire succeeding empire and literature literature, till the salt of Christianity was introduced, and new triumphs were achieved The progress of the race now seems capable of indefinite extension, while the highly civilized South-Aryans seem to be but savages If there is any truth at the bottom of this theory, as we believe that there is, then we have at once a reason for these legends They are the product of minds strongly resembling and having an affinity for each other, and springing from a common source, they have a common character

We now come to firm historical ground—the expedition of Scylax, and the consequent Invasion of India by Darius Hystaspes, (B C 508) This introduces us to the conclusion of our subject,—a short account of the principal authors from whom the ancients drew their knowledge of India We cannot give the slightest credit to the statement that Cyrus the Great invaded India and met with a repulse The whole details of the life of that prince are involved in obscurity and romance Darius was a king in every way fitted to consolidate that empire which the genius of Cyrus had founded, and the ambition of Cambyzes had extended Having fitted himself for government by careful training in the court of Cyrus and the camp of Cambyzes, and under the eye of his father Hystaspes who was satrap of Persus, he was ready to seize the throne as soon as there should be an opportunity Quelling a revolt of the Babylonians in 513 B C., he undertook his great expedition against the

Scythians, who even then began to threaten the peace of the southern provinces. Desirous to extend the limits of his empire also to the south, he fitted out an expedition under Scylax, a Greek of Caryanda in Caria, with whom he associated other men of ability and adventure. This started from the city of Caspatyrus and the country of Pactyice, and sailing down the Indus to the sea and keeping to the westward, they passed through the straits of Babelmandeb, up the Red Sea, and seem to have ended their voyage at a place near the modern Suez. This was not the first great voyage of adventure and discovery. Herodotus in the Melpomene (42) tells us that Neco of Egypt, having finished the digging of the canal through the Isthmus of Suez, sent certain Phœnicians in ships to circumnavigate Libya. Setting out from the Red Sea, they sailed through the southern ocean. Every autumn they landed and sowed the coast with corn, waiting for harvest. Having reaped it, they put to sea again. Thus having spent two years, in the third they doubled the pillars of Herakles and arrived in Egypt, relating things, which Herodotus naively remarks, "do not seem to me credible, but may to others, that as they sailed round Libya, they had the sun on their right hand." An attempt was afterwards made to circumnavigate Libya by one Sataspes, of the Achaemenidae or royal family of Persia, but unsuccessfully.

Having received the report of Scylax and his co-adjutors, Darius prepared a vast expedition against India, and entering it seems to have rendered the whole of the Modern Punjab and Sind tributary to himself. All that Herodotus says is, that Darius subdued the Indians and frequented this sea. But in the list of the thirty Satrapies that composed the Persian empire, he afterwards mentions India as paying tribute to the value of 600 talents of gold, or as Major Rennell more probably conjectures, of 360, a sum four and a half times as much as the revenue yielded by the rich provinces of Babylon and Assyria, and equal to about £500,000.

Scylax then meets us as the first author who has pretended to give a historical or descriptive account of India. The question has however been much agitated by critics, as to whether this Scylax really did write or was only a discoverer. Niebuhr distinctly inclines to the opinion that there was a second Scylax who lived in the reign of Philip of Macedon, about 350 B. C. and who wrote a *Periplus*. The matter is settled by Niebuhr on internal evidence, while other critics hold that the author of the *Periplus* is the navigator of Darius. We know that Scylax of Caryanda was specially sent to report on the state of the southern seas and coasts ere Darius should commence his expedition, and whether the report given in by him is extant or not, it

must have been in the time of subsequent writers on India, who have drawn from it most of the statements current regarding that country till the time of Megasthenes Dr Schwanbeck has the following passage on the subject —

"Scylacem de hoc itinere librum conscripsisse, ex eo apparet, quod complures eius loci afferuntur, et quod a Stephano Byzant (s v *Καρνανδα*) *Σκυλαξ παλαιος λογογραφος*, a Strabone (p 658) *Σκυλαξ παλαιος συγγραφευς* commemoratur, quamquam alio loco (p 583) periplum quoque eum, qui superest, Strabo non recte ei attribuit Intelligimus autem ex illis locis, Scylacem praeter Indum, Caspapyrum et Pactycam terram plura de fabulosis Indiae gentibus dixisse, ex quibus apud Philostratum memorantur, *Σκιαποδες*, *Μακροκεφαλοι*, apud Tzetzam *Σκιαποδες*, *Ωτόλικνοι*, *Μονόφθαλμοι*, *Ερωτοκοίται* vel '*Ερωτίκοντες*'"

By whomsoever the Periplus may have been written, it seems, as it appears in the "Geographi Græci Minores" of Hudson, to have come down to us in the form of an abridgement Previous to Scylax, whose date is generally fixed at about 508 B C, Anaximander the Milesian was the only great geographer (B C 608) He is said by Diogenes Laertius not only to have first invented or introduced the use of the Gnomon into Greece, but to have first constructed maps We have no evidence as to this, beyond the statement of Diogenes, and none as to whether, if he really did construct maps, he was aware of the existence or locality of India He was more of a philosopher than of a geographer, and as the disciple and pupil of Thales, holds an important place in the history of the Ionian School

The report given in by Scylax to Darius Hystaspes, and the early traditions previously afloat regarding India, seem to have been the sources of the Indian knowledge of the next writer on this subject—Hecataeus the Milesian He was at once a logographer or annalist and geographer Born B C 550, he was in the prime of life about the outbreak of the Persian war, against the revolts that led to which, he with wise prudence dissuaded his countrymen Although his advice was rejected both at the beginning and throughout the whole conduct of the war in Ionia, he yet did his utmost to mitigate its severity and bring it to a favourable conclusion A man thus of action, and also a man of wealth, he was well fitted to be a successful and an accurate historian His two great works are his geographical treatise *Periegesis*, and his historical *Genealogiæ* He stands before us as one of the greatest writers of early antiquity, whose accuracy and style have been alike praised by subsequent authors, and from whom Herodotus drew much of his information, while at the same time he controverts many of

his statements Had his works come down to us, he rather than his rival might have been viewed as the Father of History He was much more of a critical historian than Herodotus, while his accuracy is seen in the particular attention that he pays to the distance of places from each other His *Periegesis* was divided into two parts,—the one confining itself to Europe, the other, in which he treats of India, takes up Asia, Egypt and Libya He must not be confounded with Hecataeus of Abdera, who accompanied Alexander the Great on a part of his expedition, and also wrote a work on Egypt The writings of the Milesian Hecataeus have unfortunately come down to us only in fragments Contemporary with this author was Dionysius of Miletus, whose great work was a History of Darius Hydaspes, in which he probably introduced India Other works are ascribed to him, but without sufficient reason

As Hecataeus follows Scylax in his statements regarding India, so Herodotus seems to have followed Hecataeus Modern critics do not however go the length of Porphyry, who asserts that Herodotus took whole passages from the *Periegesis* only slightly altering the language Hecataeus is mentioned by Herodotus only four times throughout his History under the name of *λογιοῦδος*, a name which Arrian applies to both Herodotus followed Hecataeus more as a guide than a leader, more as one whose recent statements he could compare with the information that he himself procured, and perhaps occasionally supplement Moreover every reader of the old Father of History is aware how often he speaks of himself as an eye-witness of the wonders that he describes,—a thing in many cases not impossible, so that we must either generally admit the originality of his work, or at once take from him all pretensions to honesty and credibility After the attention given to Herodotus and his statements regarding India in a previous number of the *Review*,* it will be unnecessary to enter fully into the subject now Born in the Doric colony of Halicarnassus in Caria B C 484, he grew up as a boy near to the scenes of the Persian war, and lived on through that century till the beginning of the Peloponnesian struggle The statements regarding his travels, and the places at which he wrote his History, are most contradictory, and need not delay us here The account of Phny is perhaps that with which we should rest satisfied, that he wrote his work in his old age at Thurii, whither he had retired after the first colonists, and where he died

While the main object of his work is to give an account of the war between the Greek and Persians, he has collected in it the

* Vol. XXVI p 24

fruits of his reading, which seems to have been co-extensive with the literature of his country as it then was, and the results of his large personal experience. While there can be no doubt that the part of his work on Egypt is the most full and extensive of all, and that his statements regarding far distant countries, such as Scythia and India, are to be the less credited in proportion to their distance, yet even in reference to the latter, succeeding writers and discoverers have shewn a wonderful accuracy in outline, if not in detail. He himself does not seem to have visited any place in the interior of Asia more distant than Susa. The information that he gives regarding frontier countries is introduced as a digression from the main object of his history. His account of Persia leads him to India as one of its Satrapies, and the history of Darius Hystaspes to Scythia, against which he made his great expedition. The facts that he gives us regarding these must have been derived from purely Persian sources, in addition to his predecessors Scylax and Hecataeus.

Contemporary with Herodotus, but working probably independently of him, we have three historians, who in their works seem to have treated more or less of India. Hellenicus of Lesbos is the most eminent of them. His times embrace almost the whole of the 5th century B. C. We know little of him, and that little as given by Suidas is very confused. His life seems, like that of contemporary logographers, to have been spent chiefly in writing and travelling. His works are very numerous, but the only one with which we have to do is his "*Persica*." It exists now in a few fragments, but originally contained the history of Persia, Media and Assyria, from the mythical times of Ninus to the age of the writer. Of the three divisions of his works given by Preller, the genealogical, chorographical, and chronological, it comes under the chorographical. As a historian he enters more into detail than Herodotus, and Thucydides says that his chronology is far from accurate. He seems to have been more of a compiler than a historian. Damastes of Sigeum is the second of this group, whose works in their entirety are lost to us, and who is known rather as the authority and source of the information of later writers. His *History of Greece*, and *Catalogue of Nations and Towns*, were his two principal works, but it is his "*Periplus*" that gives him a place in our list of classical authors who have written about India. In this work he is said to have chiefly followed Hecataeus. Eratosthenes the great mathematician, geographer and critic of Alexandria in the time of the Ptolemies (200 B. C.) follows him in some of his works, and is censured by Strabo for so doing. Charon of Lampsacus completes this group of early logographers. His exact age is very doubtful, some critics putting him before Herodotus. He

flourished B C 464 Amid many other works he wrote the 'Ethiopica' and 'Persica,' in both of which he seems to have treated of India, probably repeating what former writers had stated

We pass from these men, who are to us mere shadows, and exist only in the fragmentary quotations of later writers, to Ctesias, who has ever formed an object of interest and discussion to the historian and the critic Born at Cnidus in Caria, he was trained to the profession of medicine, in that, the most famous medical school of early antiquity He bridges the distance between Herodotus and Xenophon, and may be said to have been the contemporary of both He became physician to the Persian King Artaxerxes Mnemon, even as his countrymen Democedes and Hippocrates had been before him Xenophon in his 'Anabasis' tells us that he was present during the war between the king and his brother Cyrus He continued at the Persian Court for seventeen years, but finally returned to his native Cnidus, where he systematized and arranged the information that he had been heaping up in Persia, and wrote out his works We cannot expect from Ctesias anything more than a view of history and of the past such as the Persians themselves had, and their ancient annals contained His post as private physician to the Emperor—one of great responsibility, activity and confidence, seems to have opened to him sources of information never before accessible to any Greek historian

There is no reason to doubt his trust-worthiness in the use of these records, and of the information that he had personally obtained, but we must doubt the correctness of the records themselves They were Persian, they gave an account of Persia and her frontier and subject countries as painted by the Persians themselves With the mendacity peculiar to Orientals, with the high-flown rhetoric and bombast which are no less their characteristics, with the natural tendency to exalt themselves at the expense of all other nations, we cannot expect to find in these accounts of Ctesias a fair, and in all respects historical, account of the subjects on which they treat Hence it is that the early Assyrian history seems to be purely mythical The chief works of Ctesias are his 'Persica' and his 'Indica,' both thus viewed from a Persian stand-point His object in writing the former was to give to the Greeks—what he believed the work of Herodotus was far from giving them, an accurate knowledge of the Persians Hence between the two the truth may possibly be found In his account of India, he seems to have largely followed Scylax, and may have read in the Persian Archives the original report drawn up by him for Darius Hystaspes The work exists only in the very wretched epitome of Photius, and

the part of it that he has preserved is the most fabulous Yet a subsequent knowledge of the north-western parts of India has served to shew that the statements of Ctesias, as well as those of his predecessors, are by no means without a foundation of truth

The period between Ctesias and the invasion of India by Alexander the Great, which opened up new sources of information, is filled up by two historians of whom we know little more than the names—Ephorus of Cumæ and Eudoxus of Cnidus The former is the first who made an attempt at writing a Universal History, beginning with the return of the Heracidae, and continuing till the year 341 B C It contained thirty books in all He flourished in the times of Philip of Macedon, and was a most successful pupil of the orator Isocrates His work contained an account of the barbarian nations and included India It was finished by his son Demophilus, and continued still further by Diyllus He is looked upon by later writers, as Polybius and Strabo, as a clear and accurate historian, though many charged him with wilful inaccuracies in the places where he differed from preceding authorities Eudoxus of Cnidus is better known as a philosopher and geometer than as a geographer, as the pupil of Plato and afterwards his enemy, than as an adventurous traveller He lived about B C 366 His observatory at Cnidus was a famous one, and he is said to have invented and constructed many astronomical instruments The work in which he seems to have mentioned India, and of which Strabo speaks, is his *ῥῆς Περιόδου*, though some think that this was written by a different Eudoxus

The next great historical event, in which India and the West come into contact after the invasion of Darius Hystaspes, is the expedition of Alexander the Great Undertaking it, not merely because its north-western districts were embraced in the Empire of Darius, but because it presented a new world to him worthy of his conquest, he furnishes us with one of the grandest pictures in the history of antiquity Wornied with previous campaigning, covered with wounds and the toil of war, when the general and his soldiers entered upon its fertile plains, they seemed to renew their youth and their strength Alexander's intention was not merely to subdue what had formerly been subject to Darius, and, like Nadir Shah in succeeding times, appear like some terrible meteor for a time and then vanish away he seems to have formed a regular scheme of conquest, and to have set his heart on not merely equalling, but surpassing all the fabled deeds of father Dionysus, all the exploits of Semiramis and Sesostris, all the wonders of his ancestor Herakles Even when his eager ambition received a check on the banks of the Hyphasis, when his soldiers refused to advance further and

overcome the Piasu and Gangaridæ,—of whose power and splendour the young Chundra Gupta, who seems to have visited his camp, had told him—even when he reluctantly turned his steps to the West, and looked towards home, he but settled on new schemes yet to be accomplished. His reason for accompanying Nearchus down the Indus, and fitting out the great maritime expedition which that admiral successfully conducted up the Persian Gulf, was that thus he might have information, and a new world for future conquests and future commerce. When, after his terrible march through the burning deserts of Gedrosia and the jungles of the Doab, he was seized with fever and was dying at Babylon, his design was clear—to get rid of his Macedonian veterans who had opposed his ambitious wishes, and by a mixed army of disciplined Persians under Greek officers,—like our British Sepoy-army now—and new recruits from Macedonia, to return once more to the banks of the Hyphasis, and thence to commence a career of triumphant conquest, that should not cease till the Macedonian standard should wave over Palimbothra and the Gangetic valley, and he should take possession of the Bay of Bengal in the name of the gods, as of old he had of the Indian Ocean.

The expeditions of this pupil of Aristotle were not merely warlike, they were scientific. Attended by men who had received the first education that Greece could afford, and himself of high ability and powers of observation, if the full results and records of his campaigns had come down to us, we should have had a knowledge of Central Asia and Northern India, far superior to that possessed by Europe at any time till fifty years ago. But it unfortunately happens that, notwithstanding the number of Greek *savans* and writers by whom he delighted to be accompanied, we have our information but at second-hand, and were it not for the accurate and trust-worthy Arrian, who lived four centuries after, we should have had nothing but a mass of fable and conjecture. Though, however, the original records of that great expedition have not come down to us, to Alexander and his army must we ascribe the popular myths that were afterwards current in antiquity regarding India, and which, increasing as they grew in age, gave rise to and nursed the adventurous spirit of the Italian Republics, the spirit of discovery of the Portuguese, the dreams of a Prester John and a land of gold, the enquiries of an Alfred the Great, and the travels of Sir John Mandeville and other early chroniclers. Every old veteran, as he retraced his steps homeward through the populous cities of Persia and Asia Minor, or as he sat under his own vine and his own fig-tree, fought all his battles o'er again, had his own ever-new story to tell of the wonders that he had

seen, and his own little knot of interested listeners, who magnified them as they extended them. The last relic of this strange spirit of curiosity, based in early days on unavoidable, and in later times on wilful ignorance, a curiosity and an ignorance fostered by the British and the East India Company until a recent period, is seen in the Indian novels of the early part of the present century, where every old Indian was of necessity a Clive, whose ill-gotten wealth was untold, whose crimes had been of the blackest die, and whose just fate was that of the suicide.

Of all the authors who accompanied Alexander, and who were eye-witnesses of and actors in many of the events that they relate, Ptolemy the son of Lagus, and Aristobulus, the son of Aristobulus, were the most trust-worthy. Arrian, in his introduction to his 'Anabasis,' gives sufficient reasons why he should trust their accounts above those of all others. Ptolemy, though of ignoble origin on his father's side, speedily raised himself to a high position at the Court of Philip, and when Alexander set out on his Asiatic expedition, was one of his most intimate friends and advisers. He took a prominent part in all the exploits of the Indian campaign, and on one occasion saved the life of Alexander himself. On the death of his master, foreseeing that the empire must be broken up, he secured Egypt for himself, and after a series of wars with the other generals, laid in security and splendour the foundation of that dynasty, which received liberty and literature when they fled from Greece, and which became finally extinguished in the person of the beautiful Cleopatra. When he was fairly seated on the throne of Egypt, he became a most munificent patron of literature and the fine arts, a taste which he handed down to his favourite son and successor—Ptolemy Philadelphus. He seems to have employed the latter years of his life in writing the history of Alexander and his expedition, in circumstances very favorable at once to its truthfulness and graphic fullness. He died B C 283. Of Aristobulus we know much less. He belonged to Cassandrea, accompanied Alexander in all his campaigns, lived till the age of ninety years, and like his contemporary wrote his history during the last six years of his life. So much Lucian tell us, and Athenæus, besides Arrian, often refers to his work.

Baeton and Diognetus were both employed in the scientific suite of Alexander, accurately to measure the distances in his various marches. They are hence called *βηματιστάι*, and are both mentioned by Pliny. The name of the work of the former is *Σταθμοὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου πορείας*. Cleitarchus was another of the historiographers who accompanied Alexander in his expedition. He was the son of Deinon of Rhodes, the writer whose work on

Persia Cornelius Nepos considered so trustworthy. Many critics have supposed that the work of Cleitarchus formed the basis of that by Quintus Curtius. He seems to have been more of a clever rhetorician than an accurate historian, and is often censured by later writers for his inaccuracy. Strabo and Arrian speak of an Androsthenes of Thasus, who was an admiral in the fleet of Nearchus, and wrote an account of the voyage, as well as a work entitled, *Τῆς Ἰνδικῆς Παραπλοῦς*. Another and more famous admiral in that expedition was Onesicritus, who was with Alexander throughout the whole of his campaigns, and was distinguished especially for his skill in seamanship, a knowledge of which he must have derived from his native island of Ægina. It was he (for he was a disciple of the Cynic philosophy) who had an interview with the Brahmins or Indian Gymnosophists, and in the fleet he seems to have been second only to Nearchus, since he held the important post of pilot of the King's ship, for his services in which capacity he was rewarded in the same way as Nearchus, with a crown of gold. Diogenes Laertius gives us a full account of the work of Onesicritus. Beginning with the youth of Alexander, he traces up his whole history, interspersing with it many stories that are purely fabulous, or that do not rest on sufficient evidence. His is the honour of having been the first author to mention Taprobane or the island of Ceylon.

Of all these men however Nearchus was the most famous. A native of Crete, we find him holding high office in the Court of Philip of Macedon, and like Ptolemy, whom in many respects he resembled, one of the chosen companions of the young Alexander. Joining his master in the course of his Asiatic expedition at Bactria, he was afterwards appointed to the command of the fleet of the Indus and the Persian Gulf. Throughout the whole narrative of Arrian he is highly praised for his tact, his skill, his firmness. Even when attacked by the Oritæ, when he had to put back into one of their harbours, he shewed himself to be something of a general, leading the fleet through unknown seas and hidden dangers, when the fabulous and the superstitious combined together to render everything terrible. He at last reached the Anamis in Harmozia, and there met Alexander. Continuing his voyage up the gulf, in February (324 B. C.) he finally reached Susa, and was nobly rewarded by his master. Vincent, in his work on the "Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients in the Indian Seas," has tracked Nearchus in all the details of his voyage, and has also entered fully into the interesting question as to the authorship of the work that bears his name, and from which Arrian has taken the greater part of his *Indica*. The best geographers of later days bear evidence to the accuracy of his geographical details, and succeed-

ing discoveries by travellers have only tended to confirm statements that before seemed to be utterly fabulous

The only other writer of this age, of whom we need now speak, is Evemerus. Born in Sicily, he flourished at the Court of Cassander in Macedonia, about 316 B C. He was previously trained in the school of the Cyrenaic philosophers, and to such an extent had their religious scepticism become attached to him, that among his contemporaries he was viewed as an Atheist. He was certainly the arch-rationalist of his time. Eusebius tells us that Cassander sent him on an expedition of discovery down the Red Sea, and along all the coasts washed by the Indian ocean until he reached the distant isle of Panchæa. The work in which he gives an account of his travels is his *Ἱερα Ἀναγραφή*, a title in which he lays claim to having taken the facts of his history from public documents. In many of his statements he seems to have been far in advance of the age in which he lived, and he betokens that decline in the hold which the popular religion took on the minds of educated men, and which prepared the soil for the introduction of the truths of Revelation.

The information which antiquity gained regarding India from the expedition of Alexander was soon increased and rendered more accurate by the third great historical event—the Invasion of its Gangetic districts by Seleucus Nicator. On the departure of Alexander from the provinces that he had conquered in India (B C 327), Philip son of Machatas was left as Satrap. The Malli and Oxydracæ, afterwards conquered, were also added to his Satrapy. At the head of only an insufficient number of mercenaries, and with Chandra Gupta stirring up the neighbouring tribes to revolt, we need not wonder that he was removed by assassination. Meanwhile Chandra Gupta, the early part of whose life we have already alluded to, completely expelled the troops left by Alexander. That monarch, becoming aware of those changes, appointed Eudemus, another of his generals, to act along with Porus, until another Satrap should be sent. Having treacherously murdered his colleague Porus, he marched to the assistance of Eumenes with a large army, and fought with him at the battle of Gabiene. Taking advantage of his absence from the seat of government, Chandra Gupta roused his countrymen, expelled the Greeks from their provinces, became master of the Punjab, and marching southward overran the whole of the Gangetic valley, laying the foundation of the Mauryan dynasty of Maghada. This probably occurred about B C 315. Meanwhile Seleucus had been

engaged in holding and adding to the dominions that fell to him after the death of Alexander. He recovered Babylon from Antigonos on the 1st of October B C 312, which is the great era of the Seleucidæ. Having now little to fear from Antigonos, who was occupied with his own affairs in Western Asia, he resolved to recover his lost possessions in North Western India, and if possible to extend them. But he found that he had no series of petty chieftains to deal with, whom he might subdue one by one, or set to oppose each other. He found Chandra Gupta at the head of a powerful empire, with an army, as Plutarch tells us, of 600,000 men. As might have been expected, even Seleucus could make but little impression on such a power, and so, wisely and in time he seems to have secured an honourable retreat, forming a treaty by which, for 500 elephants, he gave up to the great Mauryan monarch, the provinces on the West of the Indus, which probably he could no longer hold with advantage. To cement the alliance Megasthenes was sent by Seleucus as his ambassador at the Court of Palimbothra. He had thus the best opportunity for becoming acquainted with India, at a period when its whole Northern districts constituted one great empire. His 'Indica' was in four books. We have it now only in fragments, to collect and make quotations from which is the main object of the work before us. Dr Schwanbeck thus sums up the information given by Megasthenes —

"Geographiam Indiae scribere coepit finibus recte enumeratis. Deinde transit ad magnitudinem Indiae describendam, de qua primus inter omnes Graecos rectius iudicavit, neque eam postea ullus, si unum versum spectas, accuratius definivit. Item primus et Daimachos excepto solus ex omnibus Graecis novit Indiae formam, de qua n, qui ante Alexandrum scripserunt, nihil omnino, quod sciamus, certius dicere erant ausi, et cuius Macedones tam fuerant ignari, ut errore maximo longitudinem ab occidente ad orientem, a septentrionibus meridiem versus esse latitudinem putarent. Latitudinem dicit XVI. milia stad. explorare, addens quo modo hoc spatium computaverit ab Indo enim usque ad Pat'ahputram columnas miliarias X mill stad. indicare, reliquum spatium usque ad mare porrectum VI mill stad. ex computatione nautarum efficere. Quod spatium, etsi re vera media Indi pars a Gangis ostiis non amplius XIII mill DCC stad. abest, tamen si computationis illius rationem habemus, videtur quam accuratissime indicavisse. Quanto autem intervallo Himälaja mons ab australi Indiae fine distaret, Megasthenes iam minus accurate poterat dicere, quum in hoc spatio terrae natura illi computationi minus conveniret. Quod igitur intervallum, quod recta via non amplius XVI mill CCC stad. explet, et si Taprobanen insulam annumera-

veris, XVII mill D stad aequat, XXII mill CCC efficere contendit, qui tamen numerus illi modo computandi satis accurate videtur respondere

Altero quoque modo Indiae magnitudinem Megasthenes descripsit Asiam enim ad Africam sitam in quatuor partes sibi dividit, ex quibus contendit eam, quae a mari ad Euphratem pateat, esse minimam, alias duas, quae terras inter Indum et Euphratem comprehendant, conjunctas vix pares esse Indiae

Postremo astronomice indicavit terrae situm et ambitum, apud Strabonem 76 memorans haecce *εν τοῖς νοτιοῖς μερεσι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς τὰς τε ἀρκτοὺς ἀποκρῖντεσθαι, καὶ τὰς σκίας ἀντιπίπτειν* Alterum fieri in extrema Indiae parte, quae meridiem versus sita est, alterum in omnibus regionibus ab tropico ad meridiem sitis, nemo est qui nesciat "

The date of the work must be placed previous to B C 288, at which time Chandra Gupta died We have every reason to trust the accounts of Megasthenes, and nothing can be more interesting than for the scholar in India who has read Herodotus, Arrian, Strabo, and Quintus Curtius, and who has a detailed knowledge of the manners and customs of the Hindus around him at the present day, to read these fragments which Schwanbeck has collected, and compare them with what he already knows The accuracy is most striking

Chandra Gupta was succeeded by his son Vindusára or Bimbisara A second embassy was sent either by Seleucus or his son Antiochus Soter to this king The ambassador, whose name is given us by Strabo, was Daimachus The king to whom he was sent is called by the Greek Geographer Allitrochades or Amitrochates This name is supposed by Lassen to be the same as Amitragháta, the Sanscrit for "foe-killer" Strabo considers him the most inaccurate of all the historians who have written regarding India, and hesitates not to apply to him the polite term *ψευδολογος* Vindusára was succeeded by his great son Asoka, B C 263, and in his reign a third ambassador of the name of Dionysius was sent to his court by Ptolemy Philadelphus, who reigned in Egypt from B C 285 to 246 This third embassy, however, is involved in great obscurity Pliny in his Natural History (vi 17) only says "Dionysius a Philadelpho missus" It may be necessary to mention in this period the name of Patrocles, a Macedonian attached to the service of Seleucus, and holding under his successor Antiochus, the satrapy of the eastern provinces of Syria bordering upon the frontiers of India As Strabo terms Daimachus *ψευδολογος*, so he applies to this writer, the name of whose work has not come down to us, the phrase *ἡκιστα ψευδολογος*

From this period on to fifty years after Christ, we have a series

of authors who are more critics than accurate historians or independent travellers Phylarchus (B C 215) probably of Athens, in his *Ἱστορίαι*, seems to have begun with the death of Alexander, and in doing so to have treated of India Polemon of Athens (about B C 200) was a geographer who travelled all over Greece, and wrote a work from which he has received the title *ὁ περιηγητής* Mnaseas was a topographer or antiquarian like the preceding, and having the same surname, who wrote a 'Periplus' in three books, in which he treats of Europe, Asia and Africa respectively Eratosthenes, the great Geometer who first measured the magnitude of the earth, (died B C 196) is said by Arrian and Plutarch to have written on the expedition of Alexander the Great, and certainly in his great map of the earth, which he drew according to his own measurements of distance, it would be interesting to know where he placed India relatively to other countries A Eudoxus of Cyzicus, a geographer, was employed in Egypt by Ptolemy Euergetes, and is said to have undertaken many voyages to India by way of the Red Sea Under the enlightened and fostering care of Ptolemy Soter, the trade between Egypt and India became most important Not merely were Alexandria and Tyre its emporia, but the city of Berenice was built in an admirable situation on the west coast of the Red Sea Hence goods were sent through the Thebaid to Coptos, where they were put in boats and conveyed to Alexandria by the Nile

We now meet with no original notices regarding India till after the time of Christ Soon all intercourse between the Syrian kings and the Indian tribes ceased, and the Scytho-Bactrian empire was established Our knowledge of it is almost entirely derived from coins Prof Lassen and other scholars have entered fully into this subject, and to treat of it is beyond our province In the year B C 144 we find that Appollodorus, a Greek Grammarian of Athens, wrote a work called *τῆς Περιόδου* It is remarkable as having been written in Iambic verse (*καμικῶ μετρῶ*) It must have embraced most of the geographical knowledge then current regarding India His example was followed (about B C 70) by Scymnus of Chios, whose 'Periegesis' was dedicated to a king, supposed to be Nicomedes III There is however much doubt as to the authorship of the poem, the probability being that it was taken from an original work of Scymnus written in prose We shall see that afterwards Dionysius published a similar work Alexander Cornelius, better known by his surname of Polyhistor (about B C 90) wrote a work to which the name of *Παντοδαπῆς Ὑλης Λόγοι* has been given It consisted of 42 books, each of which professed to give a historical and geographical account of one of the chief countries of the Ancient World Josephus, in his Jewish

Antiquities, and again in his answer to Apion, makes mention of Philostratus, who wrote accounts of both India and Phœnicia. He says, when speaking of the greatness of Nebuchadnezzar and his public works, "Megasthenes in the fourth volume of his history of India speaks of these garden works, and sets forth the king both for his enterprise and his performances, to have been much superior to Hercules himself, having subdued the greatest part of Libya and likewise Iberia. Diocles makes mention of this king in the second book of his Persian history, and so does Philostratus, in the account he gives of the Phœnicians and the Indians." This is a very different man from the great Philostratus, to whom we shall presently have occasion to allude.

Another of the men of talent and adventure whom the Ptolemies gathered around them at the Court of Egypt was Agatharcides of Cnidus. He lived in the reign of Ptolemy Philometer (who died B. C. 146) and tells us that he was appointed guardian to one of the Egyptian kings during his minority. His work on Asia in 10 books, and more especially that on the Erythraean Sea, composed in his old age, gives him a place in our list. The last was especially valuable, for in the fifth book "he described the mode of life amongst the Sabæans in Arabia, and the Ichthyophagi or fish-eaters, the way in which the elephants were caught by the elephant-eaters, and the mode of working the gold mines in the mountains of Egypt near the Red Sea."

After the time of Megasthenes we have but few additions to the classical literature on India, but what are copied from preceding writers. The Romans had their attention directed more to the west than the east, and although an Indian ambassador is said to have visited Augustus and Claudius, and the hyperbolical flattery of the literati of the court of the former may thus have had a slender foundation, yet we cannot see that there was much new information on the subject. The dreaded Parthi were the limit of the empire in the east. Polybius (died B. C. 122) in his history (xi. 34) mentions a king Sophagasenus, who formed an alliance with Antiochus the Great. Schlegel translates the name *Subhagasenas*, which in Sanskrit means "the leader of a fortunate army." He was probably a successor of Sandracottus. When Egypt came under their power, they did little more than continue that trade which the Ptolemies had established. The Sicilian Diodorus, having travelled largely in Asia and Europe, set himself to write a Bibliotheca or Universal History. He seems to have industriously copied the chief statements in the works of original historians, and to him are we indebted for much that we know of Ctesias and Megasthenes. He is indebted also to one Iambulus, who wrote a work on the physical appearance of the Indians. The story connected with this writer

seems to be a fabulous one, viz that he was taken prisoner by the Ethiopians, and kept as a slave on a happy island in the east, where he became acquainted with the Indians. He must have written his history in the time of Augustus.

The industrious and accurate Marcus Terentius Varro, who has well been called the "most learned of the Romans," died 28 B. C. In his geographical writings, his *Libri Navales*, and his work *De Ora Maritima*, he chiefly followed Eratosthenes. These works seem more likely to have been his than to have been the production of P. Terentius Varro Atacina, the author of the *Argonautica*, with whom he is often confounded. M. Vipsanius Agrippa, the great friend of Augustus, must have treated of India in his "Commentarii." Pomponius Mela, who lived immediately after the time of Augustus, in his treatise 'De Situ Orbis' takes up India and the adjacent countries in the course of his descriptive catalogue, following Megasthenes as his chief authority. The Universal History of Nicolaus Damascenus, the friend of Augustus, seems to have contained passages from Megasthenes. The two Senecas mention a historian of the name of Timagenes, who was brought as a captive to Rome, but rose from the meanest employments to be the friend of Augustus. Under his protection he wrote several historical works, a Periphus of the whole sea in five books, and a work called *Περὶ βασιλέων*, in which he gave an account of Alexander the Great and his successors. Strabo, who also belongs to the age of Augustus, devoted the 15th book of his 'Geography' to a description of India and Persia. As he had not, in all his travels, himself visited these, he is indebted to previous writers, whom he draws upon very largely but very judiciously. In his writings he refers to Juba II. King of Mauritania, who was in his time lately dead. His peaceful reign was devoted to the arts of peace and pursuits of literature, and his historical and geographical works were valued by later writers. It was to be expected that Pliny in his 'Historia Naturalis' would not overlook India, and accordingly he considers it in the 6th book of that work, but his statements evidently shew that he could have given us much more information regarding it. He contented himself with saying that the accounts are conflicting and fabulous. He might have left his readers to judge of that. From him we learn that Seneca wrote a work on India. Pamphila, the great authoress of Nero's time, made an epitome of Ctesias in three books. Plutarch, also in Nero's time, has occasion to speak of India very fully, in his life of Alexander. Tacitus in his 'Annals' also speaks of India.

The date and events in the life of Quintus Curtius Rufus have been a cause of much controversy and conjecture among critics. From a flattering allusion to the *Princeps* of the Roman people in

the 10th book of his work "De Gestis Alexandri Magni, Regis Macedonum," it is generally agreed that he lived in or near to the time of Augustus. This work is one of the greatest interest, and well known to every school-boy. Its sources were no doubt the historians of Alexander's expedition, and in later times Ptolemy and Timagenes. Another historian over whom a perfect obscurity rests is Troguus Pompeius. We know his great historical work only from the abridgement or rather Anthology of it by Justin. He probably lived however in the time of Augustus, while Justin, who is first quoted by Jerome, cannot have been later than the 5th century after Christ. The original work was entitled 'Liber Historiarum Philippicarum,' and contained forty-four books. It approaches somewhat to the character of a Universal History, and by way of introduction or digression, takes up the early history of the Assyrians and Persians, and the expeditions of Semiramis and Darius Hystaspes.

Marinus of Tyre flourished about B. C. 150. He has been called the "founder of Mathematical Geography," seeing that he was the first to measure and describe places according to their latitude and longitude. One who so accurately studied the writings of preceding geographers and travellers as he did, must have had more clear ideas regarding India than any of his predecessors. We know him best through the great Ptolemæus Claudius, who immediately succeeded him, and who often refers to his works. He gives us the names of writers consulted by Marinus, of whom we are otherwise entirely ignorant, Diogenes, Theophilus, Alexander of Macedon, Dioscurius, Septimius Flaccus, Julius Maternus, Titinus of Macedon, also called Maes, and "many others." The *Γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις* of Ptolemy contains the whole geographical knowledge of the ancients, reduced to order and scientific completeness. The ancient world may be said never to have advanced beyond it, until the Portuguese and Columbus inaugurated a new career of maritime adventure and conquest. His projection of the sphere is bounded on the east by the Sinae and the people of Serica, and on the south by the Indian Sea. In the 7th book of his work he gives an account of India, the Malayan Peninsula, Ceylon and China. In the *Varia Historia* of Ælian, with its fabulous stories and gossiping style, we find many statements regarding India, chiefly taken from Megasthenes.

Arrian of Nicomedia is perhaps, in all respects, the best of the authors of antiquity who have written regarding India, and whose works have come down to us. He flourished in the second century after Christ, and is known in literature as a follower of the Stoics and a successful imitator of Xenophon. His works, in respect both of subject and style, resemble those of the latter.

His value consists in the fact that he is perhaps the best historical critic of antiquity. He holds the first place in the rank of the historians of Alexander. He was not merely careful in choosing the best writers as his authorities, but exercised a rare sagacity in reconciling differences, discerning errors, and putting that which was important in its proper place. His statements regarding India at the end of his *Anabasis*, and his fuller work on the subject—"Indica," contain a succinct account of almost all the important facts that the ancients knew regarding India. Both the subject and style of this work, and that of Curtius, fit them admirably as text-books for our public schools; and in Germany, England, and in some cases in India, they are now read. In his *Indica*, he seems to follow Ctesias and Megasthenes, and to have embodied the *Paraplus* of Nearchus, of whom he speaks in very high terms.

To Arrian has been often ascribed the authorship of two works—a *Periplus* of the Euxine and also of the Erythraean Sea. The latter work is of some importance with reference to India, but it must have been written at a much later date. It is the work, evidently, of one well acquainted with the subject, who had probably himself made the voyage. It tells us of one Hippalus, who, as he sailed down the Red Sea and entered on the wide Indian ocean, discovered the regularity of the monsoons, and taking advantage of the fact sailed right across the ocean to the Malabar coast. It gives us a fuller account of the Eastern coast of India than is met with in previous writers. The south of India seems to have been partially known, and Comorin (Comar) the Cavery (Chaberis) Arcot (Arcata Regia) &c, seem to have been familiar. Solinus, (A. D. 238) in his *Geography*, gives an account of the various countries in the world, and seems to have brought together many interesting details regarding them. His work contained quotations from Megasthenes.

Philostratus of Lemnos flourished in the time of the Emperor Philip, about A. D. 250. His largest work is the *lives* of the Sophists, but that which has caused him to be best known is his biography of Apollonius of Tyana. It is this book, filled with incredible fables and absurdities, that gives great importance to the name of Apollonius, in the early history of the Christian Church. In most of his fabled miracles, and in the wonders of his extraordinary life, he was brought forward by heathens, such as Hierocles, as "a greater than Jesus Christ." The whole work seems to be a collection of the more wonderful parts of the history of Ctesias and previous writers on the East, and to be in many cases "a parody of some of the Christian miracles." He is represented by Philostratus as

being of noble birth, and born in the city of Tyana, about 4 B. C. As a youth he went through the whole circle of philosophy and the sciences as then known, and ended by becoming a Pythagorean. Anxious to emulate the fame of his great master, he underwent a course of ascetic discipline, distributed his patrimony among his poor relatives, and set out on his travels, when he had passed the five years of his noviciate in perfect silence and mystic contemplation. After traversing Asia Minor, he set out for the East at the age of fifty years. At Nineveh he was joined by the Assyrian Damis, on whose life of his master, that of Philostratus was probably based. At Babylon he had many conversations with Arsaces (Bardanes), then king, and was initiated into the rites of the Magi. Thus equipped he passed into India, where, at a place called Taxila, of which Phraortes was king, he entered into disputation with the Gymnosophists, and with Iarchas, the chief of the Brahmans. After five years spent in his Eastern travels he returned to Greece, and set up as a miracle-monger. He is said to have met with Vespasian, then ambitious for the Roman Purple, and to have incited him to make efforts for it. He was tried for sorcery before Domitian, but vanished, and was afterwards found in Greece. His prediction regarding the death of the tyrant was literally fulfilled. He finally died at Ephesus, though Rhodes and Crete also claim the honour of his dust. Such is an outline of the wonderful life of Apollonius of Tyana, so clumsy a fiction that we can now only wonder that even some of the Christian Fathers, such as Eusebius, allowed its truth.

The remaining notices of India in the Classics are soon disposed of. Dionysius surnamed Periegetes, lived probably in the 4th century after Christ, and wrote a *Περιήγησις τῆς Ἰνδίας* in Hexameter verse, in which he chiefly follows Eratosthenes. As he professes to take up the whole world in it, India naturally occurs. It was highly valued in ancient times, and is still extant. Nonnus, a Greek poet of Panopolis in Egypt, wrote a poem called the 'Dionysiaca' about the beginning of the 5th century after Christ. He is spoken of by Agathias, who immediately succeeded him. His work is an epic of more than Oriental length and bombast. It is in forty-eight books, and professes to trace the career of Dionysus. Wilford in the Asiatic Researches (vol. ix p 93) supposes that the poetaster borrowed at least the subject of his poem from the Mahabharat. Heeren, however, says "this must be understood only of the expedition of Bacchus into India. But even where the scene is laid in that country, it is not easy to discover in this poem anything of the true Indian character." Cosmas, surnamed Indicopleustes, lived under Justinian (A. D. 535). He was an Egyptian Monk, though in early life he followed

the pursuits of a merchant, and traded extensively in the Red Sea, along the east coast of Africa, and the whole southern coasts of Arabia, Persia and India. Having amassed a fund of knowledge and experience, he withdrew from the cares of life, and that he might embody his knowledge in a permanent form, entered a monastery. He published a work entitled *Τοπογραφία Χριστιανική*, with the object of proving that the world is an extended surface. In it he tells us that he travelled to Adule, a port of Ethiopia, belonging to the King of Auxume. It was here that he fell in with a certain Sopater, who had just returned from Ceylon, and who furnished him with full information concerning that island, which he has embodied in his work, and which proves it to have been then the "common emporium of southern commerce."

In many of the works of the early Christian Fathers we find allusions to India. The subject on which they chiefly write is that of the Brahmans, Gymnosophists and religious sects and castes. At a time when superstition and persecution led the whole of Christendom to be infected with a desire for the austerities of Monachism, when even such a great and manly soul as that of Augustine admired them, we need not wonder that they were led to other countries and other literatures for examples of similar asceticism. Palladius, the famous author of the *Lausiac History*, which was composed about A. D. 420, wrote a work *Περὶ τῶν τῆς Ἰνδίας ἐθνῶν καὶ τῶν βραχμανῶν*. Much doubt, however, rests on the authorship. Whoever the writer was, he visited India along with Moses, Bishop of that Adule above mentioned. A work 'De Moribus Brachmanorum' is ascribed to St. Ambrose, but without reason. It is rather a free translation of that by Palladius. Porphyry, the celebrated antagonist of the Christians, who wrote about the beginning of the 3rd century, treats at some length of the Indian Gymnosophists, dividing them into the two classes of Brachmanes and Samanaei. To him this must have been a favourite subject as in all respects of belief, and many of life, he corresponded with the latter class. All the descriptions of these men point to the fact that Buddhism was the prevailing religion of India at that time. Between Porphyry and Palladius, there was a Chinese traveller, Fa Hian, whose descriptions agree with those of both these authors. Porphyry mentions a Bardesanes Babylonius, who wrote on the Gymnosophists. He seems to have been a different man from the great Syrian Gnostic of the same name.

The early history of Christianity in India does not at present fall within our province, otherwise it would lead us to consider somewhat fully those Fathers and Ecclesiastical historians who have written regarding India, such as Sozomen, Theodoret, Epiphanius,

Valesius We have Pantæus the first Missionary to India (A D. 181) whose finding of St Mathew's gospel there probably gave rise to the traditions of Thomas and Bartholomew having converted it The fact of a Manichee, of the name of Thomas, having visited the Syrian Churches in the third century, may have further given rise to this tradition The writings of Pantæus have not come down to us, but we have his pupil Clemens Alexandrinus, also Origen, Rufinus, Jerome, Eusebius and Socrates Scholasticus, who speak of him Cyril treats of the Gymnosophists and makes quotations from Megasthenes In the acts of the Council of Nice we find one of the Bishops who subscribed himself as *Ἰωάννης Πέρσης, τῆς ἐν Περσίδι πασῇ, καὶ τῇ μεγάλῃ Ἰνδῇ* The latter part, in the Great India, may refer merely to his having jurisdiction over the Church there, and not to his actual labours in the country Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem in the seventh century, states that Christianity was introduced into Ceylon by the Ethiopian Eunuch, of whose conversion Philip was the means The story of Frumentius and Cedesus, as told by Rufinus, is full of interest, and there is no reason to doubt its truthfulness Wretched as are the epitomes made by Photius of Constantinople (about A D 863) of Ctesias and other writers on India, his name should not be passed over Nor should that of Nicephorus Callistus, (died A D 1450) whose Ecclesiastical History is a compilation from the works of Eusebius and other early Church Historians In the 'Speculum Universale' of Vincentius Bellovacensis, and the writings of Albertus Magnus in the thirteenth century, we find many of the ancient stories regarding India reproduced

We would refer our readers for fuller information to Hudson's collection of the Minor Geographers, to Vincent's admirable work on "the Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients in the Indian seas," and to Dr Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology," to which, in this article, we have been indebted Dr Schwanbeck's work is one of laborious research, and is exhaustive on Megasthenes The whole subject, however, of India in the Classics, yet requires to be fully taken up by some ripe scholar It will amply repay a minute study, and we believe much light through it may yet be thrown on the early history of India So far as classical studies are pursued in the public schools for Christians in India, it would be well to accomplish two objects at once, and study the Indian portions of the works of such admirable writers as Arrian, Strabo and Curtius This would be at once done were they to be chosen as the text-books for examination in the various Indian Universities They are now largely read in our English public schools.

From the 5th to the 10th century a dark veil enshrouds the history of India, to be withdrawn only by an attentive study of topes, monuments and inscriptions, as illustrating and illustrating by written records. Time plants her ruthless heel on all such memorials, and hurries them off to decay, or covers them under jungle and vegetation. Even the early British period is retreating into dim obscurity, and our history in India a hundred years ago has become a matter of research for the antiquary. Let us raise India to her proper position in the page of history. Then will China follow, the dark vapours of a priest-created antiquity will be dispelled, and God's purposes of mercy to the world will be more and more accomplished, by the union of the various tribes in the bond of Christian brotherhood.

the proposed new routes through the Isthmus of Panama and our North American possessions. Our Australian cities, also, Sydney, Melbourne, Launceston and Hobart must look to their own defence, which, as yet, is of the slightest. The enemy will be almost at their doors.

In another aspect, the French sovereignty can scarcely fail to be a blessing to New Caledonia. The fierce cannibals, who inhabit it, have no fire arms, and are too few and too divided to struggle against the power of France. They will be persuaded, or compelled, to abandon their abominable practices, brought under the strong arm of the law, and, let us hope, will soon cease to be idolaters.

ART II — *The Yadgar-i-Chistie, or the Manners and Customs of the Mahomedans in the Punjaub, in plain and simple Oordoo* By MOULVIE NOOR AHMED CHISTIE Lahore 1859

THE *Yadgar-i-Chistie* is an Oordoo work purporting to set forth the peculiar customs, religious and social, of the Mussulmans of the Punjaub, in so far as they are either deviations from the original laws and traditions of the Mahomedan Faith, or have been directly borrowed from the followers of the heathen creeds of India, or have sprung up, as local customs do, so silently and gradually that their growth was unmarked. It treats of the sects of the Punjaub Mussulmans, their castes, their superstitions, their trades and their social customs, from the moment when the first summons to prayer is shouted into the ear of the newborn son of the faithful, to the hour when he is lowered into the tomb to be put through his catechism by the dread angels Moonken and Naakeer. The writer of the book is a Moulvie of Lahore, and the author of several minor educational works in Oordoo. Observing the eager interest with which English gentlemen endeavoured to make themselves acquainted with the history and habits of the various tribes of India, he was induced to commence the composition of the *Yadgar-i-Chistie*. The work was originally intended to be an account of the manners and customs of the people of the Punjaub, in three books, treating first of the Mussulmans, secondly of the Hindoos, and lastly of the Sikhs. But the author did not meet with the encouragement he expected, and he never continued the work beyond the first book, which treats of the manners and customs of the Mussulmans in the Punjaub. It possesses considerable merit, and gives a faithful and minute picture of the Mussulman customs. The author is unsparing in his censure of whatever he considers objectionable in the faith or practice of his countrymen, and has in many instances drawn upon himself the hatred and execration of his co-religionists by the uncompromising manner in which he has exposed their follies. He mourns deeply over the want of earnestness and piety, the degeneracy, the superstition and credulity of the present age, and especially the sects and factions which rend the bosom of the congregation of the Faithful. His own creed is that of an eclectic. He is not free from the taint of scepticism, and might perhaps be called a Sofee. Quant and curious is his confession of Faith, —

I am not a heretical Shool + I fear + I believe + I am + The

do I, like the Soonees, shave the middle of my moustache I am a servant of God, let that profession of Faith suffice Party spirit in religion is pitiful The bigotry of both Sheahs and Soonees is blameworthy, because each conceals the merits of the other, and neither considers his own creed to be defective, but believes it to be the oracles of God I lean to both, and find many of the principles of both sects in our sacred books Each holds the truth with a huge admixture of error, and those men of both sects are most to be admired, who are free from bigotry"

In the preparation of his work, the author has confined his observations almost exclusively to Lahore and its neighbourhood Undoubtedly Lahore is the best field for observing the peculiarities of Punjabi Islamism, because there the mixture of Mahomedans, Hindoos and Sikhs is most complete Long the imperial city and the seat of Government, Lahore occupied, in the earlier days of the Mahomedan Empire, a position similar to that of Delhi under the Moghuls It is fabled to have been built by Balo, son of Ram Chunder, some 1,600 years before the Christian era, but its political importance dates only from the Mahomedan invasion The city was raised from ruin by Sultan Mahmood, and it was the imperial residence of the two Chosroes, the last of the house of Ghuznee The Gaurian dynasty abandoned it again for Ghuznee, but in the early years of the Moghul Empire it was restored to its former importance It was fortified by Akbar, and was for some years the imperial residence of Jehangier But of all the Mahomedan Emperors, Alumgeer contributed most towards the splendour and magnificence of Lahore, by the erection of mosques and spacious edifices, and by the construction of large embankments to save the city from the inundations of the Ravee It is said that during the reign of this Emperor the repairs and improvements of the city were carried on uninterruptedly for a period of 40 years Although Lahore again sank into comparative insignificance under the late Moghuls, Mahomedanism had already taken so firm root, that its existence no longer depended on locality or political support But it could not be expected long to retain its purity There is a common element in all religions, by which creeds the most opposite assimilate and combine Religions borrow rites and ceremonies from each other as languages borrow vocables Even the Christian religion has assumed forms and imbibed errors and corruptions varying with the countries into which it spread Islamism therefore, fiercely propagandist though it was, could not escape the influence of foreign creeds Nowhere in India is Mahomedanism found pure—least of all perhaps in the Punjab, where two distinct attempts have been made to found a new religion on the ruins of Brahminism and the faith of Islam

Many causes have combined to produce this corruption of the

Mahomedan Faith Even when the mountain hordes poured down from their fastnesses on Northern India, Islamism no longer retained that purity and vitality which it displayed in the days when the ferocious Omar swept with his cavalry the Persian plains. Discord and faction had long divided the soldiers of the Crescent. The Soonees and the Sheahs turned against each other those swords which should have been unsheathed only against the common foe. Their hatred of the infidel was as nothing compared with the scorn and ferocity with which those two sects regarded each other. But they seem to have become mutually more tolerant when they settled in the Indian plains, as will be seen from the following account which our author gives of the distinctive tenets of the Soonees,—

"The Soonees* are also called the people of the circumcision, the congregation, the Charyarus or adherents of the four friends and successors of Mahomed, and are considered by the Sheahs to be a heretical sect. They consider Mahomed as the true Prophet, and venerate every one who enjoyed his intimate friendship. They believe that the four successors of the Prophet, Aboobukur, Omar Khitab, Osman Ghunee and Mortaza Alee are equal in rank, but they put Aboobukur first and Alee last in succession. As Mahomed is considered by them to be the last of the Prophets, so Alee is the first of Fukeers, though in truth they are quite ignorant of Alee's real dignity. They usually associate themselves with some Fukeer, as his disciples, and respect Fukeers, who excel in virtue, as the peculiar children of God. They observe the fast of Rumsen, make the pilgrimage to Mecca read the Koran and acknowledge its authority, and assemble together for public prayer. They believe in the resurrection, that the people of God continue on earth till the last day, that the Most High God will judge the world and send the good to Paradise and the wicked to Hell, that the Prophet will intercede for them, and through him they will obtain salvation. They say that on the day of judgment all the other Prophets will cry 'O God, save us, save us,' whereas Mahomed will cry 'O God, save my disciples.' They consider it unlawful to make the image of Hossein's tomb and to read the funeral eulogium, and though they believe it forbidden to beat the breast during the Mohurram, they do not think it unlawful to shed tears. Many of them even drink the wine of Imam Hossein, and make offerings and oblations. They look upon the Sheahs as heretics. Their patron saint

* It is perhaps unnecessary to explain that, when Mahomed was on his death bed, it is supposed that he nominated his son-in-law and vicar Alee, as his successor, but that Ayesha, the Prophet's wife, through hatred of Alee and jealousy of the fair Fatima, carefully suppressed this declaration, and secured the appointment of Aboobukur, her own father, to the Caliphate. To him succeeded Omar and Osman. Alee was the fourth who filled the office. Mowaveeah disputed Alee's right, and on the quarrel being referred to arbitration, a decision was fraudulently obtained in favour of Mowaveeah. The fraud being apparent, recourse was had to arms, and a battle ensued which ended in the death of Alee. For some time after this, the Caliphate continued in the family of Mowaveeah, and the Imamate, or spiritual dignity, in the house of Alee. From this contest with Mowaveeah arose the two sects of the Sheahs and the Soonees. The Sheahs consider Alee to be of right the immediate successor of the Prophet, and that Aboobukur and the others were usurpers. The Soonees (so called from following the Soosut or traditions, which correspond with the Mishnah of the Jews) believe that Aboobukur and his successors were lawfully elected.

is Mohee-ood-deen Geehancee, for whom they carry their veneration to an extravagant degree, though some of the less credulous venture to say that he was in truth a heretic. Wine, bhang and intoxicating liquors are proscribed by them. They do not curse Meer Mowaveeah, Governor of Syria, and father of Gezeed Boolund the murderer of Hossein, at least if they do, they never profess it."

But the disputes of the Sheahs and the Soonees were not the only seeds of weakness which the Mahomedans brought with them to India. Many other sects had sprung up to dispute the doctrines of the Faith and even to deny the authority of the Koran. Fierce and hot had been the disputes* in Arabia and Persia regarding that book which the Prophet had published as a revelation from the Most High God. Nor were these disputes left behind by the invaders. Besides scepticism and internal divisions, however, other causes contributed to weaken the vitality of Mahomedanism as a Propagandist creed. In the conquest of Persia, the Saracens had absorbed into their religion many ideas well known to the educated classes of India, and these corruptions were conveyed with the Mahomedan creed to the mountain hordes who afterwards overran the plains. Mahomedans, especially of the Sheah sect, began to believe that the Imams were incarnations of Deity. Even the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul† was not rejected by them, and is believed at the present day by the sect of the *Mortanasikhas*.

From all these circumstances, Mahomedanism had lost much of its early fierce, propagandist character. 'Paradise was' no longer felt to be 'prefigured in the shade of the scimitars'. We find accordingly that the invasion of India was the result of political and social necessities rather than of religious fervour. Mah-mood indeed professed great religious zeal. But in early life he was an avowed infidel, and the sincerity of his conversion is doubtful. It is probable that he was less influenced by the am-

* We quote the following illustrative anecdote from Taylor's History of Mahomedanism p. 139, Vol. 45. "Abou Yacoub relates a curious account of a public controversy on the subject, between Shafai, the Poet and Theologian, and Hafs, a sectarian preacher at Bagdad. Hafs asserted that the Koran was created at the moment of its revelation. Shafai quoted the verse 'God said *be* and it was' and asked, 'did not God create all things by the word *be*?' Hafs assented—'If then the Koran was created, must not the word *be* have been created with it?' Hafs could not deny so plain a proposition. 'Then,' said Shafai, 'all things according to you were created by a created being, which is a gross inconsistency and manifest impiety.' Hafs was reduced to silence, and such an effect had Shafai's logic on the audience, that they put Hafs to death as a pestilent heretic."

The eternity of the Koran is one of the leading doctrines of orthodox Islamism, and tradition says that the Koran was written from all eternity on a table which is kept before God, and which the Prophet was allowed to see once a year, and twice during the last year of his life.

† "The doctrine of the Metempsychosis, or the transmigration of the soul of the chief of religion into that of his successor, was applied to the Imams, as it has been from unknown time to the Lamas of Tibet."—Taylor, p. 312.

bition of saving heathen souls, than by the desire of filling his coffers with Pagan spoils. With few exceptions, the Mahomedan conquerors of India did not attempt to force their religion on the people of the country. The Emperor Akbar even endeavoured, by combining the Mahomedan and Brahminical religions, to introduce a new creed, not unlike that of Nanuk. Islamism thus quietly took its place beside the creeds of the Hindoos, not as the exclusively true religion, but as one faith of many. The natural consequences ensued. In the days of exclusive bigotry, when the Faithful rode to battle with the sword in their hand and the Koran at their saddle-bow, the Faith of Islam had been unable to resist the silent corrupting influence of Pagan creeds. Can we, therefore, expect that it would long retain its purity, when it became tolerant of Brahminism? "The Mahomedans became Indianised. Nor did the proud distinctions of caste and the reverence shown to Brahmins, fail to attract the notice and the admiration of the barbarous victors. Sheikhs and Seyuds had an innate holiness assigned to them, and Moghuls and Pathans copied the exclusiveness of Rajpoots. New superstition also emulated old credulity. 'Peers' and 'Shuheeds,' saints and martyrs equalled Krishna and Bheerav in the number of their miracles, and the Mahomedans almost forgot the unity of God in the multitude of intercessors whose aid they implored." With the mass of the people, Mahomedanism has now become as little a religion and as much a superstition, as the worship of Vishnoo and Mahadev. There are seventy-two acknowledged sects of Mussulmans, who hold all possible shades of opinion, from absolute Atheism to unquestioning devotion to the Faith of Islam. Some, like the *Arbees*, deny the mission of Mahomed, others acknowledge no moral distinctions. Many sects deny the divinity of the Koran, while the *Juzamees* dispute even the existence of God. Mahomedanism has indeed become a mere superstition. Prayers are almost entirely neglected, or are regularly performed only by those who aim at a reputation for sanctity. Music and dancing, which were strictly forbidden by the Prophet, now compete with the Koran, and attract larger assemblies than the prayers of the Moollas. More offerings are made, and more valuable, at the shrines of the saints than at the mosques, and amulets and incantations are considered more efficacious than prayer and fasting.

* Cunningham's History of the Sikhs, pp 30—31

† It is a remarkable fact that the Mahomedan cry is and was from very early times '*Deen Deen*,' not '*Iman Iman*.' Now *Iman* is properly the religious creed or Faith, *Deen* is the religious practice, including all rites and ceremonies, superstitions or otherwise. Mahomedans thus adhere more to the external formula, than to the essential truth to be believed.

The Mahomedans preserve caste with almost as much scrupulous exclusiveness as the Brahmins*. Most Mussulmans would consider themselves ceremonially polluted by sitting on the same carpet with a sweeper. The Seyuds, or descendants of the Prophet, are held in a veneration almost approaching to worship. It is considered impiety to assume their manners, and many Moghuls and Pathans, who affect to be Seyuds, are held in execration. *Sakh* is the superstitious respect for this class, that it is popularly believed if you were to set fire to the clothes of a true Seyud, he would not be burnt, and all this notwithstanding that the Seyuds lay no claim to extraordinary piety, but have substituted wine bibbing and debauchery for the virtue and continence of olden times. They receive disciples, by whose bounty they subsist. On the 11th of every new moon, they take tithes from the people, and vows and offerings are made to them as to gods. They guard the purity of their sect with the utmost jealousy, and though they will take women from other classes, they will not marry their daughters into other castes. They keep regular genealogical tables of their descent from Mahomed, and when any man brings discredit on the caste, his name is expunged from the family tree. The same strictness of caste is observed among several other classes. The Mooltanee Arasens will not intermarry with the Kuwalees, nor the Kuwalees with the Kumbos. There is a notorious caste of Lohars called *Surdecas*, who are considered so impure and of such evil omen, that if they come into any house and sit on a couch or smoke a Hukka, the couch and Hukka are broken up on their departure.

In regard however to the relation of caste to trades, particular trades are not so strictly confined to fixed castes, as among the Hindoos. A Goldsmith may betake himself to the handicraft of the Lohars, and a Khoja may follow any calling he chooses, from that of an old-clothes-man to a priest or a doctor. But when a man adopts a trade, which is usually followed by persons of a different caste from his own, he does not adopt the new caste name. Caste goes by birth not by profession. Thus many Zurzurs will be found to work in old iron instead of the precious metals, while a dealer in lace or a trader in horses may be called a Potter or Kulal. In most cases however certain trades are followed by men of certain castes. Statuary, carving, gunmaking &c are usually reserved for the

* The adoption of caste distinctions was probably one of the earliest corruptions of the Mahomedan Faith in India. It is most amazing how rapidly such distinctions arise. Maran says that in Bahar the distinction of families who admit and who reject inoculation has already become hereditary.—See *Eastern India*, vol. I, p. 113

Lohars and Trukhans, shoemaking for the Mochees, and horse-dealing for the Kukezaees. It is strange that horse-dealers should bear a questionable reputation all the world over. The Kukezaees are not more celebrated for honesty than their brethren in trade elsewhere. The following extract from the Yadgar-i-Christie regarding horse-dealing may not be uninteresting.

"In Lahore most horses are sold through the agency of the *Kukezaees*. The part of the city when they live is well known and contains three or four horse-markets. Any one who wishes to sell a horse usually sends for the horse-dealer and fixes the price, or he takes the animal to the market and informs the dealer of the sum for which he will part with him, and it remains with the dealer to dispose of the horse. In bargaining for the horse, the buyer lays hold of the dealer's hand, which is concealed under a sheet, and the price is agreed upon by signs with the fingers. If the buyer wishes to give a short price, the dealer, after bargaining in this underhand way, informs the owner. Should he agree to the reduced price, well and good, but if not, the dealer refers again to the intending purchaser. At last, after haggling in this way sometimes for two or three days, the transaction is closed and the dealer receives a commission of 4 per cent., occasionally less. In every market there are several such horse-dealers in partnership, and the profits are collected monthly and equally divided. The condition of the partnership is, that if any one of the partners sell a horse or a pony out of the market, he will not appropriate the commission to himself, or if he do and be detected, he will be expelled from the partnership in disgrace."

"When a horse is sold, the blanket, mouth bag, currycomb and martingale are included in the price of the horse. All horse transactions are for cash, and the animal cannot be returned after sale. On fixing the price, a pice or a rupee or a ring is given in earnest, and after giving earnest money the horse is considered sold and cannot be returned. Having received the money, the owner transfers the animal to the purchaser in the following way. The buyer spreads out the skirt of his garment, and the seller, after laying hold of the head rope of the horse and giving it to the buyer, throws a little grass into the lap of the purchaser's robe. By this symbolical act, the transfer is completed."

Since the annexation of the Punjab, many native trades have been almost entirely discontinued, and articles of manufacture formerly in great demand cannot now find a market. This is particularly the case with articles of luxury and sumptuous display. The native gentry are decaying, and the eye is no longer delighted with the brilliant processions and gay cavalcades which adorned the native courts. An English Magistrate or Commissioner wears less jewellery on his person than a menial did in the court of Akbar or Runjeet Sing. The trades which have more particularly suffered are lace-making, cloth-flowering, gold embroidery, gold-working, &c. From these trades the Sikh Government used to derive a large revenue. Originally they were all followed by men of particular castes, who formed a kind of guildry. But in later times any one

might learn these crafts on payment of the usual entry fee to the guild. This fee was known by the name of *sail*, and ranged in the different trades from 10 to 50 rupees. The fees were collected once a year, when the master workmen made up their books, and were all paid into the common treasury. Of the whole sum thus collected, half went to the Government, and the remainder was spent in a grand entertainment to the brethren in trade.* This impost has not been levied by the English Government,† and these trades are now thrown open to all who choose to follow them. The market for such articles, however, is extremely limited, and consequently very few are desirous of learning these crafts.

We may notice in passing a curious kind of apprentice law which prevails among some classes, and specially the Cashmere shawl-weavers. It is the custom in this trade, when an apprentice changes masters, for the new master to pay all his debts to the old. Advantage is taken of this to keep the apprentice in a state little better than slavery. The master advances him large sums of money, which he is expected to repay in work at certain fixed rates. The boy thoughtlessly squanders the money in pleasure, and before it is half repaid in work he has to take a new loan from his not unwilling master, who begins to find his services valuable and wishes to fetter him still more securely. The unfortunate boy falls deeper and deeper into debt which he can see no hope of repaying, while the master, knowing that he has him in his power, exacts work from him with the most merciless severity. The apprentice is driven to despair and at last runs away in the hope of making better terms for himself, or at least of beginning the world anew and free from the burden of debt. But the old master follows him like a bloodhound and compels the apprentice by law to return, unless his new master agrees to pay up the debt. A good apprentice law is required to check this lending of large sums to young men, which they can seldom hope to repay. The present practice is productive of much evil. Masters traffic in apprentices as in slaves.† Young men are often torn from their homes for years, because their parents are too poor to pay the ransom money. In districts where the Cashmere shawl trade is extensively carried on, it will be found, that by the civil suits instituted in our Courts, a

* We believe that Gooerat is almost the only place in the Punjab where the English have kept up the direct tax on trade. It is there imposed in lieu of the usual *Choongee* or municipal tax.

† A case recently came to light in which the master actually tethered his runaway apprentice and compelled him to work in chains like a slave. It is said that this is not an uncommon practice among the shawl weavers in some of our large cities.

large proportion of those troublesome cases, called *Ghair-zillah* cases, arises out of this injurious law of apprenticeship

To return from this digression to the consideration of some of the religious customs When a Hindoo becomes converted to the religion of Mahomed he retains many of his old habits, circumcision in fact being almost the only sign of his change of faith This rite is rigidly enforced, because, when once performed, the convert cannot relapse into Heathenism These Hindoo converts are called Sheikhs, a name which descends from father to son They are very numerous in Lahore and also in the Jetch Doab In their dress they resemble the Hindoos more than the Mussulmans, and their women wear the Hindoo *Luhunga* or petticoat, instead of the flowing trousers Many of the Sheikhs are gold-beaters, which is generally considered a Hindoo trade They address their father as '*Lala Jee*' instead of '*Bawa Jee*' like the Mussulmans, and on festive occasions they present cakes on platters of sewed leaves, after the fashion of the Hindoos But of all the practices which have corrupted the Mahomedan religion, the most outrageous is the actual worship of the small-pox under the name of *Devee Mata* Indeed this worship is not far removed from Fetishism, —

“ Among the lower classes, as among the Hindoos, it is customary to worship the small-pox, under the name of *Devee Mata* When the child falls ill, no one is allowed to enter the house, especially if he have bathed, washed, or combed his hair, and if any one does come in, he is made to burn *Hurmul* at the door Should a thunderstorm come on before the pox have fully come out, the sound is not allowed to enter the sick child's ear Copper plates and utensils are violently beaten to drown the roar of the thunder For six or seven days when the disease is at its height, the child is fed with raisins covered with silver leaf When the pox are fully developed, it is believed that *Devee Mata* has come When the disease has abated a little and the pox have become dry, a little water is thrown over the body of the child In the Punjab this is called '*Giving the Phox or Drop*' The parents then send for kettle-drummers and *Merasees* to make a procession to the shrine of *Devee* The musicians march in front beating the drums, and followed by all the relatives, men, women and children, carrying the sick child dressed in saffron-coloured clothes. A man goes in advance with a bunch of green grass in his hand, from which he sprinkles a mixture of milk and water In this way they visit some fig tree or other shrine of *Devee*, to which they tie red ribbons, and which they besmear with red-lead and paint and besprinkle with curds ”

Many of the popular superstitions are very remarkable Not only the ignorant, but the educated classes have a firm belief in the influence of evil spirits, more especially of the evil eye Iron is believed to be the best antidote When a woman has just been delivered of a child, she is supposed to be very susceptible to evil influences Accordingly, during the whole period of the *Chubla* or 40 days of purification, a knife or a key

is tied to the bed, and she is never allowed to move about without having a piece of iron attached to her person. Many castes have peculiar superstitions of their own. The Dhobies and the Dirzees believe that snakes will not bite them, and they will not intentionally injure a snake. But the most widely spread superstition of all is the veneration for Peers. It is not always easy to define what is meant by a Peer. There are Peers Tureekut, and Peers Hukeekut, and Peers Movarufat. Often the word signifies only a spiritual teacher or guide, or a pious old man, but not unfrequently it is superstitiously applied to the spirits of the departed. Nearly every caste has its own Peer. The Dyers venerate Peer Aleo Rungrez, the Lohars Huzrut Daood, the Mehturs Lall Peer and Baba Fukeer. In almost every Mussulman house there is a dreaded spot called the Peer's Corner, where the owner erects a little shelf and lights a lamp every Thursday night, and hangs up chaplets of flowers. Sheikh Sado is a favourite Peer with the women, especially those who wish to gain an undue ascendancy over their husbands. Whenever a woman wishes to have a private entertainment of her own, she pretends to be shadow-smitten, that is, that the shadow of some Peer, generally Sheikh Sado, has fallen upon her, and the unfortunate husband is forced to give an entertainment, called a *Barthuk*, to which neither he himself nor any man is allowed entrance, for the purpose of exorcising him. It is believed that the Peer enters the woman's head and that she becomes possessed, and in that frantic state can answer any question which is put to her. All the female neighbours accordingly assemble to have their fortunes told by the Peer, and when they are satisfied, they exorcise him by music and singing. In connection with this, we cannot refrain from quoting the following amusing story related by the sceptical Moulvie —

"One day about three years ago, as I was riding along near Umritsur, I met a poor friend, who on seeing me burst into tears and said 'Sir, I have no money and I stand greatly in need of a Rupee, kindly bestow one on me.' I drew one from my pocket and gave it to him, asking what was the cause of such distress. 'Alas Sir,' said he, 'my wife has been ill for two months and has been nothing bettered by all the medicines of the physicians. Twice every night and day she falls into fits and says there is a Peer in her head. She is shadow-smitten and calls herself the 'Red Fairy.' I asked him 'what is your wife's name?' He told me 'Kureema.' I perceived that his wife was playing him false and endeavouring to gain the ascendancy over him. So I said to him, 'Hussein Bukah, my good friend, be comforted. I possess a charm so potent that if I only breathe on any person who is possessed, the Peer immediately takes to flight.' On hearing this he was delighted. 'God bless you, Sir' said he, 'if you will come with me to my house and breathe upon my wife, I shall esteem it a great act of charity.' 'I must first go home and bathe' said I, but

go you home and ask all the women whether they have any objections to my coming.' The helpless, simple-minded man went home and on asking the women, he found that they all consented except his wife. Feigning fits, she maintained that if any one came to breathe on her she would break his head. The wretched husband came to my house and told me of his ill success. I was convinced that the poor man's wife was playing him false. So I took a whip in my hand and accompanied him home. He placed a chair for me, sitting down I looked fixedly at the woman. Her eyes were red and her brow contracted with excitement. She abused everybody, and I did not escape my share of foul language. 'The shadow of a Peer,' she said, 'has fallen upon me, who is not to be driven away by breathing. This Lahore Moulvie had better go home, for if he breathes on me, he will himself be seized with the sickness.' On hearing this I smiled and told her husband to make her sit down in front of me. He did so and I said to her 'now tell me what your name is.' In great anger she replied 'I am the Red Fairy.' I kept gently muttering for half an hour and blowing on the whip, after which I gave her a smart blow across the shoulders. She remained perfectly silent. Again I read her another such lecture, breathing all the time on the whip, and then gave her two hard blows on the back. She immediately came to her senses and exclaimed 'my dear Moulvie, for heaven's sake don't beat me any more. I am quite well now.' I said to her 'O Red Fairy, what is now your name?' and she meekly replied 'my name is Kureema.' Then said I 'Twice I have breathed on you and I must do so a third time, that the shadow may never fall on you again,' and I made as if I would beat her the third time. But she swore a thousand oaths that she was now perfectly recovered and would never be visited by the sickness again, adding 'Moulvie, you are undoubtedly a very wise man.' At last I took my leave, convinced that women being shadow-smitten was all a deception, for I never had any previous practice in such cases, neither had I any charm, but applied remedy solely of my own contrivance."

The Fukeers in the Punjab are very numerous and possess great influence over the people. Asceticism recommends itself to human nature by the feeling of deep earnestness which its tortures and macerations inspire. It finds its origin in the natural feeling that the body is the seat of evil and sin, which acts as a drag on the pure spirit. We have many senses by which to perceive the world in its countless seducing forms, while the eye with which alone we can see God is scaled over. Our spiritual vision is to be restored only by tearing off the scales of sense. The body must be 'kept under', the pleasures of sense and the cares of the world must be shunned, life must be spent in a constant death, a perpetual separation of soul from body. Among earnest minds this asceticism has assumed all forms from the hair shirt and scourge of the devoted monk to the trim peaked beard of the Puritan, and the drab coloured clothes and shovel hat of the Quaker. In the history of Eastern creeds we expect to hear of Jogees and Beiragees, Fukeers and Durveshes, as we expect to read of the palm and the date tree in descriptions of Eastern scenery. Every roadside well has its shady *Fukeera* giving shelter to some devotee, who piously offers refreshing

draughts to the scorched and dusty wayfarer. The Fukeers usually take up their abode near the tomb of some saint, and live on the charity of those who come to make vows and offerings at the shrine, and spend their life in worship and meditation. They are often bound together into orders or brotherhoods, which take their name from some real or supposed founder in olden times, and for admission into which there are fixed initiatory rites and sometimes even a noviciate *. Not unfrequently however the Fukeers are mere impostors and endeavour to make up for the want of purity and piety of spirit by the severity and outrageousness of their macerations. Many of them are no better than cheats and mountebanks. Of all the orders of Fukeers in the Punjab, the largest, most singular and most esteemed is that of the *Nowshabees*. They are very numerous in Lahore. They usually assemble at the great annual religious fair held at the Jumma Masjid in the city, where they astonish the worshippers by their ecstasy and gesticulations. The Yadgar i Chistie thus describes their frantic behaviour —

“At what time the minstrels commence their singing and music, some Fukeers, mostly of the *Nowshabee* order, become wild with excitement, tossing their heads and shouting, ‘God is great, God is great.’ Others seize them by the loins and drag them to their feet, still beating and shaking their heads. To such an excess do some of these *Nowshabee* Fukeers carry their enthusiasm, that they tie their feet with ropes, and allow themselves to be stung up by the heels to trees, and go through their frantic gesticulations in that position. Others on hearing the music are affected to tears. These are called by the people *Sheikhs*. In former times these *Sheikhs* were able, wise and virtuous men. But now if you look, you will find them to be a set of shoemakers and tailors, who never even pray. In my opinion this is all hypocrisy. For it is written in our sacred books, that when any Fukeer becomes perfect and has immediate communion with God, it is then he is transported with ecstasy. But in these days it is the general belief that inspiration is obtained by becoming a disciple of the *Nowshabees*. The custom of the *Nowshabees*, when any one is desirous of becoming a disciple, is to give him treacle to eat, as if that would make him perfect in virtue. On hearing this, I several times ate their treacle, but I ween that I never even once became inspired. From these circumstances, I lost all faith in the *Nowshabees*. But their great founder *Nowsha* is said to have been a good and perfect man.”

Great difference prevails among the Musaulmans in the manner of treating their women. The upper classes of course, especially the *Seyuds*, and even the *Lohars* although a low caste, keep them jealously secluded. Poverty however often prevents them from enforcing that seclusion, which the dignity of their caste would otherwise require. Modest, respectable

* In some places they have actual monasteries. There is one in the Gograt district at the tomb of Saint Hafiz Hyat. The brotherhood live on the produce of a small patch of land. Curiously enough they are possessed of an excellent breed of mares!

women of almost all classes cover their shoulders and head with a sheet when they walk abroad. But in some castes no effort is made to veil the face. The women of the agriculturist classes, and especially the Goojurs, whose duty it is to milk the lowing herds and gather the cow dung for fuel, walk about bare headed and never hide their fair features except from the gaze of a European. Only on two or three occasions during their whole life, such as their marriage or their home-coming, do they wear a veil. Their usual dress is a blue petticoat and a boddice which covers only the breasts, leaving the belly exposed. This dress is not considered at all immodest by the peasant women. The women of the Merasee caste are professional singers and of course never veil their faces. But they must not be confounded with the dancing-girls. The Merasee women sing chiefly at the assemblies of females, they never dance and are not less virtuous than the women of other castes. Without being actually unchaste, the most immodest class of women is that of the Kulalees. They are notoriously quarrelsome, and possess as choice a vocabulary of abuse as the viragoes of a well known London fish-market. Contrary to universal oriental custom, these women are supreme in the household, and if the character which our author gives of them be correct, we pity those lords of creation whose misfortune it is to be united to them in holy matrimony. Says the Moulvie —

“ When these women quarrel, they generally throw mud into each other's Zenana and thrust the soles of their shoes in each other's faces. In this country indeed, every termagant is nicknamed a Kulalee. If these women meet at any friend's house on occasions of joy or grief, their quarrels are brought up, and do what one will, it is impossible to prevent a brawl. The women wear fashionable clothes. Their men also dress fashionably but are very dishonest. In Lahore the Kulals law is notorious. If you go there, you will see the women sitting in the street with bare heads, and without tunics, spinning or singing a snatch of a song. With us this is considered very immodest.”

There is in all countries a large class of unfortunates who live by the wages of infamy. The recent disclosures at Monghyr* reveal the revolting means by which the numbers of this class are kept up in India, even under the British rule. In the Punjab, prostitution is carried to a deplorable extent, and previous to the annexation, not only was a traffic in young girls carried on, but boys even were bought and sold for unnatural purposes. This vice is still the chief cause of the crime of child stealing. Child-stealing however is rapidly decreasing. The statistical returns for last year show only 10 cases, being a decrease of 11 from

* See *The Friend of India* of June 3rd 1858, in an Article entitled ‘Susannah and the Elders’

the previous year * The openness and shamelessness with which prostitution is practised in the Punjaub is perfectly revolting Till recently, the upper flats of all the houses in the principal bazaars were rented by women of abandoned character, who shamelessly exposed their persons on the balconies The evil became so great as to call for a remedy by law The Commissioner of the Peshawur division accordingly ordered all these women in Peshawur to remove to more secluded streets, under pain of punishment, the extent of which was left to the discretion of the Magistrate This measure was found to work so well in Peshawur that it was speedily introduced into all the principal towns in the Punjaub, and though perfectly inoperative for the suppression of vice, it has driven it to the dark lanes of the cities, and the eye is no longer offended by open, shameless unchastity

We purpose now to give in account of some of the chief events and ceremonies in the life of a Mussulman On every occasion of sorrowing and rejoicing among the people of the Punjaub, it is customary to give an entertainment to the whole of the brotherhood When a birth is expected in a house, great care is taken of the mother during the months of pregnancy If it is the first child, an entertainment is given in the 7th month to all the female relations This feast is called the *Kunjee* The woman is dressed in new clothes given by her parents for the occasion, her head is bathed, her hair braided and her hands stained with *Mehdee* The rejoicings are kept up the whole night long, and next morning there is a grand feast of bread, flesh and rice Towards the close of the 9th month preparations are made for another banquet No male is allowed to enter the house, and the woman is furnished with various charms to ensure her safe delivery During the *Chibla*, or 40 days of purification after the birth, the woman is carefully watched and never suffered to be alone, as it is supposed that during this period she is particularly susceptible to the influence of evil spirits Every person who enters the house is obliged to burn *Hurmut* at the door, which is believed to be a great specific against the evil eye During the *Chibla*, the woman must bathe five times, and she is fed on a kind of ceremonial food called *Punjeecree*, of which no one is allowed to partake except the very nearest relatives On the 6th day after the birth, there is a great assembly of all the kinsmen and neighbours, male and female, to what is called the *Akeeka* feast The Moulvie thus describes this feast —

“The primitive and true custom in the *Akeeka* feast is as follows. A he-goat is brought into the house and killed. The blood, entrails, skin and offal are fried, and the head with the rest of the flesh, the feet, liver and stomach

are cooked together, and after prayers are given to the people to eat. The bones are all collected and buried in a hole, that they may not become offensive, nor be eaten by cats and dogs. For the near relatives, a separate banquet is prepared, in which there is not the same circumspection observed. Before commencing the *Ateeka* feast, notice is given the preceding day through the *Chowdree* to the people of the square and the kinsfolk. Accordingly next day the host causes elegant carpets to be spread and an awning and screen to be erected in a separate house, where the company meet. The beggars assemble outside as uninvited guests, but they receive nothing till the entertainment of the brotherhood is ended. As soon as the relatives and friends are assembled, a servant brings a basin and water to wash their hands, after which *dianer* is brought in. Dinner over, the servants, whose duty it is, remove the dishes and again present a basin and water to wash, and after smoking the *Hukka*, the company disperses. The fragments of the dinner are then divided among the beggars."

On the completion of the *Chibla*, the friends of the parents make presents of jewellery and dresses to the baby, and the woman and child are taken to reside for some time with the maternal relatives. Among the poorer classes, it is customary for the woman to be led in joyful procession to the shrine of some saint on the 40th day, where she makes offerings of treacle and flour.

When the child is to receive its name, the father carries it to the mosque with a present of treacle and flour for the *Moolla*. The priest takes the *Koran* and opens it at random, and the first letter at the top of the page is the letter with which the name must begin. It is necessary to choose a name which contains some reference to God or the Prophet. It is usual for the parents to bore the child's ears as a sign of their love and affection. There are usually three incisions, one in the right ear and two in the left, sometimes also one is made in the nose. The *Dirzees* however never bore their children's ears without the consent of the head man of the caste.

Of all events in the life of a Mussulman, the most important is the observance of the rite of circumcision. Although not required by the *Koran*, it is yet considered the essential condition of being a true Mahomedan. There is no fixed period for the performance of the rite. It may be observed at any time from birth till the boy is ten years of age. At the time of the operation, the boy is well drugged with *bhang* or wine, that he may not feel the pain, and pieces of iron are tied to his person as charms, which are not removed till the wound is perfectly healed. So long as the wound remains sore, the boy is never bathed, and is kept at home and never allowed to go out of the house, and no stranger is allowed to enter unless he burn *Hurnut* at the door. When he has completely recovered, he is bathed, dressed in gay attire and taken to the mosque, when the kinsmen give presents called *Tumbol*. The name of the donor and

the amount of the gift are registered, and the father of the boy is expected to return an equivalent* when the like occasion happens in the house of any of the kinsmen. From the mosque, the boy is taken to some tomb to do obeisance. The wealthier classes mount him on horseback, and make a grand procession with music and dancing to the tomb and from the tomb to the house. The expense of the ceremony is of course regulated entirely by the means of the parties. Some are so poor as to be unable to afford to pay for any festivities, and have no ceremonies beyond the mere rite of circumcision.

When the boy† is four years, four months and four days old, he is sent to school to learn the *Bismillah*. When the father goes to enter his name, he usually takes a present with him for the Moolla. After reading prayers the Moolla proceeds to teach the boy the Alphabet. When he has been made to repeat it once, a holiday is given to all the scholars in honour of the new pupil. Having mastered the Grammar, the boy is put through the *Seeparahs* or 30 sections of the Koran, and on the occasion of this advance to a new book, the Moolla receives another present, and the boys again get a holiday. For teaching the whole Koran, the Moolla gets a present of 30 rupees, besides his monthly fees and food every eighth day. The instruction in the Koran being completed, the closing ceremony, called the Amen, is performed. The parents give a grand banquet to all their relations, to which they invite the Moolla and his pupils. Dinner over, the boy gaily dressed, his brow encircled with a coronet of flowers, is made to stand with folded hands before the teachers. The Moolla then recites some complimentary doggerel couplets, to each of which the boy and his fellow pupils respond Amen. Having spent about an hour in this way, the Moolla pronounces a blessing over his pupil, and the guests depart, after offering their respects and congratulations to the parents.

The boy's education being completed, he is ready to enter life. If he have not been already betrothed in his infancy, his father looks out for a suitable family into which to marry him. The marriage is preceded by the ceremony of *Koormdee* or Betrothal. It is considered etiquette on the part of the girl's parents to refuse the alliance on the first proposal, and in some cases consent is withheld till it is asked the fourth time. Consent being obtained, the betrothal is ratified by drinking milk and sugar, and among the peasantry by the distribution of treacle.

* These gifts can be recovered by suit in our Civil Courts, if not duly returned. See Punjab Civil Code, Section XXII, 7.

† In the Punjab, female education exists to a small extent alike among the Hindoos, Sikhs and Mussulmans. See Punjab Report 1849—51, pp 143, 376.

The girl also receives presents of clothes and fruits. The parties are now considered engaged to each other, but the marriage may not take place till years afterwards, the interval depending very much on the age of the betrothed. When the wedding day is fixed, the bridegroom's relatives are invited to his house, when an entertainment is given, and the youth makes his appearance gaily attired, with a wreath of flowers on his brow and jewels in his turban. From that day till the marriage, the friends are all busily occupied in preparing the wedding dresses. In the meantime wreaths of flowers are hung on the doors of the houses of all the friends. The Bihishtee makes as many garlands of leaves as are required, and goes from house to house, fastening one to each door, for which he receives a small gratuity of grain and treacle. Musicians also are hired to play before the houses of the friends. Meanwhile, in the residences of the bride and the bridegroom, various ceremonies are performed, of which we will only mention that called *Teel*. This is observed in the house of the bride and bridegroom on alternate nights. The bridegroom (or if in the bride's house, the bride) is seated on a chair with a rupee in his hand and pice and cowrees under his feet. The women then take a red cotton sheet by the four corners and stretch it out over his head, like an awning. A large dish of *Mehdee* is brought with which the boy's hands are stained, and the *Kaleree*, or strings of cowrees and cocoa-nuts, are tied to his hand. In various ceremonies of this kind the time is spent, till the day of the marriage procession comes round. On that day the bridegroom is dressed in saffron-coloured clothes and gay slippers, a garland of flowers hangs from his neck to his feet, an arrow and a sword are put into his hand and in this attire he is brought into the midst of the assembled company. Presents, called *Tumbol*, are then given by the friends, which are registered in the same way as on the occasion of the circumcision of a child. When everything is ready, the bridegroom is mounted on horseback, and the procession, headed by the musicians, after whom follow the bridal party and last of all the bridegroom, proceeds with torches and music to some shrine, where the bridegroom is made to worship, make offerings and invoke a blessing. From the shrine, the procession moves on to the bride's house, at a short distance from which it is met by all the bride's friends. After mutual embraces and drinking of milk, the procession is conducted to the bride's house, where it is welcomed by a display of fire-works.

The priest is then summoned by a Vakeel and two witnesses to perform the marriage ceremony, and to settle the marriage portion. The Moolla faces the bridegroom and makes him repeat the confession six times, and reads the service on the attri-

butes of God, and also the Laws and Traditions of the Prophet regarding marriage. The bridegroom is then made to acknowledge with a loud voice, that he takes the woman to be his wife, and that he endows her with such a portion. The dower fixed by Mahomed was equivalent to 26 rupees, but it is customary among all classes to agree to immense nominal sums.* After reading prayers and blessing the bride and the bridegroom, the marriage service is completed.

Next day, the bride and bridegroom are seated in state. Previous to this ceremony, they have several amusing games. A small piece of cake is put into the bride's hand, and her hand is closed by her sister and well oiled. The bridegroom's part is to force it open. Amidst universal laughter and derision he with difficulty succeeds. When at length he does open it, he takes the cake and eats it, and puts a silver ring, called the bachelor's ring, on the bride's finger. The young couple are then well pelted with peas and rice. The young wife's drawers are next brought to the husband, and he is expected to string them without using anything as a bodkin. The abortive attempts to perform this by no means easy task, especially amid the jeers and jests of the women, produce uproars of laughter among the wedding guests. With sports like these the day is beguiled. At last a large bedstead is brought and the bride and bridegroom are seated in state. Finally the bridegroom carries away his wife amid the tears and lamentations of her relatives.

Interesting though they are, it would occupy too much space were we to describe all the festivities usually accompanying the celebration of a marriage. Let the above meagre sketch suffice as a specimen of the subjects treated of in the *Yadgar-i-Chistie*.

We turn now from these innocent joys to the closing scene of all, the last sad rites performed over the departed. If the deceased is a young child, the funeral ceremonies are few and short, and there is much more grief on the death of a boy than of a girl. The body is merely washed, shrouded and carried

* The object of this is to prevent a divorce without just reason. By the Mahomedan law (which in this case is also the Civil Law of our Courts) if a man divorce his wife for any cause, except adultery, he must pay her the stipulated marriage portion. It is however discretionary with our Courts to enforce payment of the whole or part of the amount, and in general the Court is guided by what it considers reasonable on a full view of the circumstances of each particular case. Divorce is by no means infrequent, and the wife seldom thinks of claiming her rights in Court. Among the lower classes especially, the position of a married woman is in many cases far from enviable. Instead of being treated with affection, or even respect, she is too often considered as only an instrument of ministering to impure passions. Nothing is more common than for a husband to divorce his wife in favour of another man for a pecuniary consideration. We boast that we have put a stop to the actual and open sale of women, but a species of sale is countenanced by our laws and acknowledged by our Courts, which is no less degrading and dishonouring to the character and feelings of woman, and no less demoralising in its effects than the more open and scandalous traffic.

The girl also receives presents of clothes and fruits. The parties are now considered engaged to each other, but the marriage may not take place till years afterwards, the interval depending very much on the age of the betrothed. When the wedding day is fixed, the bridegroom's relatives are invited to his house, when an entertainment is given, and the youth makes his appearance gaily attired, with a wreath of flowers on his brow and jewels in his turban. From that day till the marriage, the friends are all busily occupied in preparing the wedding dresses. In the meantime wreaths of flowers are hung on the doors of the houses of all the friends. The Bihishtee makes as many garlands of leaves as are required, and goes from house to house, fastening one to each door, for which he receives a small gratuity of grain and treacle. Musicians also are hired to play before the houses of the friends. Meanwhile, in the residences of the bride and the bridegroom, various ceremonies are performed, of which we will only mention that called *Tel*. This is observed in the house of the bride and bridegroom on alternate nights. The bridegroom (or if in the bride's house, the bride) is seated on a chair with a rupee in his hand and pice and cowrees under his feet. The women then take a red cotton sheet by the four corners and stretch it out over his head, like an awning. A large dish of *Mehdee* is brought with which the boy's hands are stained, and the *Kaleree*, or strings of cowrees and cocoa-nuts, are tied to his hand. In various ceremonies of this kind the time is spent, till the day of the marriage procession comes round. On that day the bridegroom is dressed in saffron-coloured clothes and gay slippers, a garland of flowers hangs from his neck to his feet, an arrow and a sword are put into his hand, and in this attire he is brought into the midst of the assembled company. Presents, called *Tumbol*, are then given by the friends, which are registered in the same way as on the occasion of the circumcision of a child. When everything is ready, the bridegroom is mounted on horseback, and the procession, headed by the musicians, after whom follow the bridal party and last of all the bridegroom, proceeds with torches and music to some shrine, where the bridegroom is made to worship, make offerings and invoke a blessing. From the shrine, the procession moves on to the bride's house, at a short distance from which it is met by all the bride's friends. After mutual embraces and drinking of milk, the procession is conducted to the bride's house, where it is welcomed by a display of fire-works.

The priest is then summoned by a Vakeel and two witnesses to perform the marriage ceremony, and to settle the marriage portion. The Moolla faces the bridegroom and makes him repeat the confession six times, and reads the service on the attri-

butes of God, and also the Laws and Traditions of the Prophet regarding marriage. The bridegroom is then made to acknowledge with a loud voice, that he takes the woman to be his wife, and that he endows her with such a portion. The dower fixed by Mahomed was equivalent to 26 rupees, but it is customary among all classes to agree to immense nominal sums.* After reading prayers and blessing the bride and the bridegroom, the marriage service is completed.

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to the grave, great care being taken that the shadow of the bier does not fall on any child by the way. On the death of an adult, or any one above 12 years of age, all the friends, male and female, assemble to perform the last offices to their deceased relative. Water is warmed in two earthen vessels with which the body is washed, and a quarter of an hour after being washed the corpse is enshrouded. Then follows what is called the *Iskât*. The body is sprinkled with rose-water and laid on a couch before the door, and the chief mourner brings a copy of the Koran, and as much money as he can collect, and gives it to the priest. The priest then asks the age of the deceased. If he were, say, 42 years of age, 12 years are struck off as the period of Mahomedan legal minority, and the remaining 30 years are divided into three periods of 10 years each. The priest, with the Koran in his hand, takes his place at the head of the corpse, and all the friends stand round in silence. Holding up the money and the Koran, the priest says, 'Within the first 10 years our departed brother observed certain prayers and fasts, and certain he neglected. His day of grace is now gone, but this Koran and this money shall stand in place of his repentance.' The same ceremony is performed for every period of 10 years, and the priest prays for the soul of the departed. This is called the *Iskât*. On the conclusion of this ceremony the body is carried to the tomb, and, after burial, all the friends meet for prayer, condolence and fasting. During the 40 days of mourning, prayers are read every Thursday, and the women meet for lamentation every Tuesday and Saturday. On the 40th day, the relatives put off their mourning dresses and send the clothes of deceased as a present to the priest. At the end of ~~six~~ months, they again have prayers for the soul of the departed, and ever after once a year.

We must here take leave of the Moulvie. The Yadgar-i-Chistie draws aside the veil which has concealed the private and social life of the natives of India from our view, and gives us an insight into their daily thoughts, feelings, customs, superstitions and domestic life, which we could never have acquired by years of unaided observation. With regard to the literary merits of the book we regret that we cannot speak in terms of unqualified praise. The style is not fluent or graceful, and the book exhibits marks of great carelessness and haste in many of its chapters. The chapter on the seventy-two sects of the Mussulmans is little better than a catalogue of names. The book is by no means exhaustive, and in treating his subject, the author does not follow any fixed and regular method. He commences by considering the manners and customs of the Mahomedans according to their different castes. But as most customs are common

to all castes and only the differences worthy of notice, the author is led to repeat himself in several of the chapters. Towards the middle of the book the original method is abandoned, and we are furnished with an account of the religious sects and their different practices and rites, while at the close of the book the author enters on the description of some most interesting social customs, which would have been more appropriate in the earlier part of the work. On the whole however we consider the *Yadgar-i-Chistie* to be a most valuable contribution to our knowledge of native manners, customs and modes of thought, and we sincerely hope that Moulvie Noor Ahmud Chistie may meet with sufficient encouragement in his literary labours to induce him to complete the original plan of his work, by adding Book II on the manners and customs of the Hindoos in the Punjaub, and Book III on the manners and customs of the Sikhs.

ART III — 1 "*Curry and Rice," on Forty Plates, or the Ingredients of Social Life at "Our Station in India,"* by GEORGE FRANKLIN ATKINSON, Captain, Bengal Engineers 1859

2 *Report from the Select Committee on Colonization and Settlement (India), together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Index Ordered, by the House of Commons, to be Printed, 9th August 1859*

AFTER a century of possession, British Settlers in Bengal are to be counted by tens. Be the cause a climate inimical to the European constitution, the restrictive policy of the late East India Company, or a want of sufficient inducement to settle in a foreign land, the fact remains. In the great rebellion of 1857, the English were fairly rooted out of the land in many districts of Upper India. It was only when collected in groups in fortified places that they maintained themselves against fearful odds till succour reached them. The question of climate as opposed to European settlement, has been argued with perhaps equal force on both sides, the enervating effect of the heat of Bengal being as clearly proved, as the facts are undisputed that men who have lived the best part of their lives in its plains are proverbial for longevity when they return to England, and that those who are most exposed to the climate, taking out of door exercise freely at all seasons of the year and at all times of the day, are the most healthy of residents in Bengal. With so much to be said on both sides the climate may be left as a neutral ground. The restrictive or prohibitive policy of the East India Company has been exposed, argued on, condemned and defended ad nauseam. There is no doubt but that the policy of the great Company was restrictive, partly from selfish, partly from patriotic motives. The East India Company no longer exists, the policy is likewise of the past, and it can serve no good purpose to discuss it as a whole. The question whether want of sufficient inducement to settle in a foreign country is not in part at least the cause of the small number of Europeans in Bengal, is practical. It may reasonably be discussed, and with profit, in its bearings on the present and the future. We think want of sufficient inducement has always been one main cause of India remaining so long a *terra incognita* to British enterprise, and that the great want of inducement was the nature of landed tenures in India, and especially the prohibition of Europeans to possess land.

The prosperity of an infant community; once raised above savage life, depends primarily on the extent of property in the land on which they live and which yields them sustenance, possessed by the members of such community. The gipsy wan-

derer claims no right in the soil, and does not understand such claim on the part of others. The wild Indian's only conception of it, is a demand in behalf of his tribe to hunt and fish in certain tracts, the hill side, the cave, the shady grove being enjoyed in common, as places for temporary sojourning. But no sooner does the community settle, than right in the soil becomes the cement by which the little colony is formed. The first arrangement is to portion out the land, such partition being held sacred. It depends on the industry and agricultural skill of the individual to make his land profitable or the reverse. As the community increases, its wants, its interests increase in a corresponding ratio. Agriculture, still the foundation, is not then the sole source of prosperity. New wants arise, the practice of various arts becomes necessary for the convenience and comfort of the community, and by degrees the different phases of civilized life appear, with the thousand problems in the solution of which the brains of philosophers and philanthropists are, and ever will be at work. Where this right is most recognised, there is the greatest field for the development of the energy and skill of man. In a civilized state of society the rights of many will soon merge in one, the indolent and stupid giving way to the industrious and clever, but these qualities must be allowed to raise or sink their possessor without the interference of the ruler. The absolute form of government which recognises a king's or an emperor's right in the soil, can never be so genial to the spirit of a people as that form by which right to the soil is vested in the subject, the claims of the Government being satisfied by taxation of its products.

An arbitrary interference with the rights of a people in the soil, is the unhinging of society. India has never had the good fortune to have this great law fairly recognised. Under its ancient dynasties the ruler was the landholder, and his rights were exercised through various hands, oppression accumulating on the head of the unfortunate cultivator. When the East India Company obtained the Dewany of the provinces of Bengal, the landed tenure was the question which most puzzled its administrators. They could not give up the land tax, which, as now, was the sheet anchor of the revenue. Sir John Shore and others strove in vain to solve the difficulty. The abolition of the land tax would have entailed bankruptcy and expulsion from the country, and, however a abstractedly desirable, would not have suited oriental ideas. Its optional redemption even was impossible in a country where millions of acres were waste and whole districts depopulated. Under the circumstances it can hardly be imputed as blame to the East India Company, that among the conflicting land tenures and customs of the country,

they were unable to secure the cultivator's rights. The perpetual settlement, with all its faults, endeavoured to do so in the recognition of the Khodkust tenure. The grand error was in making the settlement perpetual. The start was false. On an unsound foundation a fabric has been erected, too substantial to be knocked away as rubbish, but thoroughly unsatisfactory and unsafe as an institution. The prohibition against the holding of land by Europeans was the greatest drag on the prosperity of British India, with which any Government could have clogged its wheels. In spite of every disadvantage, had such restriction not existed, the present advancement of the country would have been attained long ago. The general principle of Government interference in the soil was carried out too in detail, in the most vexatious manner. How,—a perusal of Mr Forbes' evidence before the Colonization Committee of the House of Commons will explain. It remains for the Queen of England, now directly Sovereign of India, to lay the sound and solid foundation of India's prosperity. This may be done, not by destroying existing interests, nor by breaking faith with the native landholders, but by some well devised plan of disposing of the right in the soil, which the sovereign now wisely or unwisely possesses, and for vesting such right in those who will purchase it, to remain the property of such and those to whom it may descend or belong by further purchase, free of all claim on the part of the state. We saw tendencies to such a policy in some of the speeches and despatches of Lord Stanley, and a positive adoption of it in his directions to the Government of India to grant waste lands in fee simple. We hope his successor will carry out his views. The sooner such a policy is acted on, and the wider the scope given to it, the sooner will the finances of India assume a buoyancy they have never yet known. It may be long ere our fellow subjects appreciate the boon, but it is for our rulers to confer it, satisfied of the benefits to the country which must result. The next Viceroy's reign may well be inaugurated by a change which would come ill from the author of the Oude Proclamation. Lord Canning's "clemency" may be excused or defended, but his confiscation of the right in the soil of a whole people but lately brought under British rule, evinced little knowledge of the just principles of Government, and merited the unpopularity the act brought on its author. Till the loaden weight of Government claims is removed from the soil no permanent prosperity can be hoped for. The land-tax, as constituted in Bengal, bears too as heavily on the Government as on the governed, the revenue being cramped by an impost which has no elasticity, the perpetual settlement limiting it to a fixed

amount altogether unconnected with the prosperity of the country. The conditions of the perpetual settlement seem even to be interpreted by Government as preventing the laying any additional taxes on the Zemindars. Europeans can now possess land in their own right, and the change we have been advocating must ere long take place. Railways are progressing; with these arteries of commerce and communication, and the influx of Europeans and with them the introduction of European arts and sciences, English life in India will soon assume an aspect very different from what it presented during the first century of our possession of the country.

A picture of English life in Bengal some twenty years ago would not be difficult to draw. The principal figures are few, and the lights and shades easily filled in. European society in Bengal, out of Calcutta, consisted of the Civil Servants of the Company and some score of planters scattered over the district. The "station" comprised Judge, Magistrate and Collector, a commercial residency, the Resident, perhaps an assistant, and the Doctor. Wherever there chanced to be a native regiment we must add its officers. "Society" comprised the Civil and Military servants of the Company, the Planters as a rule were outside the pale, and were not associated with on intimate terms even by the isolated Resident. We have heard an anecdote of one of these grandees who kept statistical information as to the European population of the district, by marking down in a book whenever a Sahib passed on the road near his dwelling which led to the station, the date on which the stranger was seen, the color of his horse, peculiarities of appearance or dress, all noted by a man posted for the purpose with a telescope.

The isolation of the Civilian threw him almost entirely on the society of the natives. Waited on by a tribe of obsequious servants, and a set of men called "Chaprasses," who were always in waiting behind doors, in passages, and at every corner where the Huzzoor was likely to pass, the Civilian soon adopted oriental ease and indolence. A cough or a sigh would bring a Chaprassee with joined hands and bended body to know the desire of his Lord. These attendants were or are, for they still exist, paid by Government, some ten or twelve being formerly allowed to each Civilian. Natives are generally fond of children, and these men are now-a-days very useful as nursery-maids, but were in old times merely the symbols of official authority, always hedging the thrones of the dignities, their masters. The Chaprassee is an institution of the country, which deserves attention in these days of financial difficulty. Look up in a Directory the number of Civilian

in Bengal and multiply by eight, then the number of uncovenanted officials, European and native, and multiply by four, then all Military men in Civil employ multiplied by four, add up the three totals and multiply by four, which is a low rate, and your grand total gives you the cost in rupees of this "institution."

The hookah and the charms of the dusky beauties of the land helped to while away our Nabob's leisure hours. The arrival of a home packet, with letters and magazines, would raise him into bi-annual fits of animation, old associations for the moment brightening while they saddened the luxurious exile, and his magazines interesting him for a while with a dreamy peep into the busy life of his native land. The Doctor's life was different. Educated for a profession, he was generally more active, he studied the phases of disease in a tropical clime, was often given to scientific pursuits, and was generally much occupied in trade. Unless the Civilian were a sportsman, and many were, the ennui of such a life as we have described must have been far more corroding to his energies, and injurious to his health, than the effects of the climate, and so it was. Our silken Civilian was a wretched, sallow, peevish individual, whose nerves could ill bear the least excitement, and whose great horror was to come in contact with the active, ruddy, rollicking planter. They seldom met, the planter regarded the Civilian with a feeling of awe mixed with contempt, the sallow aristocrat quite returning the latter sentiment. Cutcherry life was little more than a counterpart of what we have described. The great man would go forth, about one in the afternoon, in a luxurious palkee, preceded and followed by the whole band of Chaprassées. The same laziness, the same dependence on others which we have seen in private, characterized the official life of the old Company's Bengal Civilian. He sat panting under his punkah, sighing and signing. The native officers of the Court dispensed justice or something else in its stead. If there is one quality in which a native excels it is in the judicious administration of flattery. Soft words soothed his labours, and we have no doubt that the Civilian of the olden day felt when he received the obeisances of a crowded Court on his departure after two hours of martyrdom, that he had worked hard, that every signature of his initials represented the thorough investigation of a case, and that he was rather a hard-worked public servant than not. The lassitude of sheer indolence was mistaken for the fatigue of intellectual exertion. It was only when a refractory Planter was of necessity summoned to the Court, or himself came to prefer a complaint, that the official was roused into exertion and had to think or act at all for himself.

The Resident did little more than his judicial brother. Natives managed the advances, natives managed the manufacture of silk, invoiced and despatched it, and took care that a good proportion of boats should always start from the Factory in the stormy months, to be surely, according to their accounts, wrecked before reaching Calcutta. Those were golden days for Company's Gomastahs. It was only now and then that our friend, the Resident, was roused into activity by complaints coming from the Honorable Court, that the trash which reached England (the best quality of silk was generally wrecked) was unsaleable, and that unless an improvement took place the factory had better be closed. The prospect of five thousand a month dwindling to two thousand had a wonderful effect for a time, but matters soon settled into the old routine. Such were the men who administered affairs in the good old days in the districts of Lower Bengal. But there were Civilians to whom the above description will not apply—those of whom Sir Charles Metcalfe may be called the type, who were employed in the diplomacy and administration of our higher provinces. Their duties, severe and multifarious, were executed with an ability and zeal which contributed greatly to the consolidation of British power. But the plains of Bengal were not a field for such energies, though possibly the same men who wasted their time in indolence would, under different circumstances, have been the Metcalfes and Malcolms of their time.

There were few non-official European residents in Bengal in those days. They were generally of the "adventurer class," many of them with little either of education or polish, but with a large stock of Anglo-Saxon energy. They were mostly Indigo Planters, who secured a footing in the Mofussil with the joint help of native landholders and the rupees of the Calcutta Merchants, many of them indeed being merely agents of the latter. The Planters increased in number when the Company's servants, being prohibited from trading, transferred their Indigo Factories to the Interlopers. The Planter's time was occupied in warding off aggressions, in counter-aggressions, in attending to the cultivation of his lands and the manufacture of his indigo. He exercised more or less judicial control over his dependents. His was summary justice at the best, and we fear that much of such duty, with the pecuniary profit they knew so well how to reap from it, was delegated to the native servants, under whose names and by whose means the Planter was alone able to hold landed property. Much has been said of the oppression and cruelty practised by the Indigo Planter. We doubt much whether the rough unpolished Planter

of the old times deserved the character given to the class. Many of the worst of them were seafaring men who, leaving their ships, took service as factors with the Calcutta agency firms. The British seaman, though rough in manner and not over courteous sometimes in speech, is proverbial for honesty and kind-heartedness. Accustomed to board-ship discipline, he readily fell into the despotic style of living which it was necessary for an isolated Englishman to adopt among the natives. We must remember too that the Indigo Factories of the Civilians were taken over with all the defects of system inseparable from a management, in which the use of official influence and dependence on native servants were the principal features. Whatever were the faults of the old Planters, we doubt their conduct having been marked as a rule by unnecessary severity and wanton cruelty. For their social habits we fear we cannot say much. Hospitality has always been a characteristic of the class. The meetings of the Planter fathers were full of good fellowship and kindness, but it was too much the fashion in those days to test a man's worth by his capacity to drink. On the whole we fear there was little polish, nor could much be repeated where the refining influence of European female society was unknown. So much for the past.

English life in Bengal, as it now is, is very little understood as regards the relations subsisting between the English and the natives. The official class, as a rule, are isolated from the latter. The natives associated with by the Civilians are Cutcherry officials or domestic servants. Few, even now, among the Government covenanted servants, can talk the vernacular. Their experience consists mainly in the knowledge of certain traditions which they receive as articles of faith. As the Civilian rises from the Mofussil routine to the responsible posts of Calcutta official life, these articles, hitherto comparatively harmless, become injurious, tainting even the policy of the Government. The career of many officials is almost entirely passed at the Presidency. He who has lived fifteen or twenty years in Calcutta can know little practically of the Mofussil, be he official or non-official. The former may rise step by step in the Secretariat till he obtains a seat in Council; the mercantile man, entering "the house" under the favouring auspices of the senior partner, may work his way up to the rank of a merchant prince, but such men's practical knowledge of India is exceedingly small. Though, as Secretary to Government or as Member of Council, the one may unfortunately guide the counsels of Government, or as a merchant, the capital of the other may assist in developing the resources of the country, they can know little of the land in which they dwell. The language

they hear spoken is a mongrel dialect; the higher class of natives with the gloss of an Anglo-Indian education, with whom they come in contact, are not a fair sample of the native community. Intercourse with them gives them no insight into native feelings or habits, the lower classes as much resemble the peasantry in the Mofussil, as the drags of a large manufacturing town in England resemble the agricultural population. The merchant, if he succeeds in amassing a fortune, cares little for being thought an authority on Indian matters. The Civilian must feel on his return to England, that if he is not, he is expected to be so, and of necessity takes rank as an Anglo-Indian of "experience." His influence is equally noxious in India and at home. It was felt in India in 1857. Since the Rebellion has been overcome, the traditional policy retains its ascendancy. In England the old Indian official's influence is specially felt on the religious "neutrality" question. His opinions on this point are respected by many either too timid or too deficient to judge for themselves. The public at home have been taken quite by surprise lately, to find Sir John Lawrence, the Governor of a large Province lately subjugated and peopled by men enthusiastically attached to their religion, strongly imbued with an opinion diametrically opposed to the tradition. The official class in the Province he governed know the people they are appointed to rule, but the Lawrence School differs from that in which the Bengal Civilian is trained.

In endeavouring to give an idea of English life in Bengal as it is at present, we must first describe life as it is in "a station." This life has its peculiarities which are in themselves a marked feature of Anglo-Indian life. In the book we have placed at the head of this Article "our station," though burlesqued, is not on the whole unfaithfully portrayed. These sketches aim only at depicting everyday life as it is among the English members of the station society, the effect of English influence on the native mind is not alluded to except in the sketch of "our Missionary," though we may be sure that such characters as are caricatured in "Curry and Rice" have an influence and a very considerable one for good or evil. The personal sketches begin with the Judge, in rank "a tremendous dignitary," antiquated as to the fashion of his external man, the horizon of his official responsibilities bounded by the circle of Court Omlah. The old gentleman's "judicial soul being saturated with appeals, criminal cases, decrees, circular orders and the like," he is conscientious in the discharge of his duties, but decidedly contracted in his idea of what those duties are. We must pass over the Judge's wife and the other ladies, only remarking that we think our artist might have spared the induction of the satins of his

pen and pencil on the fair sex, his introduction behind the scenes in the Illustrations is specially ungallant.

"Our Magistrate's" weak points are represented to be, conceit of his position, a penchant for repairing station roads, and love of architecture shown in the erection of elliptic arches "spanning a tremendous watercourse, fully eighteen inches in depth, and seven feet in width," or in the capture of a pillar of the state in the person of my Lord Coriander. This sketch is unjust, the Magistrate is more open to hits at his chronic jealousy of the Judge's interference in his decisions, and his inclination now and then to find the corner of his district where pigs or leopards most abound, the corner most in want of his presence. The Magistrate, we think, is as a rule the official most given to real useful work, and least to display of silver plate and impudence. Our "swells" and "fast" youths are represented rather by the Assistant or "our Joint," as our artist has it. This sketch is about the best in the book. The conceit of the young puppy whom fortune has pitched into "the best service in the world," is well hit off. He is a bit of a dandy, curls his hair, cherishes the rudiments of a moustache, and nourishes oleagiously the sprouts of an early whisker. Being sportingly inclined he possesses a stud of horses, and cultivates dogs rakish in cut and hairy in pretension. The youth in déshabille hearing his "reports," is the subject of the illustration, and is good. The old Omlah is gobbling as if for dear life, the solemn Chaprassee behind, and the Burkundaz in the distance, are members of that body which, as Sir Charles Napier said, cost the state what would pay an army. The next person illustrated is "our Missionary," a good natured satire—its chief point the bad pronunciation of English on the part of "little Frutz" who, it is said, preached a sermon all about a winny-ya-ard. On one occasion "Hawrister of ours" so far forgot himself as to evince merriment at the worthy German's conversion of "Jewish rabbi" into "Jewish wabbi." We would not be hard on Hawrister, for we remember that it was with very great difficulty we ourselves, who are of a sedate nature, could hear with becoming composure the exhortation of a German Missionary, "Bredren let us bray," especially as it was followed by the opportune hee-haw of an irreverent ass outside the church. There is no ill nature in this sketch, and no more than justice is done to the Missionary when our author says,—“He defies the rigour of the scorching wind, and ‘at any hour of the day you may find him in the highways ‘and byways holding forth to the native community on the ‘subject of his mission, scattering the seeds, as he will tell you, and again;—“Fritz has established a school in the bazar which, I am told, is populously attended, and Mrs Frutz takes under

'her protecting wing the little orphans that Frantz in his labors carries home to cherish and bring up " The sketch concludes in a kind spirit,—"and so amidst toil and travail, and disappointment with contracted means, exiled in a foreign land, but with hopes bright and a firm faith, do this good worthy couple minister individually and conjointly in what is to them a labor of love, working with willing hearts in the arduous duties of that state of life to which they have been called, to the benefit of their fellow creatures and the cordial good wishes of the society of our station "

"Our Colonel" may be a fair specimen of the Commander of a sepoy Regiment—we cannot take upon ourselves to say After 27 years in Civil employ our old friend may be excused if "of battalion and brigade manœuvres" he knows about as much as the Grand Lama We fear that many of our crack sepoy Regiments were commanded by old Capsicums, good-natured old gentlemen, content to look back with complacency to their days of real or fancied usefulness when "in Civil employ," but whose more mature intellects and riper energies were wasted in thermantidotes or other contrivances for the increase of domestic comfort. "Our Padre" is a gentleman of happy disposition who, in the execution of his clerical duties, by no means cuts himself off from the world and its pleasures Certainly overdrawn, the sketch may still be founded on fact. "Our Doctor" is a close-fisted acquisitive Scotchman, and it is hinted his doings as director of the Kabob Bank are not altogether immaculate We protest in toto against this sketch As a rule the Scotchman in India loses his national characteristic, and is a liberal hospitable fellow, and certainly quite as honest as his neighbours, clannish no doubt, but his generosity is by no means confined to the mass of his native land The Doctor has often a considerable native practice, and perhaps more than any other official has opportunities of social intercourse with the natives Most stations have their Charity Hospitals attended gratuitously by the Doctor We have known station Doctors, English, Scotch, Irish, but never saw one of the genus depicted by our artist "Our coffee shop" or our "gossip shop," as we have frequently heard the institution more truthfully called, is perhaps the best sketch in the book. For scandal, commend us to "our station" all over India. Presidency towns are bad enough, but for gossip with its attendant jealousies and bickerings, cuttings and reconciliations, our station will carry off the palm all the world over.

The "burra khanna" elucidates about the heaviest social scene Anglo-Indian life can boast of The rest of the sketches are more or less amusing, appropriately closing with "our departure for home." Always excepting the drawing aside of the social veil

which exposes to profane gaze the Judge's and the Magistrate's wives both in *déshabille*, the former engaged in her morning household duties and the latter undergoing an eastern toilet, (the other caricatures of female life are more harmless) we think "Curry and Rice" on the whole does credit to the artist's skill. We believe it has had a large sale. It is we know fearfully abused, which is not a bad criterion of the faithfulness of its portraiture. The artist, we can easily believe, has been pronounced "a horrid man" by many a Judge's and Magistrate's wife. Allowing for the exaggeration of caricature, it is not an untrue picture of station life among our Anglo-Indian Mofussil aristocracy!

If we wish to learn something of native customs, manners and habits, we must seek the knowledge from those who live among the natives. The Indigo and Sugar Planter or the Tea Grower have opportunities denied to other classes. They know nothing of Central Asian politics or of court intrigues, little if anything of young Bengal, but mixing with the ryots, transacting business with the higher classes, Zemindars or others, brought into contact with native officials and Court Amlah, constantly rubbing against the police, they really do acquire a practical knowledge of native character. The Planter lives among the people. In business he is connected with them. In the sports of his leisure hours, pig sticking or leopard hunting, he mixes with them. In default of a dish of "Curry and Rice" concocted from "our Mofussil," we will try to give our readers an idea of some features at least of Anglo-Indian life in Bengal.

The residence of the Manager of an Indigo Concern is commonly a commodious upper-storied house, without the luxurious fittings or furniture of the Calcutta palace, but with every thing necessary for substantial comfort. The out-houses share this appearance. The kitchen, bakery, sheep pen, fowl-house, and last, though not least, the stable give you the idea of the appurtenances of a substantial Indian farm house. The houses for the domestic servants are in the compound, and the whole, arranged without stint of space and generally on a convenient plan, has an air of roomy comfort differing much from the cramped, walled-in accommodation of a Calcutta house. Attached is a large piece of ground, tastefully laid out, comprising flower and vegetable garden and generally a neat pond or tank, fruit trees of various kinds, the peach, mango and leeches the most common, being planted about, making the garden partake often of the appearance of a park. No six feet wall encloses the whole, but a *mendie* (native myrtle) or other hedge, or a light railing, separates the factory grounds from the fields outside. Houses of this description are

dotted, now a-days, pretty thickly at intervals of ten and twelve miles over the indigo districts of Lower Bengal. Their residents live in social harmony, differing very greatly from the stiff artificial style of Calcutta life. A planter drops in upon his neighbour in a friendly way to pass the day, with or without invitation, and except when "sowings" or "manufacturing" keep all hands at home, there are frequent social gatherings for sport. Once or twice a year there may be grand meets on an extensive scale, nearly every resident in the district and many from neighbouring ones assembling. The creature comfort arrangements of such parties are generally managed by subscription. Two or more tents or a mangoe tope, accommodate the hunters for temporary refreshment or rest, and if, as is generally the case with such parties, the meet extends over two or three days, an out-factory dwelling house is borrowed for the general accommodation. Whatever may have been the style of entertainment in olden days, these parties at present are characterised rather by hearty and well regulated joviality than by libertine excess or bacchanalian license.

These however are not a fair type of the gatherings which form an important feature in Mofussil life. A pig-sticking meet comprises generally some ten or twelve keen sportsmen, such parties being got up sometimes by one, sometimes by another, of the sporting fraternity. We remember being present at such a party, and we must say that the impression left on our mind as regards the social good feeling among the sportsmen themselves, and the apparently cordial relation between them and the ryots, was very favorable. While on a visit to an Indigo Factory, our host one day announced that his friend A intended to be at the Boarrum jungle on a early day, and had included us in an invitation to join the party. We could manage a horse well, and could go across country to perfection, but had never "ridden a pig." A's parties were notoriously first-rate, and the Boarrum jungle the famous cover of the district, so we anticipated great pleasure and gladly welcomed the eve of the day on which the hunt was to take place. We were to meet at A's house at dinner on the previous evening that we might start fair and have the day before us. An eight mile canter brought us to A's residence, which was a large two-storied house, a fine river flowing past it. The grounds were elegantly laid out, the flower beds bearing evidence of female taste. Most of the guests had arrived before us, and were collected in a knot near the stable, discussing the merits of two noble animals that had just arrived from Calcutta. We were received by A and the rest with a bonhomie very different to the stiffness and formality of a Calcutta first reception.

Within an hour we were assembled at dinner, our host, his wife and two daughters doing the honors with a frankness and kind sociability which put every one on terms with themselves and each other, strongly contrasting with the ennui and icy reserve of a Calcutta "burra khanna." After dinner, music chess or billiards amused the company till they retired to rest.

The next morning we were roused at dawn. Our friends of the previous evening equipped in sportsmanlike attire, flannel shirted, sola toped, booted and spurred, were discussing the merits of their steeds and speculating on the chances of sport. The spears were being examined, the spare ones and the spare nags being forwarded to the scene of action. Elephants were trumpeting, horses pawing, servants hurrying to and fro. The scene in the early dawn was singular, and would have made a capital oriental subject for our Curly and Rice artist. The elephants, twenty of which had been collected, were moving off to the ground, most of the sportsmen seated on the *charymmas*, and *guddies*, the horses being led behind were neighing and fretting at the sight of the huge quadrupeds before them, the elephants on the other hand equally frightened, and hurrying on at twice their usual speed. The cover was a large tract of "benna" jungle, and a fine open maidan to the South and East gave promise of a good run. In addition to the elephants there were some five or six hundred men to act as "beaters," many of them "bonooa" coolies, but a full half, ryots from the neighbouring villages, who are always delighted to join the sport and assist in destroying the pigs which are very destructive to the crops. The sun was well up when we reached the ground. Considering the number of people and animals assembled, sportsmen, coolies, ryots, elephants, horses and dogs, for the bonooas are generally accompanied by their canine friends on these occasions, the preliminary arrangements were soon made. "Line kurro—line kurro" (form line) was shouted on every side, a non-rider among the Sahibs undertook, seated on one of the elephants, to keep those animals in line, and our host had organised a set of sirdars to perform the same office for the coolies. The twenty elephants and some five hundred men, each man with a stout lattee in his hand to force his way through the jungle, and if necessary to be used in self-defence, formed a line, a third of a mile in length.

The business of the day was now fairly commenced. The air resounded with the peculiar shout of the coolies and the shrill trumpeting of the elephants. The riders rode, apparently listlessly, down the plain, but with eye carefully scanning the line of jungle, and spear in hand. Soon a "tally ho!" was heard, and two or three pigs broke cover. The apparent listlessness now gave place to

ardent excitement, "tally ho!" again, and five or six pigs were scouring the plain, but only two of these were pursued, the others being sows which are no sport. We followed as best we could, saw the first spear taken, and witnessed a splendid charge. The rider drew blood, and passed on. The boar turned and charged down upon the next man. The creature had a pair of splendid tushes and fought well, now charging, now rushing away frantically with two or three spears sticking in his flesh. After severely cutting two horses and showing noble fight a fatal thrust at last rolled him over. The one who first drew blood had galloped after another pig, leaving a man to secure the tushes. Encounters similar to the one we have described were taking place in different places within a range of two or three miles. When the party assembled for tiffin, it proved that six fine boars were the result of the morning's sport. The carcasses were seen in the distance, slung on bamboos, and being conveyed by the bonoos to their respective *paras*, to be hacked up and broiled for their night's entertainment. Refreshment was now the order of the day, beef, mutton, hams, in fact everything that could rather satisfy than tempt the appetite was in abundance, with a plentiful supply of soda water and beer wherewith to wash the solids down. The pops of the soda water and well drawn beer corks mingled with the loud talk and discussions on the morning's sport. "Purls" and "headers" were discussed with little sympathy for the victims. One unfortunate youth, rigged out in the very height of sporting fashion, was unmercifully joked for having drawn blood from a sow, his excuse that she was "very big," and therefore, as he thought, worthy of his prowess, was received with roars of laughter, and he was recommended next time to look at the head as well as belly of the pig, and see if the animal could show a pair of tushes. The youth took it in good part and promised to profit by that day's experience.

We sat quietly "taking notes" all round, and soon became interested in a discussion, which we were told was characteristic of such parties. One sportsman was vehemently laying claim to a first spear which another, he said, had taken by "cutting in" between him and the pig. It appears to be a fundamental rule in the sport that such "cutting in" is unfair, and he who does it, is not entitled to the honor of a first spear so obtained. The knotty point is to determine what the distance was between the first rider and the boar when the second rode between. If a rider is abreast of the pig, say within six feet, with his spear poised, the boar being in fact "in hand," it is unfair for another party to rush in. The pig by jinking may alter the relative positions, and the rider then loses

his chance which is taken up by the next man. On this occasion the discussion waxed warm, and it was eventually decided, as regards the possession of the tushes, that they should be handsomely set and presented by both parties to our hostess. While we were all refreshing ourselves, arguing, laughing, and chatting, A had withdrawn from the party and was the centre of a group of natives who were urging something on his attention. Curious to know the subject of discussion, we drew near and were admitted within the circle. A deputation from two or three villages were begging A to construct a "bund," or embankment, to keep out the river till August. They declared they had lost their Oous Paddy three consecutive years by inundation, that every cold weather they had determined to raise the bund, but they wanted unanimity. All agreed as to the necessity of the undertaking and that it would cost money, the difficulty arose when the time came to collect the rupees. They could not settle among themselves the proportionate shares of the expense, nor to whom the general fund should be entrusted, they wished A to make the bund, and to collect the cost from them as he liked. We were surprised at their expressions of confidence in A's judgment, and at the apparent affection their language evinced. He was their ruler, their father and mother, they basked in the sunshine of his protection. The oriental vocabulary of dutiful phrases was in fact well nigh exhausted. A received it all with smiles of contempt, which showed us that he looked on the whole as "Vox et altogether nihil." He told them he should like to oblige them, but he had been very scurvily used on a late occasion in which he had helped certain ryots in a similar strait. "Oh!" said one "you mean the ryots of Allapore—they are great rascals. Do not liken us to them. We are not false slaves to abuse our benefactor, to seek to obscure the rays of the sun that shines upon us. They, Sir, are liars, we are truth tellers and honest men." The result was, that A agreed to their request, and they were directed to come to the factory the next day, when the necessary arrangements would be made.

When we returned to the tiffin ground, preparations were being made for an afternoon campaign. We were satisfied with our share of the morning's sport, and were pleased enough to join our host on an elephant. We had thus an opportunity of seeing the "beating," which in its way was a sight as amusing if not so exciting as the "sticking." We fell into line, and it was curious to watch the measured forward tramp of elephants and men, the jungle falling under them, and to hear the shouting and yelling of the latter. We had a good view too of the chase, when the pigs were started, and could observe the different runs, as first one, then another, boar was driven from its

shelter We found time for conversation, and we were greatly interested in our host's views of men and manners in the Mofussil We had heard a good deal about Indigo planting, mostly what was to be said against the Planters, and were glad to see "the other side" of the picture We asked A what he alluded to in his conversation with the ryots, as to his having been badly treated in a matter similar to that about which they asked his help His story is worth repeating It showed us how careful people should be to ascertain beyond doubt the truth of their facts, before making deductions from them The Rev Mr ———, said A, was last year on a Missionary tour in this neighbourhood, he passed a day with me and very glad was I to have the company of so intelligent and agreeable a man We discussed Mofussil politics in a friendly way, and in the afternoon he started for the Allapore *haat* to preach to the natives. It was the month of October Near the *haat*, was a *khal*, through which a *bheel* drained into the river The current had lately turned, as the muddy deposit showed On it a man was scattering Indigo seed Mr ——— commenced scattering his seed, as the good Frutiz would have said, by endeavouring to draw the people into conversation, but was unable to command attention, the warning and the hortatory styles were equally unavailing, Mr ——— was about to give the poor heathen up in despair, when his knowledge of human nature suggested that if he could work on their every day feelings, he might at least establish himself in their good opinion, which would be a step gained He called himself their friend, one who desired to better their condition in life, one who was travelling about with the express view of learning their grievances and striving for their redress Were they happy? Was their Zemindar just? Was the neighbouring Planter fair in his dealings? Were the Zillah officials a terror to the evil doer and a protection to them that do well? Mr ——— had found the key to their tongues at least, if not to their sympathies To judge by the flood of rustic eloquence which was poured forth, there never were ryots so steeped in misery, so fearfully oppressed The Zemindar and Planter were in this case one, our friend A, as to rent they paid fourfold what was paid by their forefathers, and the incidental exactions of the Sahib's servants again almost equalled the amount of rent, their best lands were all forcibly taken for the cultivation of Indigo "This season, to crown our misfortunes" cried the spokesman, a garrulous Mussulman with a *fukir's* beads round his neck, "our paddy was all destroyed by inundation" "Very sad," said Mr ——— "but how did that happen?" "The Sahib cut this *khal* and let the water in. It overwhelmed all the paddy in six hours" "Shocking—shocking,"

said my reverend friend, 'but when this was done, did you not go to the magistrate? Did you not seek help from those whom a paternal government has placed over you to protect you from oppression?' This speech created great excitement. There was no *tusbeey* they said, the omlah ruled the magistrate, and the Sahib paid the omlah, the officials were one and all unapproachable, except through the omlah. When the magistrate came to the Mofussil, Mr —— asked, could they not explain their grievances? God forbid, they cried, that the magistrate should visit their village, the vicinity of officials was the signal for untold oppressions and extortions by their blood-sucking chaprasees. If a ryot did chance to get into the presence, they declared it was of no avail, as the magistrate could neither understand them nor make himself understood, he spoke an unintelligible jargon, not Hindustanee they were sure, for many of themselves understood that language, but it was supposed to be a dialect spoken in a far off eastern district among the Mhugs. "Well, well" said Mr —— "but about the khal, surely the object in cutting it, was not to injure your paddy?" "The Sahib did not think much about our paddy probably," they replied, "you can see his object however plainly enough," pointing to the man scattering the Indigo seed, "It was to get deposit over these lands, make them unfit for paddy, and to sow Indigo on them which, you may see with your own eyes, is being done." "Dreadful, dreadful" said Mr —— to himself "How this confirms my opinions and those of my brethren regarding the ungodly system pursued in the cultivation of Indigo. How sad that nominal Christians should so disgrace the Christian profession. I cannot return to the board of the oppressor Fitter as it that I should in this place shake off the dust from my feet as a testimony against him!"

The whole matter seemed plain. The ryots' complaint was clear, the circumstantial evidence as to its truth was undeniable. There was a sheet of water without so much as a blade of paddy visible. There was the khal, the cutting of which had cut so deeply into the welfare of the poor people, and there too was the very instrument of the oppressor sowing the seed which was to bear fruit as the ungodly gain of the tyrant. The worthy Missionary did not of course appear again that day, A said, and the next he heard of him was the above story from a neighbour. The reverend gentleman felt it to be a sacred duty to report the circumstance, 'a sad Mofussil experience' he termed it, to the secretary of his Society. The real circumstances were as follows. The sheet of water was a large bheel, which was never dry throughout the year. The ryots had begged A to cut the khal to drain it. This had been done two years before, and already

some two or three hundred beegahs of fine loam had been redeemed A had not yet received one-half of the money he had paid for cutting the khal, and it appeared the redeemed land did not belong to his villages, but to those of a neighbouring Zemindar It was held under a *pekhusta* tenure by his ryots, so that he had no interest in the rent of the redeemed land, which had been duly sown with Oous paddy and reaped in July

We had much interesting conversation with A on the relations between Planter and ryot We asked him how he accounted for the feeling which could prompt the ryots so grossly to misstate and invent He thought it might partly result from antagonism of race, but was more the effect of the traditional feeling that oppression was their birthright They could not realise any other condition Under the old native dynasties they had been ground to the dust Many of the worst features of those cruel despotisms were grafted on the Zemindary system Though nominally under the British Government, the ryot was the slave of the Zemindar When he came under the control of the European he could not readily realise the change, and even under the most favorable circumstances the native servants of the European Zemindar practised, unknown to their masters, much injustice on the ryots The Government system of collecting the land tax confirmed, if it did not increase, the Zemindar's power The quarterly instalment of rent must be paid in by sunset of a certain day or the estate was sold, while punctuality was so ruthlessly exacted from the Zemindar it was necessary to give him power of immediate realization from the ryot The law was strong, and the illegal power exercised under its shelter was ten fold more so

In such conversation the time passed and we were soon at home It appeared that we had lost the most animated scene in the day's sport While trying to turn out a pig which had taken shelter in a village, a leopard was roused A somewhat corpulent gentleman, but none the less keen a sportsman, had exchanged the saddle for the charjamma The only gun which chanced to have been brought was with the mahout, but unfortunately there were no bullets A few charges of snipe shot was the only ammunition These were soon lodged in the animal, and the last shot slightly lamed him Roused by fright and pain, he flew at the elephant,—the last shot was gone, and our corpulent friend had only his spear, he wounded the brute on the shoulder and then, to the amazement of those who had by this time come up to see what was going on, coolly dropped off the back of the elephant, and had what we can only describe as a hand to hand encounter with the leopard, and at last succeeded in literally pinning the infuriated

animal with his spear to the ground. All agreed that no similar instance of physical strength and pluck existed in the sporting annals of the district, and the victor's health was drunk with honors. Thus closed one of the most agreeable days we ever spent, and we appeared, so much had we seen and heard of Mofussil life, to have spent months in that one day.

The above sketch of a day spent in the Mofussil by one to whom all he saw was novel, contains many hints regarding the mode of life of the Mofussil resident, and his relation to the ryot. The Planter is ever ready to assist those around him, his medicine chest is at the command of the poor, his name is sure to be found on subscription lists for Charity Hospitals or Schools, from which the natives solely derive benefit. The Indigo Planter may be a despot, but his rule is a mild despotism, his system of business, in itself not unfair, does no doubt in its working often become oppressive. This is owing as a rule to the nature of his instruments and the character of those he has to deal with. There is nothing more unfair than the line adopted by the anti-Planter. He takes for his text an act of severity, say, as an extreme case, the imprisonment of a ryot, he argues on it from an English point of view, denounces the illegality, commiserates the victim, and cries shame on the oppressor. His arguments, pity and wrath would be all reasonable if the scene were in England, but are thrown away when Bengallee' ryots, a "Company's" Court, and a "Company's" Magistrate compose the tableau vivant.

On the question of the relations between the Indigo Planter and ryot, we would quote the evidence of Mr E. Underhill before the Colonization and Settlement Committee of the House of Commons in April 1859. This gentleman is one of the Secretaries of the Baptist Missionary Society, and his testimony may be received as impartial. If he had a bias, it might be presumed to be rather against than for the Planter.

Question 4755 Is the system of Indigo planting detrimental to the best interests of the native population? It ought not to be, on account of the expenditure of money which always takes place in an Indigo factory, nor do I think it ever would be, were the state of the law favorable to fair and equitable dealings between the Indigo planters and the persons they employ. But owing partly to the state of the courts, and partly to the claims of the occupying tenants to manage the land as they please, and not subject to the will of the Zemindar, or the Indigo planter, if he be the Zemindar, there are perpetual conflicts as regards the cultivation of Indigo upon their lands, and hence there has arisen a large number of cases of great illegality and great oppression upon the part of the Indigo planters, and on the other hand undoubtedly, on the part of the ryots themselves, acts of resistance to the just rights and claims of the Indigo planter to the produce of the soil, for which probably he has already advanced money or deed. *Question 4770* You do not mean to say that the planter has any interest in oppressing the ryot? No, the planter's

interest is on the other side, nor do I think that those acts of oppression are committed from a mere wanton desire to oppress, I think they, generally speaking, arise out of the difficulties in which the Indigo planter is himself placed by the circumstances of the country, and also partly from the character of the people. The people are not usually truthful and not usually ready to fulfil the obligations into which they enter. The system of advances, which is everywhere prevalent, in all trades, and in all matters in which common people are employed, is a system fraught with mischief, employers are very frequently wronged, and their advances often made in vain. *Question 4771* Has there not been much controversy between the Indigo planters and the Missionaries, arising out of these circumstances? There was a great deal just previously to my leaving for England, arising from the statement of a German Missionary in Kishnaghur, that the Indigo planting system was a system of great oppression and extortion on the ryot, but the conclusion to which I came, after a great deal of thought and conversation with parties interested in the matter, was what I have already stated, that almost universally these oppressions and extortions originate in the state of the country, in the state of the administration of the law, in the character of the police, and in difficulties which the Indigo planter might well plead in bar of any condemnation that might be brought upon conduct that otherwise we must very strongly condemn."

Besides the official and the commercial, there is a daily increasing class of Europeans, those employed on the Indian railways, many of them rough, uneducated men. For the most part they are ignorant of the vernacular, and many of them arrived in the country during or immediately after the Rebellion. The ill-feeling that has arisen between the natives and European workmen on the railways, is generally caused by inability to understand one another, and much of it has been engendered from the knowledge of and disgust at the atrocities that were committed in Upper India during the Rebellion. An English mechanic is naturally impatient at the apathy of the natives, they again are frightened at his energy, displayed in hearty exhortations to them to work, which are mistaken for abuse. After a time it is found that the bark of the *gora* is worse than his bite, and the natives learn to fall into his ways, trying to put a little life into their work, and laughing at his noise. There is one other class against which the great promoter of antagonism of race in the Calcutta Press, *The Indian Field*, backed by a few Civilian, rails so much. We believe this class to be in the main the creation of their own brains, so far as it can apply to Anglo-Indians who associate with natives.

Englishmen in the Presidency towns, we have before said, have really few opportunities of mixing with them. Our experience lies more in the Mofussil, and we cannot say that we have met the class so much complained of. Here and there one sees a silly conceited youth, whose pretensions to 'gentility' lie in a lisp, a collar of the newest cut, a smart ring and studs,

in vain Their living among the people as professed proselytizers in peace and respect, showing as it does that "Christian things done in a Christian way will never alienate the heathen," proves that the people of India are able to appreciate the practice of Christianity, and are willing to have its doctrines explained to them and offered for their acceptance This opinion is borne out by the respect and affection evinced to Sir Henry Lawrence and his co operators in the Punjaub Their profession of Christianity and constantly expressed desire that those around them should be both almost and altogether such as they were in this respect, did not alienate from them the affections of the people When Colonel Nicholson left his district "the people came crowding round him, poured out their sorrows and their tears, and declared that the Government had removed from their midst the father to whom they all looked up as their best friend" The Punjaub, the land ruled by *Christian* men, who gloried in declaring their religion and their desire to see those around them embrace it, was the source of our strength when the Empire was in danger

We do not say that Missionary operations have been altogether faultless Now and then we have discerned an inclination to use weapons not to be found in the Christian armoury The controversy with the Indigo Planters, for instance, we think was waged in "an unchristian way," no good resulted from the discussion, and when we see a gentleman like Mr Underhill, whose sympathies must be with the Missionary body, and who had every opportunity of viewing the subject from their point of view, declaring as his deliberate opinion before the Committee of the House of Commons, that the conclusion to which he came on the subject, "after a great deal of thought and conversation with parties interested in the matter was, that 'almost universally those oppressions and extortions originate in the state of the country, in the state of the administration of the law, in the character of the police, and in difficulties which the Indigo Planter might well plead in bar of any condemnation that might be brought upon conduct that otherwise we must very strongly condemn,'" we cannot but feel that the discussion was entered on hastily, and carried on intemperately It utterly failed in its object.

The Missionaries have not erred at least in not daring to denounce the idolatry and superstitions of the East. We think rather that now-a-days they are too ready perhaps to dwell on the ignorance and depravity below, and to overlook the intelligence and enlightened opinions which are gaining ground in the higher grades of native society We shall have more to say on this point, ere we conclude this Article. The effect

of Missionary efforts is visible at both ends of society. Converts to Christianity are, it may be, more numerous among the lower classes, but the secular education given by Missionary Schools in which the Bible is taught, is telling on the higher. The Institutions connected with the Presbyterian missions have especially been exceedingly useful. We think on the whole, that there is abundant reason for those in Great Britain who support Missionary Societies to congratulate themselves on the effect that this phase of English life in India has had on native society, and on the prospects held out for the attainment of a still more beneficial effect.

The antagonism of race so much complained of, we believe to be much less in the Mofussil than in the Presidency towns. In the Mofussil European superiority is quietly acknowledged, received as a simple fact. The landholder of good family and position is glad to be on terms of intimacy with the Sahib. He is received kindly, on a footing of equality. The one gains information from the other. An interview between a Talookdar and an Indigo Planter is very different from one between a Mofussil Civilian and a native gentleman. The innate politeness of the latter is too often put to a severe test in his agonising endeavours to comprehend the language addressed to him. We lately heard of such an interview. In spite of the attempts of an Omlah who was admitted with the visitor, to catch and interpret the meaning of the Civilian, and the native gentleman's own earnest desire to understand the huzoor's remarks, it was quite impossible, and the interview was at last abruptly terminated by the bowing out of the native, who was distressed at not being able to understand what was said, while the Civilian no doubt declared 'these natives to be great idiots, not able even to understand their own language.' Such intercourse is of no benefit to either party. In Calcutta it is not so bad, because the majority of respectable natives speak English fluently, which is a pity perhaps, for, of late years especially, this antagonism of race has been greatly increased through the facility of communication between Calcutta officials and natives. The seeds of a jealousy which exists between the European official and non-official classes have been sown by the former between the latter and the natives, and are unfortunately bringing forth much fruit.

Our space will not permit us to do more than allude to the relations between the English and natives as regards the Courts, nor, so far as their state is concerned, is it necessary, for the subject has been often discussed in the pages of this *Review*. It is a fact not sufficiently remembered by our native friends that, were it not for the English residents

in the Mofussil, the abuses connected with the Courts, those of the system, of the procedure, and those connected with the personal incapacity of the officers presiding over them, would be comparatively unknown where alone they can be remedied. Now that these abuses have become household words, the natives add the weight of their own complaints, but would they have ventured to *initiate* a movement for their reform?

Taxation will create a new political life for India, and as the influence of English opinions and experience on this question will be exercised largely on native society, a few remarks on this all absorbing topic at the present moment will hardly be out of place. There are certain principles which actuate human nature, the first and strongest is self-interest. A very large proportion of this principle resides in what we English call the breeches pocket. We consider that we have a special right to apply the contents of our purse according to our own will, and to rob a man of his purse is to commit an act which at once makes the injured party the centre of sympathies of no ordinary nature. As an individual claims special property in his private purse, so does the community of individuals claim an interest in the public purse, which consists of money subscribed by all for the good of all. Here in a few words, and with the help of a simple analogy, we have the theory of "taxation," and the theory of a right to a knowledge of, and a certain control over, the expenditure of taxes.

Hitherto India has been held as a fief by the East India Company. That Honorable Corporation acquired a sovereign right of some kind over the soil, the exact nature of the right is a *quæstio vexata*, but under it, the Company bestowed on certain parties, for a certain sum, certain highly profitable privileges connected with the soil, and with the money so acquired, it fulfilled after a certain fashion its duties as ruler. This money, ordinarily called "the land tax", was the main source of income. So long as the Company paid its expenses as it were with this its own money, the mouths of grumblers were shut, or at least there is something to be said in favor of the argument that they should have been shut. In due course of time, after it had attained the age of one hundred years, this Corporation collapsed. Some would have it that it died a natural death, full of years and honours, others that the collapse was in some way occasioned by the enormous size to which it had swollen, owing to the gratification of an appetite which caused it to swallow more than it could digest, others again declare that the Corporation was punctured by certain sharp instruments, the bayonets of its own servants, and so collapsed.

However this may be, it is a historical fact that the old Corporation died. Its affairs were put into the highest Court in England, and a proper time having been allowed to settle accounts and to make arrangements for carrying on the business, and reckoning the expenses incurred in carrying out these arrangements, and in clearing up the confusion that arose in the affairs at the time of the Corporation's death, it appeared, on publication of the schedule, that a deficit of twenty millions of pounds sterling had to be made good ere the estate could be pronounced solvent. This of course weighed on the spirits of the new proprietor, who has fallen into a bad state of health. The physician is unfortunately the same who watched over the last moments of the Corporation. Some think that that death scene was too overpowering, that his nerves then received a shock which they will never recover, and it seems generally allowed that he is totally incapable of bringing his present patient through the crisis. The patient evidently has no faith in his skill, his remedies are all useless, whatever efficacy they might have on other constitutions, the medicines he administers in this case will not remain on the stomach. Should one chance to 'keep down,' its irritating influence neutralises any sedative effect it might have been intended to have, witness the effect of the powder called the Tariff Bill. At present the patient is writhing under the effects of nausea caused by the very odour of a box of pills labelled "the Trades and Professions License Pills." These pills were hurriedly attempted to be introduced into the mouth by the physician's favourite nurse, a respectable old lady, who had always borne a good character, but who has quite lost herself in this case. The mouth declined to receive the pills. So great was the irritation that it was evident, were they forced down, that they would be immediately rejected. The doctor was therefore compelled to alter his prescription, but, assafetida still prevailed in the new composition. The nurse by coaxing and threats at last succeeded in getting the medicine into the throat, but the inflammation that resulted was fearful, and the patient has since got worse and remains, while we write, in convulsions most trying to behold. An express has summoned from England another nurse, a tidy sensible person who has had great experience, but then, as people say, she always worked under physicians of the first eminence, and it is feared that even she will be of no use under Dr. Canning, for so our present medical man is called. As it is known however that she has practised as a doctor as well as nurse, it is supposed she will bring out a diploma to act as consulting physician. In this case she may induce Dr. Canning to change his treatment. We

may then expect to see the pills withdrawn from the throat, and medicines more in keeping with the present practice of the profession administered, though it will be long before the irritation occasioned by the introduction into the thorax of the Canning pills will be removed.

This however is no joking matter. We are in the midst of a financial crisis. It is a serious fact that twenty millions sterling are required. The sheet anchor of Indian income is inadequate. Ways and means must be found. Warren Hastings would have made the Rebellion pay its own expenses and reveal mines of untold riches for future wants. With such a hand at the helm, the Rebellion would have enriched instead of impoverished the exchequer, hoards of wealth would have been discovered. Revolution from below would have inspired revolutionary acts from above, and the most would have been made of a grand opportunity. We must now look to the slower but perhaps surer effects of Railways and Telegraphs to do what the 'sic jubeo sic volo' of a Warren Hastings would have brought about.

The late efforts of the Indian Government to be consistent in its policy and yet to raise funds, have been ludicrous. To meet millions a Tariff Bill to raise thousands was introduced, and as it mainly affected Europeans was carried promptly through Council. As the Provincial cash balances became exhausted, and his native friends remained inexorable in their determination not to lend him money, it became absolutely necessary for Lord Canning to have recourse to some other plan. He determined on a Tax on Trades and Professions. Ignoring an Income Tax, he was able to exempt the fundholders, on the ground we presume that a tax would depreciate still further the public securities, forgetting that whatever improved the financial condition of the Government would raise and not depress these securities, and that the gain in this way would more than counterbalance the amount of a moderate tax. It was the knowledge that Government required and must have money which kept Government paper so low, because the natives could see no means of obtaining money, but by a loan, and they consequently felt that by declining to subscribe to one at $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, they would soon have the opportunity of obtaining 6 or perhaps 7 per cent for their money. Government employes were not to be considered members of Trades or Professions. The gross partiality of this was so heartily exposed, that Government soon announced that it proposed to tax the incomes of its servants 3 per cent, but this was no part of the original bill, and at the best can be called only another piece of Lord Canning's financial patchwork. The bill

did not touch Zemindars. Thus it was proposed at a moment of pressing necessity, when twenty millions sterling were required, to tax the community, leaving out the two wealthiest portions of it, and those who, from the nature and security of their incomes, could bear the burden with the greatest ease. The Zemindars were not to be taxed because Lord Cornwallis had been pleased to make over certain advantages to their ancestors, in consideration of the payment of a certain fixed annual sum! Mr Harington, who introduced the Bill in Council, was instructed to declare farther that it would be "impolitic," to tax the Zemindars, thus giving the weight of the opinion of Government to a most untenable fallacy. When the independent Members of Council had one after the other animadverted on his opinion, and the Press had criticised it, Mr Harington was instructed to deny having made the statement. Obedient as a poodle to its mistress, or Punch and Judy to the wire of the showman, he rose in Council and ate his words!

The perpetual settlement fixed the amount, the payment of which should give a right to the income derivable from certain land. This was not a compromise with parties who disputed the East India Company's right to make a settlement. The old Ameens and Tussildars had no more claim to the Zemindary right than a steward or agent, managing a nobleman's, or Crown, or any Corporation lands in England, has to the estate he manages. What Lord Cornwallis did, and what the British Government is bound to respect and to abide by, appears to us to be this. He made a liberal settlement by which he waived all claim then or hereafter on the part of Government, to raise the amount of land rent on a settled estate. It was well known at the time that large tracts of land were waste. It was mainly to encourage the cultivation of this land that the settlement was made. It was not intended that generations later, when the whole country might be thickly populated and every acre of land yielding its increase, its wealth owing to connection with Great Britain increased a hundredfold, the responsibilities and expenses of Government being likewise greater, the descendants of these favored tax collectors should not bear their share of the expenses of the State. The Zemindars' incomes have improved through causes which have arisen of late years, altogether distinct and irrespective of any element of wealth which existed in 1793. There are many products, sugar cane, jute and oilseeds for instance, the demand for which is European, and which are so valuable as to enable the Zemindar to charge, and fairly so, double or treble the former rent for the land on which they are grown. Is it not just that this increased income should be taxed? It is not meant that Government has a claim to a share of its

subjects' profits as such, but its subjects of to-day are bound to provide for the expenditure of the Government of to-day.

The principle of taxation (the land tax is not a *bonâ fide* tax, it is the return paid in consideration of a very valuable and profitable privilege) indeed has never hitherto been disputed. The Zemindars have never dreamt of claiming exemption from customs duties, and have no more reason to dispute the right of Government to tax them directly than indirectly. In proposing an income tax we are but giving India the benefit of the lessons in political economy which England has been taught by long experience.

The Bill introduced in the Legislative Council by Mr Harington, has justly aroused the indignation of the community, and it is not likely to pass into law in its present shape. Mr Wilson will have sufficient influence to introduce a well and fairly digested scheme of taxation, which, looking our difficulties honestly in the face, will attempt to provide for the deficiency in an impartial, straightforward manner, and which, while ensuring the early realization of the amount required, will arrange for its collection in a manner as palatable as possible, and not after the fashion of the Trades and Professions Bill, which provides the most unpopular machinery conceivable for the purpose. The two classes exempted, Zemindars and fundholders, could be got at more easily and with less risk of unjust assessment or abuse of the powers of the collection of an income tax than any other classes. The fundholders are registered. The Zemindars are all entered in the rent roll of the Collector of every district, with the amount of Government revenue payable by them. The Revenue survey gives the area of every estate in detail and with the owner's name. An assessment at the *Pergunnah nereeks* would give an approximate value of the *Mofussil jumma*, deduct the sudder rent with, say, ten or fifteen per cent. from the *Mofussil jumma* for the Zemindars' expenses of collection and other charges, and the remainder would be the net income.

We are not sure that we ought not to welcome taxation as a special boon to India. With taxation will come the privilege which an Englishman so prizes—the right to a voice in the expenditure of the taxes. From the exercise of this political right will arise a healthy public opinion. The intelligent native will join hand in hand with his British fellow subject, and glory rather in learning from him his constitutional rights as a free subject, than in servilely following the lead of the Government employé, to possess whose smile and paltry patronage is now too often his acme of temporal felicity. We fear that this knot of men to whom we allude, few in number, but at present powerful

British settlement by "Imperial" legislation is unwise, that the idea of its being necessary, while professing to encourage British colonization, to legislate specially "for the protection of native rights and interests" against British settlers, is mischievous. To say of those who are striving after judicial reforms, and are in the van in every agitation for improvement, — these are the men who will crush the natives, who will "improve them off the face of the land," is most unjust. Mr Mangles and other traditionists may defend the late East India Company, its restrictive policy, its resumptions, and so forth, and they will be listened to, with curiosity if not interest, by those to whom it belongs rather to study the past than to work for the future, but legislative or any other interference, however plausible, with the free ingress of British subjects into India, will be but the mangling of an enlightened policy.

We do not wish to be querulous, but as whatever tends to make the British public exaggerate the difficulties to be overcome in India is injurious, we must notice another part of Mr. Mangles' evidence, his remarks on the Nuddea rivers. What he says would apply justly to the Ganges, the Burrumpooter or the Jubboona, but certainly not to the Bhagaruttee, Jellinghee, or Matabangah. At their mouths there might be some slight engineering difficulties to overcome, but throughout their course they are narrow, manageable rivers which, we are inclined to think, Mr Mangles never saw. Our engineering experience has been very limited, but we believe from our own observation and from the opinion of others more capable of giving one, that one or two steam dredges worked for two months on each river, as it is falling, would keep them all well open throughout the year, for boats accustomed to navigate them when they are full. The dredging could be assisted by operations to widen the mouths of the rivers and to throw in a larger supply of water. The tolls annually collected on those rivers would more than pay the cost of what we suggest. However, the justness or otherwise of our opinion will soon be tested. The Eastern Bengal Railway will run for a great distance near the Matabangah river, and the Engineer of the Company anticipates very little difficulty in making the river navigable for large boats or a small steamer, so far as it will be necessary to transport materials to the line adjacent to the Matabangah river.

We have shown how English life in Bengal has told on the material improvement of the natives. Has it beneficially affected them morally? Have Eastern superstition and ignorance been shaken by the introduction of Christianity? We must lament that Christianity in India, as in all other countries, is too little illustrated in the lives of its professors, but our presence has

worked good Natives of intelligence can and do distinguish between Christianity and its professing followers, between the Bible and its professed believers. The *Hindoo Patriot* for instance says, speaking of the Bible "The educated native knows it to be the first of books, but what he objects to is to be compelled to read it to the exclusion of other books." In the same issue of his paper he says in an article on Religious Policy "As regards the single question of granting aid to missionary schools, we have always felt it our duty to point out to our countrymen that so long as the system of making Grants-in-Aid to private institutions exists, the withholding of them from missionary schools would be a gross violation of that very principle of religious neutrality for which they are so earnestly and so justly contending." When an intelligent mind that claims to be the index, if not to direct the opinions, of the most influential of his countrymen, receives and owns such impressions, we may hope that time will ere long work the religious emancipation of India.

The great question which agitates the public mind at home and here, at present, regarding India, is its evangelization. "Neutrality" is a cry which, apparently plausible, is perhaps doing more mischief than any other political watchword. There is a party, that which has always been opposed to British settlement in India, who are rabid on this point. The fanaticism of Exeter Hall is denounced in the bitterest terms, the sword of Mahomet, it would appear by their account, was a toy to the rage for the forcible propagation of Christianity in India, the spirit of the old crusaders, gentleness to the feelings which animate these would-be evangelizers of India by command. The natives of India are roused by an imaginary danger, their passions are excited, they are taught to see religious persecutions and intolerance where none exist, they are encouraged to combat a spirit of religious bigotry when really there is no such spirit abroad to contend against. They are fighting a shadow, a phantom hand put forth by a faction to support a failing cause. It is not in the nineteenth century that England will attempt the forcible conversion of its millions of Indian subjects. Such a project is totally opposed to the spirit of the times. No one asks for Government interference on behalf of Christianity. What is asked is the abstinence of such interference against it—as regards the introduction of the Bible, "the best of books" as enlightened natives call it, into our schools. We say, let it not be a proscribed book. We consider Sir John Lawrence's opinion on this matter the correct one. In the words of his Secretary. "In

‘respect to the teaching of the Bible in Government schools and colleges, I am to state, that in the Chief Commissioner’s judgment such teaching ought to be offered to all those who may be willing to receive it. The Bible ought not only to be placed among the college libraries and the school books, for the perusal of those who might choose to consult it, but also it should be taught in class wherever we have teachers fit to teach it, and pupils willing to hear, the learning should be optional of course.” “Depend upon it,” again quoting Sir John Lawrence “all those measures which are really and truly Christian, can be carried out in India, not only without danger to the British rule, but on the contrary, with every advantage to its stability. Christian things done in a Christian way will never alienate the heathen—about such things there are qualities which do not provoke or excite distrust, nor harden to resistance. It is when un-Christian things are done in the name of Christianity, or when Christian things are done in an un-Christian way, that mischief and danger are occasional.”

The controversy which is raging on this subject is doing incalculable mischief because it encourages in the native mind the idea that the English nation wish to introduce Christianity by force. Christianity cannot be introduced by force, a religion so introduced could not be Christianity. Ours is a *faith* which must be received, *believed*. One moral result of our presence in India is that it has aroused a spirit of enquiry, wherever the Christian and Hindu have met. The monotheism of primitive Hinduism is taking the place of the polytheism and the superstitions of a corrupted degenerated Hinduism. The successive creations of Brahma owing to his periodical siestas, the schemes of cosmogony which declare the earth to be of the shape of a water lily, and the oceans connected with it to consist of ghee, curds, sugar cane juice &c the whole encircled by a hoop of gold, which say that among the heavenly bodies the sun is the nearest to us, next in distance the moon, then the fixed stars, and farthest off the planets of our system, all this nonsense is ridiculed as much by the English-educated Brahmins of to-day as by the Christian philosopher himself. We cannot expect our faith to be received in a moment, but we must be careful not to irritate the prejudices or the feelings of the Hindus by exaggerating their faults or by attributing to them sentiments they do not entertain.

We disapprove of a missionary from India declaring from the platform of Exeter that “there is not throughout India one correct idea of the nature of God,” and holding up the religious belief of the Hindus as a system utterly corrupt,

depraved and idolatrous, without one single aspiration after holiness or truth. Hinduism, with every other form of religious belief which has been received by man, has so far the germ of truth in it, that it originated in man's instinctive longing to know God. We find in it gleams even of some of the great truths of revealed religion—we see a recognition of the Unity and Trinity of the Godhead, however crude, in the belief that the one God consists of Brahma the creator, Vishnu the preserver and Seeb the destroyer, we see a God-man recognised in Krishna the Deliverer. Whatever inconsistencies, whatever incongruities, may exist, there is at least some slight foundation for us to claim a common starting point. We need not sacrifice truth to expediency, neither need we insist on a *tabula rasa* on which to work. We are more likely to obtain a healing at least by acknowledging the existence of truth however hidden and overwhelmed with falsehood, than by declaring at once that the intellect of the millions of the East is totally devoid of a rational conception of the Deity. But religion to be of practical service to man we know must comprise something that will guide and rule him in the affairs of life. The mere instinctive acknowledgment of a first cause, of a God, never has sufficed and never will suffice for this. To satisfy this want human systems have been built upon the one great light of natural religion, but it is only a divine revelation that can supply it. The superstitions and idolatry of Hindu and Bhuddist priestcraft, the sensualities of Mahomedanism, or the obscene orgies of still lower systems, cannot fill the void. We say that Christianity is the revelation which God has given to make religion of practical utility to man. There is a fact which all acknowledge—the existence of sin. A religion that will purify from sin and bestow holiness is what all seek. Christianity, we say, secures this, every human failing, every weakness, every want is provided for. It is a revelation from God which suits our necessities.

This is what we must teach our Indian fellow subjects. They acknowledge the purity of the Christian code of morality. They admire the Book which we revere as containing the revelation of God's will, we must convince them that Christianity as a religious system dovetails, as it were, into the wants of humanity, so exactly as to prove it to be the revelation God has made for the purpose. We must convince them that Christianity is like the key to an elaborate piece of mechanism, a lock for instance containing intricate wards which can be opened easily by this key and by no other. This belief will suffice, the key to apparent anomalies and difficulties will be gladly accepted, though there may be mysteries connected with the

mechanism which the maker can alone understand We must show them that the practice of Christianity raises instead of depresses man The fact is before them that the Christian quarter of the globe ranks first in civilization, they see the man who really carries out the tenets of Christianity practically in daily life, is a better man than his neighbour who does not do so Thus its effects on nations and on individuals are plain If these Christian facts are put before them in a Christian way, Christianity will triumph

As another instance of what we complain of, we will quote the words of, we have no doubt, an earnest, devoted Missionary in a speech this year at Exeter Hall "Go into the Court and ninety-nine cases out of a hundred are supported by perfidy, not by the vile and despicable, but by the most respectable If it were notorious that the most respectable man in or out of Calcutta supported his case by perjury, it would not endanger his reputation, but if a friend were to ask him to go to court to swear to a falsehood, he would suffer if he did not do so, because he would not oblige a friend by doing an action which cost him so little trouble There may be men who would not do this, but the best Hindu that I ever knew was a Brahmin, and I asked him the simple question 'Would you go to Court to swear a falsehood?' 'Of course I would,' he said, 'I would go and swear anything to oblige a friend Do you think I am a cruel man, that I have no benevolence about me? of course I would go and swear for a friend I would not injure a man, but I would get a man away from the hand of the Magistrate if I could' These words convey a very mistaken idea of the actual state of things In fact they are a gross libel on the higher class of natives We know that perjury stalks through the length and breadth of the land, that as a rule every case in Court is supported by perjured evidence, but we have no hesitation in declaring that respectable men of the higher castes loathe the Courts, that they will not give evidence in them, and that the reason of their objection is that the Court atmosphere is one of lies—a deposition and a lie are considered synonymous One of the subjects which command the attention of the Government and reformers at the present moment is—how to overcome the prejudice and dislike of respectable natives to enter a Court It is untrue to say that to the Hindus, perjury to assist a fellow creature in an ordinary strait is praiseworthy, in fact a virtue The educated Hindus declare that the Vedas and the Institutes of Menu do not authorise perjury but strongly condemn it. If that is their own interpretation of their sacred writings and their

most valued code of laws and morals, let us be content with it. They own only that by the Institutes of Menu a man is permitted to perjure himself to save the life of a fellow creature. The theory of this permission is, not that perjury is the less a sin, but that the virtue of saving human life exceeds the sin and cancels it. Perjury otherwise is condemned in the strongest terms. Such accusations as these "provoke and excite distrust" and "harden to resistance." Surely our end would be better served, not by putting the worst construction on what we see and viewing only the darkest shades of the picture, but by looking at the brighter tints, and dwelling rather on the good than the evil elements in the native character.

These harsh speeches do excite distrust and rouse suspicion against us. They put the natives on the qui vive to resent insult and, assisted by their mistaken English friends here, cause them often to see enemies where they should discern friends. For instance, Sir Mordaunt Wells has been abused with acrimony by the natives, backed by the organ of their pseudo-English friends, for his outspoken denunciation of perjury. He stated nothing but fact, he did not accuse the higher classes of natives of committing it, but besought their influence towards checking and overcoming it.

We will give one more instance of the mischievous readiness to hold up the natives of India to the detestation of Christians at home. In the same speech from which we have already quoted, the Missionary says, "a Hindu, it is very probable, would not take away the life of a Cobra, but he would burn his mother if he could get away from the Government; to-morrow, a Hindu would not tread upon an insect, but he would kill his daughter, or throw her to the crocodiles." Now the Missionary may say he was speaking of the Hindu system, not of Hindus. This would be a quibble, for he states what a Hindu would and would not do, at the present moment, if he could, not what was done a century ago. We say that this gentleman's end, the enlisting of the sympathies of his hearers in the missionary cause, would have been more easily attained, and attained in a more Christian manner, by telling them that there is a large and increasing number of educated Hindus who are as much disgusted at such practices and condemn them as heartily as he himself. He might with truth have gone further and said that pure Hinduism, the original Veds, the Shastras of the Hindus, do not teach or authorise these practices, that they grew up among the abuses of an idolatrous and debased priestcraft. Whatever vestiges of superstitious vice, under the name of religion, may remain among the ignorant in some parts of In-

dia, he might have told them that the intelligent Hindus of the present day acknowledge no such rites as suttee or infanticide. They deny that their Veds ever commanded or sanctioned them, and lament that such diabolical practices should ever have existed. He should have besought his audience to take heart and to see in such opinions grounds of congratulation as to what Christian influence had already done, and have bid them take advantage of a soil, cleared of the rank vegetation of superstition and the miasma of cruelty, and so far prepared to receive "the grain of mustard seed," which in God's own time shall become a tree, and overshadow the land.

We should be sorry to think that the speech from which we have made extracts is a type of the speeches made before large English audiences on missionary subjects. It is not so. We were pleased to find, in looking through the proceedings of the great May Meetings at Exeter Hall this year, acknowledgments of the state of feeling among the natives which we have mentioned. The effect of missionary efforts is felt at both ends of native society—at the lowest we may suppose that now and then traces of the old superstitions and cruelties may be discernible, and that the Missionary from whose speech we quoted labored principally among this class, that he was, as our native friends might term it, the Charal's padre, the other gentlemen, we may suppose, associated more with the higher grades of society, and had therefore more opportunities of observing and appreciating the enlightenment which exists among them. However this may be, we think it much wiser, more conducive to the success of missionary enterprise in India, to cease groping among and stirring up the sediment and filth of false systems of religion, and to hail rather with joy the fact that the natives of India are as capable as ourselves of condemning the worn out superstitions and loathing the inhuman practices of an idolatrous worship. As regards the much contested question of Government education, we really believe that the good of India would be most consulted by the entire withdrawal of direct Government interference, or assistance in any way with education, except by Grants-in-Aid. The natives are themselves alive to its value. There is ample wealth among them for the endowment of charity schools where required. The British public are only too anxious to pour men and money into the country to educate the people. The success of missionary schools is a proof that schools in which religious and secular education are combined will be filled. Heartburning and unprofitable discussion on one point at least would be at an end.

Education in England would of course effect more than an

other conceivable plan to break down Eastern prejudices. Living in England would do on a large scale what the Railway carriage is now doing as regards caste. In a few years, we dare say, the natives of India will visit England in large numbers. The "Great Eastern" and such like vessels may yet find their most profitable employment in bringing British colonists to India and returning with Indian visitors.

What will be the state of India fifty years hence who can say? We believe the most sanguine picture would fall short of the reality, if for the next fifty years a tide of unrestricted emigration flows into the country from England. To-day India with its two hundred millions of inhabitants, among whom destitution is unknown, is weighed down by a deficit of twenty millions sterling. The income of Bengal, the richest province, is mainly the land tax, and is in amount about the same to-day as it was fifty years ago. A narrow minded Government cannot or dare not find means of making the landed interest, who have reaped the progressive advantages of our presence, contribute their quota to the pressing wants of the state. Ere fifty years more have elapsed we may hope that the land tax as a principal source of revenue will be unknown, and that the then developed wealth of India will bear, with greater ease and elasticity than England now does, the burden of public taxation. The wealth of India is at present, comparatively speaking, latent. As Mr Mangles confesses, "sufficient was not done in former years in the matter of roads and bridges and canals for the improvement of the internal communications of the country." The statistics of the Calcutta Inland Steam Companies since their formation, and of the East India Railway Company for the short distance it is completed, would show how increased means of transit and increased demand for transit go hand in hand. When India is interlaced with railways, when every river is alive with its steamboats, when canals, roads and bridges complete the chains of communication throughout the country, every line of railway, every river, canal, road and bridge will have to support the wear and tear of an imperial traffic. The fields of lower India will pour forth their cereals, fibres, oilseeds, the mines of upper India, their minerals. The Himalaya Mountains will yield their tea, coffee and the produce of their farms and perhaps vineyards, which will ere long grow up on their slopes and in their villages. The timber of the vast forests, the produce of the virgin soil, and the metallic and mineral deposits of the wastes of Central India, will be elements in our commerce. England will be fed with corn and wine from the East, and the steam power of the British empire will not suffice to convert the raw materials, the fibres, the cotton and the wools

of India, into manufactured goods for the use of the teeming millions of our Indian empire, and of Asia.

The ideas of wealth and greatness which these few words open out to our imagination, may fall short of the reality. Such may be the destiny of Great Britain. Our island home, a speck in the ocean among the nations, will be as it were the apex of the world's wealth, the pinnacle of the commerce of the globe. This may be the result of the opening out of the British Indian Empire. Half a century hence what will be thought of the fears of statesmen of our time? the forebodings of ruin to England through her connection with India? the idea of lopping off some of the branches of the empire and allowing Provinces to drift back into the sea of barbarism, to be crushed under the licentious and brutalising rule of Asiatic despotism? The foundation of the greatness and wealth we have suggested exists. With the seaboard of Hindustan and the sovereignty thence to the Himalayas, and our position in Europe, we have the destiny of this splendid country in our hands. We have only to work it out. Great Britain stands first among the nations of the civilized world. We have not to search for the means to attain this greatness. We have its seeds. We have but to sow them in a rich soil, under the influence of a genial clime.

Mock philanthropists need not fear that the indigenous races will be "improved off the face of the land." There is no analogy between the wild Kaffirs, the aborigines of Australia, the South Sea Island cannibals, the American Red Indians, and the natives of the East. The children of a civilization which flourished when Great Britain was in the depths of barbarism, the descendants of sages who read the heavens when Britons were clothed in skins and worshipped in druidical temples, a race who to this day have retained the germs of intellectual greatness, will not vanish from off the earth. Nor are other points analogous. No one supposes that the plains of India can be populated from Europe. The climate is against it. The race would degenerate and disappear in six generations. Till civilization permeates through the land there will be nuclei, whence its rays will be diffused. European colonies in the mountainous and other localities suitable to the European constitution, will be formed, but the races of India will ever be the people of India. They cannot all go to Europe to read by the full blaze of civilization, but will be gladly lighted by the torches we can bring among them. We can enlighten them best by the free, unrestricted, and heartily encouraged introduction of British settlers. The hill ranges of our Indian empire are sufficiently extensive to receive our surplus population. Every class may send forth its re-

presentatives—the clergyman, the lawyer, the doctor, the merchant, the engineer, the farmer, the tradesman, the mechanic and, to a certain extent, the laborer. All are required. The “Great Eastern” may be freighted full and perform six voyages annually, and that for fifty years, and not exhaust the demand for European colonists. Though unsuited for the residence of Europeans, the plains will be but hours, not weeks, in distance from the hills. They, as well as the culturable tracts on the mountain ranges, will be available for the application of British science and capital.

Colonists or settlers, whatever they may be called, should come to India with the intention of carrying into practice the recommendation contained in the Report of the Colonization Committee. “While, therefore, your committee have felt anxious to embody in their report such general and practical information as relates to European settlement in India, they desire to express their hopes that individual co-operation may not be wanting to promote it. Every Englishman should go to India with a deep sense of his responsibility, not only to those among whom he is about to reside, but to his own country, whose character for firmness, justice and forbearance he is bound constantly, zealously, and by personal example, to maintain.” While proud of belonging to the nation of whose Crown India is so splendid an appanage, and thoroughly imbued with the feeling so well expressed by Lord Ellenborough in his reply to the Calcutta address, that they who won, can and will hold, the country, we should also adopt the policy of that statesman, to rule justly, and to live kindly among our native fellow subjects, to maintain by our personal example the English character not only for firmness, but for justice and forbearance. Though for the moment a class feeling more or less bitter exists, this will pass away. The English settlers unconnected with Government must try to bear with, to *pity* rather than resent, the hostility of a class who feel their position sinking and their influence decreasing. We may look without excitement on the dying embers which, though burning brightly, are burning out.

ART IV —1 *Les Codes Français* Paris 1857

2 *Elements d'Organisation Judiciaire*, PAR EDWARD BONNIER
Paris 1853

3 *Manuel de Juge de Paix* Paris 1854

4 *Compte General de l'Administration de la Justice Criminelle
en France, pendant l'année, 1855*

5 *Compte General de l'Administration de la Justice Civile et
Commerciale, pendant l'année, 1855*

WHENEVER we hear the shortcoming of our administration denounced, and with a sigh we are obliged to admit it, the thought passes through our minds,—“How do they manage these things elsewhere?” Given a great people to be governed, and the best intentions on the part of the Rulers, what is the best combination of men and material, of theory and practice, to effect the purpose? Looking inwards for assistance and example, we find nothing but the bitterest prejudices and most selfish class interests on one side, and the most apathetic indifference or virulent opposition on the other. The great mother country, disfigured by insular eccentricities, vaunting absurd customs which nothing but the lapse of centuries would render tolerable, incapable of organic reforms, and intolerant of alien races and religions, is no more an example for administrations than is London in an architectural point of view for cities elsewhere. Looking outwards, our attention is attracted by the institutions of Turkey, the most degraded but the most orientalized of European monarchies, and those of France, the most recently and most highly organized. With these thoughts in our mind, in 1852 we visited Turkey, and in Number XXXVIII of the *Calcutta Review* we gave our reason for believing that British India was *not* the *most* misgoverned country in Asia, and in 1856 and 1857, we visited France, sat in her Courts of Justice, considered her systems, and now throw together a sketch of her Judicial organization.

Everything in France dates from the Revolution. All her ancient institutions were swept away in that deluge, but she rose invigorated and with new life from her bloody baptism, and set about reforming her laws on the most approved models. Chaos had preceded that Deluge. There had been originally three Courts, the Royal, the Feudal, and the Ecclesiastical. The power of the great nobles had rendered the authority of the sovereign a mere byword, till one by one, through the process of marriage, of conquest, or of treaty, they were absorbed. The subinfeudation of feuds had on the other hand reduced justice to so lamentable a state, that it was relief to the people to have re-

laboured to calm the bad passions which the enjoyment of rapine and the hope of farther license had left seething in one class, and the recovery of dominion, with the opportunity of vengeance had excited in another how, out of the wreck of institutions, he would have raised an edifice more compact and durable than the ruin, or on that blank surface, such as few reformers had even dared to hope for, he would have left the form and pressure of the choicest creation of administrative science how he would have breasted the bars of circumstance, or won fortune to his standard, or grasped at happy chances how he would have been the pillar of the State, and the centre of hope, how certainly his policy of reconstruction would have satisfied or subdued the intellect, while, swift in descent, noble in reward, and yet tempered with mercy, his deliberate justice would have won entrance into the heart These things were not to be, and at a time when his voice might have been heard at Home in the Senate or the Cabinet with effect, it has pleased Him who raises up the humble and meek and pulls down the mighty, that the stately column should be laid prostrate, and the silver tongue of the trumpet should be hushed

A Governor, whose foreign policy was marked by the decision of a Wellesley, and whose catalogue of internal reforms might have satisfied the appetite of a Bentinck, may well be content to await the verdict of History Free from the mists of prejudice, the intemperance of passion, the leanings of partisanship, or the sallies of pique, a calm historical writer may one day review the last years of the Company in the fulness of knowledge, and not with the ignorant malevolence of the *Examiner*, and with all the powerful eloquence without the rancorous hostility of such a man as Mr Bright And while a beacon is raised to warn every one against the dangers of doing too little or too much, Justice, we say it in all sincerity, will be meted out to one whom the foremost of Indian journalists loves to designate as the Great Proconsul, and Lord Dalhousie will be pronounced as stainless in integrity, as honest in purpose, as he was wise in Council, fearless in action, and eminent in debate

ART VII — *The Ras Mala, or Hindoo Annals of the Province of Gozerat in Western India*, by ALEXANDER KINLOCH FORBES, of the Bombay Civil Service With Illustrations, principally Architectural, from Drawings by the Author London Richardson Brothers 1856

THE "Ras Mala" is a very valuable work, and its author deserves the greatest credit for the perseverance with which he has sought to lift the veil which hides the inner life of the various races that inhabit this ancient and interesting country. Many of the facts recorded in it are doubtless historically valuable, but its chief merit in our eyes consists in the store it contains of beautiful legends which give us an insight into the religion and superstitions, the customs and every day habits, the modes of life and thought of the dark inhabitants of the land. The book is indeed a rich mine of information, but, with all its varied interest, we do not think that in its present form it will invite many readers out of India, for it contains too many names and too many details of local incidents to attract the general reader. We are fatigued by the repetition of the wars, forays, and vicissitudes of bloodthirsty petty chiefs and robbers. But we are sure that with some curtailment the work could be condensed into a delightful and readable volume.

There are few persons who have not wondered, on first arriving in India, to see the Heathenism of which they had hitherto only read, existing in actual life and vigour, and who have not longed to learn the history of its architectural remains and the singular customs of its people. We are therefore much indebted to Mr Kinloch Forbes for having surmounted for us all the difficulties of the inquiry interposed by the jealousy of the Hindoos and by his own official duties.

Guzerat, the scene of our author's inquiries, is the Garden of Western India. Its broad, fertile and populous plains skirting the coast, are adorned with magnificent trees which give them the appearance of a continuous Park. They are intersected by wide rivers whose precipitous ravines afford shelter to tribes of daring and skilful robbers. They are studded by towns and villages ornamented with temples crowded by countless votaries, and beautified by lakes brilliant with the red and white lotus. Further inland, forests and hills present more bold and diversified prospects.

The principal part of the work is devoted to the history of the rise and fall of the Rajpoot Kingdom of Unhalwara, of which Unhalpoor or Puttun was the capital. The once magnificent

city of Wun Raj, the Rotulbood King of Guzerat, has sunk into insignificance, its beautiful temples were thrown down by its bigoted Moslem conqueror, and dishonored by being made the foundation of the battlements which enchained her. The English travellers who continually pass between Ahmedabad and Deesa halt for a night at Puttun, unconscious of its former splendour, and can, if so inclined, purchase those marble pillars, inscriptions and sculptured figures dug out from beneath the walls.

The rise of the Kingdom of Unhilwara is related in this wise. Raja Bhoower, King of Kullean, fired with jealousy and martial ardour, resolves to invade the territories of Jye Sheker Sing, Raja of Panchasur. The first attacks are repulsed, but King Bhoower hurries to support his general, and rallies his fugitive troops by "reminding them that retreat is sometimes 'only the prelude to victory, and that a weapon does not strike its 'hardest blows until it has been swung backwards." The King leads his army back. "They meet good omens on the way, and the air resounds with their instruments of music—the war horn, the tabor and the terrible drum." Jye Sheker's warriors too rally round their chief, and assure him "that they are Rajpoots, 'of good descent, and that all are ready to die with him, that 'should any one disgrace himself by deserting in such an emergency, the crows would disdain to eat his flesh, and he would 'remain for ten millions of the days of Brahma in hell."

The Queen, "Roop Soonduree, from the inmost hall, hears 'the terrible sound of commencing battle. She sends for 'her lord, and entreats him not to venture into the field unless 'the omens are propitious, but Jye Sheker replies, that when a 'bride is to be married, or a foe driven from the gates, there 'is no omen but the name of Shree Krishna. The opposing 'armies meet as clouds dashed together by the violence of the 'storm, their weapons gleam like lightning, the earth resounds 'with their tread as with the rumbling of thunder, war music 'sounds, making even the timid valorous, arrows and 'missiles fall in showers, as rain from the monsoon clouds, 'with the bill, the mace, the trident, they struggle, elephant 'strives with elephant, horse with horse, chariot lord with 'chariot lord." "The shout of the battle rising to the skies attracts the attention of the divinities." "The Upsuras dance, the 'heavenly minstrels strike their lyres, the deities and the 'snakes of hell tremble." After prodigies of valour Jye Sheker is slain at last. "Four Queens ascend the pile 'with many slaves and damsels. Townspeople too, many 'of them love-enthralled, follow their Prince to the gate of 'the King of Heaven." "The sun is obscured, the four

' points of the compass wear a terrible aspect, the earth trembles, the river's water becomes muddy, the wind blows hot, the fires of the sacrificial pits emit a dense smoke, stars fall from the heaven, men, seeing these portents, lament that a hero has perished "

A posthumous son is born to Jye Sheker who, from being obliged to hide in forests to escape his father's conqueror, obtains the name of " Wun " or Forest Raja. After having performed many daring exploits as a predatory leader, and exhibited from his childhood upwards unmistakeable signs of his royal birth, he succeeded at length in acquiring a principality, the capital of which he named Unhilpoor from his faithful minister Unhil.

The vicissitudes of Indian Chiefs continually liable to attack from their neighbours, were often great and romantic, and the speed with which they frequently regained power from the facility of collecting followers to support the most desperate cause, never left room for despair. Many stories are told similar to that of the Wun Raja, and there is no doubt that a youth of royal descent would, though a fugitive, be able even now to collect bands of adventurers for the license to plunder, if he exhibited enterprise and intelligence. A successor of the Wun Raja, Mool Raj Solunkee, who subsequently ascended the throne of Unhilpoor, when invaded by powerful foes, wisely restraining " his valour by the example of the ram, retiring that he may strike the harder, or of the tiger, angrily crouching that he may spring with more deadly effect," sought refuge in the fort Kunthkote. This fort is situated in Wagur, a district of Cutch, nearly surrounded by the Runn and therefore not easy to be assailed. Like all strongholds of note a legend is connected with its erection, which we will relate.

Sad, grandson of Jam Lakho of Sami Nuggur in Sind and Chief of Wagur, attempted to erect a fort on a spot which he did not know was holy ground, but no sooner had the building been completed than a Jogee, who was seated in a cave on the side of the hill, pulled a thread out of his garment, and immediately the fort fell to the ground. Seven times the fort was built, seven threads were pulled from the Jogee's garment, and seven times the fort became a ruin. Sadjee, sorely puzzled to account for these wonders, sat reflecting one moonlight night when he observed the Jogee burning incense. Sadjee, making a profound salutation to the sage, sat down beside him, and thus reverently addressed him " Moharaj, I have seven times built a fort on this hill and seven times it has fallen to the ground " The Jogee turned to his disciple and said, " go to my spiritual father and throw into the cave seven images of flour and soopares, and say, let Sadjee be consumed by fire " Seven times the disciple threw wheaten images into the cave

and seven times they were consumed in the name of Sadjee. Sadjee ran and clasped the feet of the sage who said "Are you still alive after I have consumed you seven times with fire?" The Chief replied, "through thy protection O Jogee I am still alive, forgive my fault I beseech thee, I have spent lakhs of Rupees in seven times building a fort on this hill, and on rising and looking in the morning I have as often beheld it a ruin. Tell me I pray now this has happened" The Jogee answered, "it is because the hill is mine Build it in the name of me, Kunthur Peer, and it will remain immovable" He followed the sage's counsel and built the fort of Kunthkote

There is a legend that a King of Scotland, in attempting to build Glamis Castle, where Macbeth murdered Duncan, on a selected site, continually found the work of the day overthrown in the night He was on the point of abandoning the attempt, when a celestial voice desired him to "build it on a boy where it will neither shake nor shoo." The heavenly admonition was obeyed, the castle was erected and still remains entire

Wagela Vasuldey crossed the Runn of Cutch and laid siege to his kinsman Sadjee in the fort of Kunthkote Vasuldey was remarkably handsome, and, as he was one night reconnoitering, Sadjee's faithless wife, the Ranee Chowdee, saw and became enamoured of him Chowdee tied a love-letter to an arrow, and discharged and struck with it the saddle of Vasuldey's horse The Wagela read in the letter from Chowdee an offer of herself and her husband's fort, and he returned an encouraging answer. The Ranee laid her plans She persuaded Sadjee to throw open the gates of the fort for one day as a relief to the garrison after their twelve months' siege, and she drugged his cup and made him helplessly intoxicated No sooner were the gates thrown open than Vasuldey, who lay in ambush, stormed the place, captured Sadjee, and most ungallantly cut off the nose and ears of the wicked Chowdee and banished her from the castle A faithful slave woman smuggled Sadjee's infant son out of the fort, and fled with him to Delhi After having exhibited, according to the usual course of native story, evidences of his high birth even from his childhood, he succeeded at last in recovering his father's possessions, and married a daughter of the Wagela usurper One day the Wagela, apparently in jest, let fall some hints from which her husband Phooljee, the son of Sadjee, learnt that the Wagelas had murdered his father Phooljee, burning for revenge, laid his plans for getting possession of the person of the Wagela Chief The Wagela possessed a wonderful winged horse, named Rutnagar, which bore him every morning to the temple of Kagsir Mahadeb where he performed his devotions Phooljee there-

fore had several fine mares in the neighbourhood of the temple. As anticipated the horse alighted near the mares, and allowed his master to be captured. Phooljee put him to death, and made his skin into the covering of a cushion. When the Wagela next visited her husband he invited her to sit on the cushion, the face on which was turned downwards. Phooljee then asked her whether she felt comfortable in a tone which made her start up from her seat. He then turned over the cushion and exposed her father's face to view. "Alas," exclaimed the Ranee, "my jest has indeed been turned against me," and in a fit of grief and indignation she snatched a dagger from her husband's belt, plunged it into her bosom and fell dead at his feet.

Mool Raj of Udhilpoor recovered his territory and greatly extended his dominions. He subsequently invaded the territories of Giah Rapoo, Raja of Soreth, whom he subdued, and slew with his own hand his ally, Lakha Raja of Cutch. The description of this war in the "Ras Mala" is most animated.

The Lakha referred to, the honor of slaying whom is disputed, appears to have been the first Jareja sovereign of Cutch, and the individual from whom that surname was derived. The original family name of this wide spreading tribe was Summa, but that branch of it now established in Cutch adopted the name of Jareja, from Jam Jado Raja of Nuggur Sami in Sind Jado, having no son, adopted a twin son of his younger brother. Now in the Sindee language a twin is called a Joda, and therefore the adopted son was called Lakha Jareja. From the term Phulanoo Pootr, such a one's son, he was also called Phoolanee or, in full, Lakha Phoolanee Jareja. But the Jarejas also say that they derive their name from the Jaduos or gods from whom they claim descent. When Jam Jado subsequently had a son of his own, Lakha retired to Cutch where he founded the present principality.

It seems strange that Dr Burnes and Mrs Postans, both able writers on Cutch, should have fallen into the error of stating that the Jarejas became Mahomedans and again Hindoos. Had they ever professed themselves Mahomedans they could never have been readmitted among the clans of the proud Rajpoots. They claim a lofty descent from Krishna, an incarnation of Vishnoo, and from Raja Judoo Chundrawaunchee in the lunar line of Rajpoots*. They say that their branch of the family were driven out of India, and retired to Egypt where they reigned.

* We remember an amusing story *à propos* of this. A Rajah said to his Minister, "make me a Hindoo out of a Moosulman." "Very good," said the Minister. The next day, the Rajah saw in the court yard a number of men rubbing and scrubbing a Jackass—"What are those people doing?" said the Rajah. "Only trying to make an ass into a horse," said the Minister—"They can't do that," said the Rajah. "Just as easy," was the reply, 'as to make a Moosulman into Hindoo!'

for many generations as Pharaohs, and that they were subsequently driven by Mahomet from thence to Ghiznee, and afterwards by his successors to Sind, where they made Nuggur Soma their capital near the modern town of Tatta. They admit that some of their race became Mahomedans, but they assert that they never departed from the faith of their fathers. With all its manifest inaccuracies this account may be founded on fact. Fugitives from India may have settled in Egypt in ancient times when the religion and manners of Egypt resembled those of India, and they may have retraced their steps in after ages, but doubtless long before the Mahomedan era when Egypt had become a Christian country.

Mr Forbes relates that when Sidh Raja was excavating the Sukura Sing tank at Unhilpoor, he became enamoured of Jusma, one of the female labourers. He said to her, "Jusma, do not lift such heavy loads of earth, you will injure yourself." She said there was no fear of that. He told her to take care of her child and let the other Oduns lift the earth. She said, "I have hung him to the branch of a tamarind tree, as I come and go I swing his cradle." When the work was completed Jusma went off with the other labourers, but the Rajah pursued her, and she, to escape dishonour, "plunged a dagger into her belly, and, as she died, cursed Sidh Raja, and said that his tank should never contain water."

If the people of this country seldom exhibit the nobler qualities of love and lasting attachment, which in civilized society adorn and refine the character, they have never shown any lack of the sterner traits of passion, pride and jealousy. Indeed the annals of crime in India are full of deeds of blood arising from both lawful and unlawful love. It is remarkable with what unflinching firmness the people of this country sacrifice their lives to protect what they esteem their honour, or to acquire renown or sanctity. Human sacrifices were supposed by the Hindoos to ensure success to important undertakings. Thus the Raja inaugurated the building of the Fort of Satara by burying alive, with their own consent, a Mhar under each of the gate bastions. No doubt the Mahrattas thought and think that the massacre at Cawnpore by the Nana was a worthy offering to Bhawandee, the goddess of destruction. The curse of a holy man, or of any one dying for a principle, is considered effectual, and is viewed with terror by the superstitious.

Rao Ulleajee, ninth in descent from the present Rao Desuljee of Cutch, when deposed by his brother, fled to the village of Kora, where he remained disguised as a religious mendicant, and supported himself, as a Rajpoot should, by plunder. In the

course of his raids he drove off some cattle belonging to a holy man in Sind, who followed them up in hot pursuit. Ulleajee would not relinquish the conquest of his spear, so the Fakeer cursed him and was in return cursed by the ex Rao. The friends of Ulleajee were more alarmed at the curse than he was. With the Chief's mother at their head they followed up the Sindhee Fakeer, and entreated him to recall his anathema. He informed them that it was beyond his power to retract his curse, but he added, that, as Ulleajee was a Fakeer as well as himself, his curse would take effect upon him too. Accordingly within fifteen days both Ulleajee and the Fakeer died. A shrine was built over Ulleajee at Kora where he died, and pilgrims still resort to it to offer up petitions and to receive answers to their prayers, through the medium of a Brahmin into whom the spirit of Ulleajee is supposed to enter. The ghost of the deceased is somewhat capricious, but his orders are always implicitly obeyed. Thus when he desired the whole of the inhabitants of the village to remove the tiles from their houses without any obvious reason, all the houses were immediately unroofed. When the late Rao Bharmaljee halted at Kora for a night he composed himself comfortably to sleep on a bedstead, but Ulleajee testified his displeasure at such a liberty by sending a serpent to the Rao's couch. No Rao of Cutch now presumes to sleep when at Kora except upon the ground, when he passes through the village he preserves a solemn silence, and the sound of the kettle drum ceases lest the shade of Ulleajee should be offended.

Mr Forbes gives an interesting account of the wars that arose between Bheem Dev of Unhilpoor and Prithuraj Chohan of Someshwar, for the hand Echenee Koomaree, the beautiful daughter of the Raja of Aboo. The parties assembled their allies, and after mutual defiance marched to battle. Bheem Dev exclaimed "Let us, warrior-like, take our revenge. Words of war are pleasing to my heart, valour obtains liberation in a moment, liberation which, with much pain of body the ascetic obtains, dwelling in her haunted caves in summer, winter and rains. The armies joined battle,—Som, desirous of fight, and Bheem, that never turned back in war. The shields of the soldiers, swung from side to side, seemed like the new tobacco leaves shaken by the wind. Corpse fell upon corpse. Life mingled with life, not an Upsura remained without a bridegroom. Arrows flew between the sovereigns, as charms fly. Two protectors of regions were the Kings, two canopied lords, two shielded men, before them both sounded the royal drums, both were of many titles. The noise of the music woke Muha Dev from his meditative abstraction,

' he began to clap his hands and dance, and to string a necklace of heads, &c."

Of all the various races of India the Rajpoots are the most interesting. In their chivalrous and martial spirit they resemble the knights of old. It was a point of honour with the knight to succour distressed damsels, and to break a lance in honour of his lady-love. With the Rajpoot it was equally a point of honour to ride gaily to almost certain death for the rescue of his own or his kinsmen's cows, and yet, though bred to be tender of animal life, he would not scruple to murder his innocent daughters for paltry motives of economy or pride. The Rajpoots claim descent from the sun and moon, and maintain their position as second of the four castes into which the Hindoos were divided, though the Brahmmins allege that they have been contaminated by the use of forbidden food and by intermarriages with the Mahomedans. But it is the Brahmmins who have in truth deviated most from ancient usage by forbidding the use of animal food, while it is very probable that many Brahmmin females have forced their way into Mahomedan harems.

"In times of peace and ease the Rajpoot leads an indolent and monotonous life. It is some time, usually after sunrise, before he bestirs himself, and begins to call for his hookah, after smoking he enjoys the luxury of tea or coffee, and commences his toilet and ablutions which dispose of a considerable part of the morning. It is soon breakfast time, and after breakfast the hookah is again in requisition, but with few intervals of conversation till noon. The time has now arrived for a siesta, which lasts till about three in the afternoon. At this hour the chief gets up again washes his hands and face, and prepares for the great business of the day, the distribution of the red cup "kussoomba" or opium. He calls together his friends into the public hall, or perhaps retires with them to a garden house. Opium is produced, which is pounded in a brass vessel and mixed with water, it is then strained into a dish with a spout, from which it is poured into the Chief's hand. One after the other the guests now come up, each protesting that kussoomba is wholly repugnant to his taste, and very injurious to his health, but after a little pressing, first one and then another touches the Chief's hand in two or three places, muttering the names of devas, friends or others, and drains the draught. Each, after drinking, washes the Chief's hand in a dish of water which a servant offers, and wipes it dry with his own scarf, he then makes way for his neighbours. After this refreshment the Chief and his guests sit down in the public hall, and amuse themselves with chess, draughts, or games of chance, or perhaps dancing girls are called in to exhibit their monotonous measures, or musicians and singers, or the never-failing favorites, the Bhots and Charuns. At sunset, the torch-bearers appear, and supply the chamber with light, upon which all those who are seated therein, rise and make obeisance towards the chieftain's cushion. They resume their seats, and playing, singing, dancing, story-telling go on as before. At about eight the Chief rises to retire to his dinner and his hookah, and the party is broken up."

In the Durbar of a Rajpoot prince of high rank it is a very

pretty sight to see the kussoomba distributed to the Chiefs from a silver vessel resembling a coffee pot. It looks much more sociable and civilized than the mere presentation of flowers and betel. Then the music of the Hindoos is as superior to that of the Mahomedans, as their musicians are in respectability. When the Chief himself has a taste for music he takes care to have a good band, and then the airs played in the Durbar are soft and pleasing. The Rajpoots live generously, and do not object to other stimulants not less comfortable than opium. We recollect being once invited to sit down beside a Rajpoot Chief in an extempore Durbar. The never-failing nautch was there to which the Chief listened indolently, and sipped from a small silver cup something which was occasionally presented to him. Our curiosity was excited to know what he was indulging in, and it was soon satisfied by the Chief turning to us and asking whether we would partake of some cherry brandy. We declined politely, but though we regretted to see this indication of the spread of intemperance among the Hindoos, we would rather see occasional excess than the most rigid temperance joined to the unsympathising exclusiveness of caste.

"For the portraits of the fair we must turn to another canvass. There we behold her in the "swingundar-mundee" choosing her favoured knight, or in the marriage hall shining beside him as the goddess of love beside her lord. An honored mother, we again behold her guiding the realm of her youthful son, or in his manhood aiding him with her counsel, or winning him to works of mercy and of religion, or again, alas! we view her in another mood, with strangely frenzied eye, supporting in her lap the lifeless form of her lord, while the shriek of the dissonant horn, and the still harsher scream of superstitious madness afflict the ear, while the funeral flame springs fiercely upwards, and the thick black smoky pall is spread above, as if to hide the horrid sight from heaven."

According to general custom girls are married in India while they are yet children, and their lot is one of neglect, slavery and degradation. There are instances, no doubt, in which they have held a high political position, and in their families their influence must always be felt. They are capable enough of inspiring jealousy, and too often the bloodiest deeds are committed for their sakes. Sometimes princesses have been allowed to select the husband of their choice out of all their suitors assembled in solemn Durbar. Thus Aja, son of the King of Ayodhya, was the chosen suitor of Indamati, sister of Bhoja Raja. On being presented to her lovers in succession the maiden exhibited no signs of approval, until she drew near the anxious and doubting Aja.

"But those doubts and fears were transient,—
She hath found a soothing charm,—
Now he hears her golden bracelets
Tremble on the maiden's arm."

She hath caused a string of flowers
 Such as doth a Bridegroom deck,
 Covered o'er with saffron powder,
 To be thrown o'er Aja's neck —
 And the happy nuptial garland,
 Clinging soft about his breast,
 Seem'd as though it were the maiden
 To his trampling bosom prest."

Such instances of freedom of choice and respect for the wishes of the softer sex, were extremely rare. Indeed the place of honour conceded to women by Europeans, is a mystery to Orientals. "Holy Prophet," exclaims the Mussulman as he strokes his beard, "what a fuss those Infidels make about women." But until they will allow their sluggish natures to be agitated by the charms of educated terrestrial women, they must be content to lag behind or serve the hated Feringhee. It is only educated mothers who can lay in their children's minds the foundation of future eminence and virtue. Can we now say to the sons of India,—"forsake not the law of thy mother?"

We refer our readers to the 'Ras Mala' itself for the beautiful and interesting tale of the adventures of Jug Dev Puimar, a soldier of fortune, the neglected son of a neglected wife, who was driven from his home by a jealous stepmother. He sallies forth to seek his fortune with his good sword and an ardent spirit. His attached bride, the faithful Chowree Varmutee, insisted on accompanying him, but he attempted to dissuade her by saying, "in a foreign land a wife is a fetter on the legs. I must go alone." But she settled the question by asking—"Can the shadow of the body be separated from the body?" At length they reached the famous Suhusra Sing tank at Puttun where Sidh Raja reigned. Jug Dev left his wife at the tank in charge of the horses, while he went into the town to hire a house. The narrative of events that happened to the lady during this casual separation is very remarkable, and characteristic of Hindoo cunning, and of the noble spirit that sometimes animates Hindoo women. She fell into the hands of a clever designing procuress, from whose toils she extricated herself by slaying several men with her own hand. These events brought Jug Dev to the notice of the Raja, who engaged him in his service for the extravagant sum of a thousand crowns a day. This naturally excited the jealousy of the other officers of Sidh Raja's Court, but an opportunity at length occurred for Jug Dev to prove that his services had been cheaply bought. One rainy night when "the frogs croaked, the pea-fowl screamed, the shrill cry of the sparrow hawk was heard and the flashes

of lightning were seen, on such a night as this, a noise reached the King's ear it was like the sound of four women singing joyful songs in the eastern direction, and of four other women lamenting at a short distance from them." The King desired his attendants to go out and see what had happened, but Jug Dev only went. The King followed him to see whether he would really go. "Jug Dev advanced to where the women were lamenting, and said to them, who are you? Are you mortals or wives of Devas, or are you Bhootnees, or Pretnees, or Siddhs, or Sheekoturs? Why are you lamenting with so much grief at this midnight time? Tell me what calamity it is that you suffer." They said, "approach, son Jug Dev! wherefore are you come here?" He said, "I am come to inquire the cause of your making lamentation." They said again, "We are the Fates of Puttun. The stroke of ten o'clock to-morrow morning is the time of Sidh Raj Jesingh's death. It is on that account we are lamenting. Who will perform service, worship, make presentation of gifts and sacrifices? We must needs lament." The King heard what they said from where he stood in concealment. Jug Dev said, "But who is it that is singing?" The Fates said, "go and inquire of themselves." Jug Dev went, and paying obeisance, said, "you sing songs of good news. Who is your King, and what pleases you, that you are thus singing?" They said, "We are the Fates of Delhi. We are come for Sidh Raj Jesingh, see, there is the chariot. That is why we sing." He offered his life for the Raja's which was accepted, but he asked permission to go and obtain the consent of his wife. "The Fates laughed scornfully." His wife however consented, but said, "my prince, I have one petition. Why should I survive for six hours' existence, why should I undergo so much calamity? I will offer my life with yours." Jug Dev said, "but the children—what will be come of them?" The Chowree said, "let them be offerings at the same time." Jug Dev agreed, and they proceeded all together. "Sidh Rao Jesingh was filled with astonishment, he said, well done! Rajpoot, and well done! Rajpootnee." On seeing so much devotion the Fates relented, and granted prolonged life to Sidh Raj without equivalent. The Raja was overjoyed and could not heap too many favours on Jug Dev. He offered him a daughter in marriage, but, as in duty bound, Jug Dev consulted his noble wife before accepting such a gift. Ladies of England, who would be aghast at such a proposition, hear what the Rajpootnee said,—"You are a lord, in your female apartments there should be two or four, you have done well, the connection is a great one."

In the *Ras Mala* is an account of the wonderful hill

Shutroonje or Palitana crowned with countless temples raised by the wealth and devotion of the Jain religionists from all parts of India. It is exceedingly beautiful and interesting, and quite accessible to sight-seers from Bombay. Priests in flowing white garments with their mouths protected by cloth guards from inhaling insects, and female votaries of this ancient and once persecuted faith armed with harmless besoms with which to sweep away and preserve animal life, may be seen pursuing their devotions in this place of sanctity. The profane may not pass a night in the bracing air on the hill, though they are free to visit it by day. From the top of the mountain the view is grand and extensive, and well repays the toil of the ascent even without the additional interest afforded by its immemorable marble shrines.

Not far from them stood the ancient city of Wullusha, the legend of the destruction of which Mr Kinloch Forbes states "bears to the story of the cities of the plain, and of the death of Lot's wife, a resemblance so close, that we find difficulty in supposing it to be other than a faint and far transmitted echo of that wonderful tale." We have heard the same story told of the city of Puttun, and as the legend accounts for that phenomenon of nature, the Runn of Cutch, we will narrate it. In ancient times the sage, Shree Dhorumnathjee, was performing 'Tuposya,' or penance, in the jungle near Puttun, and his disciple, Gurreebnathjee, used to beg alms in the city, but as the inhabitants were not charitable he was obliged to maintain himself by carrying bundles of firewood which he sold in the town. From the proceeds he purchased flour which a shepherd's wife baked for him, adding always a loaf from herself.

The sage, learning the wickedness of the inhabitants from the bald spot on his disciple's head which had been worn by the loads of firewood, sent to warn the shepherd's wife and her family to quit the doomed city but not to look back. The sage then pronounced the words "Puttun Sub Duttun"—let Puttun be swallowed up—when immediately the city became engulfed. The shepherd woman, after having gone a few miles, looked back and was turned into a stone. No sooner had these events happened than Dhorumnathjee, like Christian in the Pilgrim's Progress, became loaded with a heavy weight of sin which could only be expiated by extraordinary penances. Uttering the sorrowful words, "I have committed a great sin," he wandered disconsolately from hill to hill, but all of them trembled and refused to bear the excessive weight of the penitent and his sins.

At length he thus addressed the highest mountain in Cutch,—"Dheerodhur (keep still) and allow me to perform penance on you." The hill answered the sage in a dream, "you are so

'loaded with sin that I cannot bear the heat of your burning so long as you ascend me with your face forwards, but if you will walk up backwards I will then remain steady." The sage then succeeded in getting up the hill, on the summit of which he stood on his head on an iron spike, and fasted for twelve years in this painful position with his mind absorbed in the contemplation of the Deity.

The gods then assured him that his sins had been expiated, but, on his telling them that whatever country he looked on when he resumed his natural position, would be burnt up, they informed him that the sea was on the North and that he could not do much mischief by looking in that direction. The sage complied, and, rising up, looked towards the North, and, causing the sea to dry up and leave the Runn, vanished from the earth.

The hill has ever since been called Deenodher, and at the foot of it the successors of Dorumnath and Gurreebnath built a monastery which has been richly endowed by the Raos of Cutch. The Peer, Warnath Jogee, who presides over the establishment, holds twelve villages, and has under him twelve principal and many more inferior disciples. They are known throughout Guzerat as the "Khanphuttas" or split-ears, for that is one of their distinguishing marks. Large sums are spent by them in charity, for at the monastery, where several huge caldrons of rice are always on the fire boiling, open house is kept, and every morning and evening one of the brethren ascends the hill, and, from the spot where the great penance was performed, calls out "Bhat! Bhat!" (rice! rice!) as an invitation to all persons of whatever caste within hearing, to come and partake of the hospitality of the place. On the demise of the Peer a delegate from the Rao invests his successor with the insignia of office amid the fragrance of incense and the sound of the sacred whistle.

At the conclusion of his book Mr Forbes gives a very interesting account of the religion, and the manners and customs of the Hindoos. The Brahminical and Satanic origin of the Hindoo superstitions may be gathered from the following extracts. "On the thirteenth day after decease the Pret, or newly-embodied spirit, is compelled by the emissaries of Hades to set forth on its journey towards Yumpoor. The roads by which the souls of the wicked are conducted thither are strewn with thorns which lacerate the feet, or paved as if with heated copper. Along these painful ways, where no tree offers its shade to the weary traveller by day and where no kindly hand guides him during the hours of darkness, the Pret is urged without any repose. He cries, "alas! alas! O my son!" and reflects upon his crimes in having made no gifts to

‘Brahmins.’ “He who settles annual grants upon priests carries with him to paradise his father and mother, and the progenitors of both. The giver of “bride gifts” to Brahmins, obtains the joy of the Soors’ dwelling for his paternal ancestors, he who has consecrated a wâo, a well, a reservoir, a garden or house of Deva, or who repairs these, is admitted to Umurpoor, and the giver to Brahmins of mangoe trees or daily gifts, is borne to that abode of happiness in a splendid chariot, upon which four servants sit to fan him with chamurs. They also attain to swerga who offer their heads to Shiva in the lotus worship, who take the “terrible leap” from the summit of some consecrated cliff, who drown themselves in the holy water of the Ganges, or commit suicide in any of those other modes which the Hindoo scriptures have invested with the character of meritoriousness.” We can only account for the acceptance of this complicated, unequal and cruel faith by the fact that it has been familiar to the Hindoos from their childhood, is blended with all their actions and thoughts, and is calculated, from its picturesqueness and extravagance, to captivate the childish mind. That faith must be deeply seated which inspires courage to brave death in its most appalling forms. When we think of such horrors as Suttee, Infanticide, and Thuggee we cannot be surprised that India should be a base country and subject to a foreign yoke. “For blood it defileth the land, and the land cannot be cleansed of the blood that is shed therein but by the blood of him that shed it.” But the most singular doctrine in the Hindoo religion is that which permits the belief that men are able by their austerities to make the gods subservient to their will. Thus the Hindoos believe that Vishnoo, in the form of a dwarf, was only just in time to prevent the heavens from falling into the hands of a certain king.

Dr Kitto has noticed the remarkable resemblance between the temple at Jerusalem and Egyptian temples, and the same similitude is equally observable in regard to Hindoo temples and in the ceremonies performed in them. He observes, “—The heathen boasted of the presence of their gods among them in their temples. And God condescended to give the Hebrews in the Shechinah, or miraculous gift, a manifest and unquestionable symbol of his presence with them. He would keep the state of a Court as Supreme Civil Magistrate and King of Israel, from whence he would issue his laws and commandments as from an oracle. In both the tabernacle and the Egyptian temple, the area was an oblong square, the front portion of which was occupied by a Court or Courts, where the worshippers attended, and where sacrifice was offered. The

'sacred apartments in both were at the remote extremity, the most holy being the smallest and innermost. Into these sacred chambers, among both the Hebrews and the Egyptians, none but priests were admitted, being, as elsewhere shown, not intended for the worship of the people, but for the residence of the God, and for the performance of such services as his high and chosen servants were entitled to render. In a royal palace are to be found all the things that we have mentioned. There are some persons who guard the palace, others who execute offices belonging to the royal dignity, who furnish the banquets, and do other necessary services for the monarch, others who daily entertain him with music, both vocal and instrumental. In a royal palace there is a place appointed for the preparation of victuals, and another (nearer the presence) where perfumes are burned." This description also applies to a Hindoo temple. These priests deliver the oracles of the god, present to him offerings of food, keep up lights, cars and palanquins for him to ride in, and dancing girls and musicians to perform before him *

"It is well seen, O God how thou goest, how thou my God and King goest in the sanctuary. The singers go before, the minstrels follow after, in the midst are the damsels playing with the timbrels." Dancing is not now usually associated in the mind with the idea of devotion, and yet that it naturally is so would appear from our own Jumpers and the Mahomedan Zickers. We are acquainted with a Rajpoot sovereign distinguished for his good sense, who is known to have danced before his Idol naked and with dishevelled hair, in hopes of obtaining from him the boon of a son and heir. Should we feel tempted to despise a prince who so demeaned himself, we should remember how "David danced before the Lord with all his might." "Let them His great name extol in the dance."

We recollect once going to see some dancing Dervishes perform on a Friday at Cairo. We were admitted into a courtyard in which we sat on stone benches, and had coffee and pipes handed to us in consideration of the dollar we had paid. After waiting for some time we were led into a domed tomb without being required to take off our shoes. We were invited to sit down on cushions at one extremity of the dome, opposite the Dervishes, who were seated in a circle on the other side on rugs and sheep skins. They commenced with a slow and not unpleasant chant which gradually changed into a quicker measure. This excited the Dervishes who jerked their heads up

* It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the Hindoo religion is a corruption of the true one. The Hindoos have, like the Christians, seven days in the week, and they are named as with us from the planets.

and down in the most persevering manner, keeping time to the music by voice and motion. By degrees the movements became more fast and furious, till caps flew off and hair streamed wildly to and fro and up and down. At length one of the party hopped into the middle of the circle, and danced round and round in the most absurd manner. His example was followed by several others and the whole party looked like mad fanatics, as they were, fit for any extravagance. We could only suppress excessive merriment by stuffing a handkerchief into the mouth, though if the cry had been raised that infidels were looking on and mocking them our life would not have been worth a moment's purchase.

It is a popular belief among Hindoos that individuals are sometimes possessed of evil spirits, and that some forms of madness are such possessions. It is common for native officials to account for suicides by reporting to their superiors that such and such persons, having become possessed of Bhoots, had hanged or drowned themselves. Mr Forbes observes,—“The powers which Bhoots and Piets exercise are the following—They take possession of a corpse, and speak through its mouth, they exhibit themselves in the form which they possessed when living, they enter into a living man and cause him to speak as they please, sometimes they affect him with fever or various other diseases, sometimes they assume the forms of animals, and frighten people by suddenly vanishing in a flash of fire, sometimes remaining invisible, they speak in whispers. A Bhoot has been known to come to fisticuffs with a man, and to carry a man off and set him down in a distant place.”

The annals of crime in India have recorded many shocking murders of poor old women on suspicion of their being “Dakins” or witches. Such superstitions are not confined to India, nor have similar crimes always been so. In some parts of England, witches are or were believed to be able to annoy and injure their neighbours by assuming the forms of cats or other animals against whom lead or iron was of no avail. A silver bullet or a bent silver coin were supposed to be the only missiles capable of taking away the life of the hated old hag in disguise. In Scotland the freaks of the water Kelpie are well known. Once in the shape of a beautiful Shetland pony grazing on the banks of a pretty burn, he enticed to their doom some schoolboys who were playing in the neighbourhood. One of them after patting his sleek sides, ventured to mount the docile animal and then invited his companion to get up behind him. He again, finding room enough, called on another boy to get up behind him. Thus the cunning sprite by gradually elongating his body induced all the boys to get upon his back. He then slowly neared the

stream and plunged into a deep pool, and then too late the urchins

"Saw him lave,
Delighted in his parent wave."

No one came to their aid or heard their drowning shrieks

"For high
The wild waves rising drowned the cry"

On another occasion the same evil spirit, assuming the form of a long green leaf, induced a village maiden on her way to a wedding to tie him round her as a sash. Her joyous welcome by the bridal party was soon turned into horror and dismay when the guests heard a scream, and saw the poor girl's body severed at the slender waist by the Kelpie who had turned himself into a sharp razor and vanished.

In *King Lear*, Edgar says "This is the foul fiend Flibbertigibbet he begins at curfew, and walks till the first cock, he gives the web and the pin, squints the eye, and makes the hare lip, mildews the white wheat and hunts the poor creatures 'of earth." And in the *Tempest*, Ariel says "I come to answer thy best pleasure, be to fly, to swim, to dive into the fire, to ride on the curled clouds."

"Where the bee sucks there lurk I,
In the cowslip's bell I lie,
There I couch when owls do cry
On the bat's back I do fly"

In the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, the Fairy says:

"Now it is the time of night
That the graves all gaping wide,
Every one lets forth his sprite,
In the Churchyard paths to glide"

We know that the belief in "second sight" and the "Black Art" was formerly very prevalent in Scotland. We have been told that a Scottish gentleman on his way to visit a friend in the country, on nearing a ford not far from the country seat, as the shades of evening began to close in, observed a procession descending the other bank of the river by torch light. Pausing to see what it was, he beheld the funeral of a child attended by his friend as chief mourner and followed by many of his acquaintances. The mournful cavalcade slowly descended to the river and there faded from the sight. The traveller proceeded, and arrived at his destination only just in time to see his friend's child alive. We knew one gallant officer who was persuaded that he had seen the apparitions of more than one deceased person, and another officer who professed to be able to call up the shades of the departed. When hard pressed to exhibit his powers, his answer was that he would not do so because he must begin by committing a great crime.

Mr Forbes says,—"There are six descriptions of charms 'or "Muntras," known in Goozerat, which are described in a 'series of works forming the scriptures on the subject, or "Muntra Shastras." A charm called "Marun Muntra" has the power 'of taking away life "Mohun Muntra" produces ocular or auricular illusions, "Sthumbhun Muntra" stops what is in motion, "Akurshun Muntra" calls or makes present anything, 'Wusheekurun Muntra" has the power of enthralling, and 'Oochatun Muntra" of causing bodily injury, short of death." We have heard the opinion expressed at Baroda that the late Guicowar had caused incantations to be made with a view to take the life of an obnoxious Resident. The charm certainly failed for the time, but we are not sure that subsequent events did not strengthen the popular belief. We have been entreated by natives of rank to interfere to prevent a Brahmin at enmity with them from perambulating a temple dedicated to the goddess of destruction the contrary to the usual way. Repeating the Lord's prayer backwards was formerly a favourite incantation in Europe. Villagers will often in this country abandon a tract of rich land, or the cultivation of a particular crop, from the belief that it had been cursed.

Charms and propitiatory offerings to idols are more relied on than medicines in sickness and pestilence. Ashes from the fire pit, the "Turth," or water that has been poured over the god, are believed to be powerful remedies. Visitations of cholera are attempted to be averted by processions of village maidens carrying garlands of flowers or other offerings to the god presiding over their hamlet. Sometimes villagers make a miniature cart and placing, as they suppose, the cholera in it, drag it to the lands of a neighbouring village, the inhabitants of which forcibly resist the unwelcome visitor. But if the little chariot gets within their boundaries in spite of their wishes and efforts, they do not rest until they have dragged it on to another village where the same scene recurs. The friends of persons attacked with cholera often refuse to administer medicine to them lest Bhowanee, in revenge for being deprived of her prey, may visit them with a more dire calamity. Mr Forbes observes, "Of omens, Krishnajeel, the author of *Rutun Mala*, has left us a very full enumeration. The following are the inauspicious omens which an army encountered on its way to a field of battle, where it was defeated. First, as they went, a man sneezed when he met them, a dog howled—an omen not good, a cat passed them on the right hand, a donkey brayed, and a kite cried terribly. Meeting them, came a widow and a Sanyasee, a Brahmin without a teeluk on his forehead, a person dressed in mourning

own protection, to indemnify himself out of the means of those who can, for the loss he is sure to sustain from those who cannot, pay. The monied class is therefore as deserving of protection as any other. Mr Le Bas, a Mofussil Judge on the Bengal Establishment, has expressed an opinion that our Civil Courts are blots on our administration, that they ought to be swept away, and that the people should be left to manage their pecuniary affairs without the aid of law, since, though Native Governments had no Civil Courts, money was freely lent and borrowed under them.

We believe that the remedy which our Civil Courts offer to creditors induces prudence among borrowers, and, whilst they protect the latter from all other modes of pressure, their cost and delay are sufficiently deterring to the former. There were no Civil Courts under Native Governments, it is true, but what was the consequence? If a rich creditor dragged his poor debtor from his home and occupation, starved him in a dark room, made him stand on one leg uncovered in the sun, hang suspended from a rafter, or gasp under the pressure of a heavy weight, who would interfere between them? The rich man had only to say that he was settling accounts with his constituents and no more questions were asked, and even if the cry of oppression chanced to reach the ear of authority a silver veil soon shut out sight and sound. Those were the days of cruelty and extortion on one side, and of falsehood, deceit and evasion on the other, of one party endeavouring to exact and the other to withhold as much as possible. If a creditor could not shut up a rich debtor or lay a finger on his property, he still had other modes of pressure. Hear Mr Forbes on this subject. "About thirty years ago, a Chorun asserted a claim against the chief of Syela, in Katteewar, which the chief refused to liquidate. The lord thereupon taking forty of his caste with him, went to Syela with the intention of sitting in, "Dharna" at the chief's door, and preventing any one coming out or going in until the claim should be discharged. However, as they approached the town, the chief, becoming aware of their intention, caused the gates to be closed. The bards remained outside, for three days they abstained from food, on the fourth day they proceeded to perform "Iraga," as follows — some hacked their own arms, others decapitated three old women of the party, and hung their heads up at the gate as a garland. Certain of the women cut off their own breasts. The bards also pierced the throats of four of their old men with spikes, and they took two young girls by the heels and dashed out their brains against the town gate. The Chorun to whom the money was due, dressed himself in clothes wadded with

The Bheel and Koohe plunderers of Guzerat, aptly termed "the soldiers of the night," form an important and troublesome part of the population. In times of tumult they were ever ready to take advantage of every opportunity of plunder, and to join the standard of any chief who promised to gratify their love of rapine. For many years subsequent to the introduction of the British Government in Guzerat, it was common for persons, having real or supposed grievances, to attempt their redress by going out in what was called Bharwuttea or self-outlawry. The habit of such persons was to inflict as much mischief as possible on all but their personal friends, as a means of forcing the authorities to interest themselves in their case. They took care to have friends in every village ready to give them intelligence, food and shelter. The people generally, who were spared by those outlaws, gloried in their deeds. Most persons who have been in Guzerat must have heard of the notorious Bharwuttea, Gendat, who was at length brought to bay and destroyed by the late Major Fulljames. The villagers were full of his exploits, and everybody in the country could recount numbers of his hairbreadth escapes and daring exploits. How when hotly pursued he would disappear miles off from the city of Ahmedabad, and presently re appear in the centre of the town out of subterranean passages known only to himself, and how he eluded capture and mocked his pursuers on his fleet Kattewar mare. Besides whole tribes of hereditary robbers India was infested by associations of the most desperate criminals, as Thugs, Dacoits and many others, who disguised their real pursuits under the pretence of honest callings. All attempts to reclaim such men have failed. We have been told by a professional robber whom we had placed under the surveillance of the Police, that he would at any time prefer being blown from a gun to the degradation of manual labour. The History of India has recorded the dreadful atrocities committed by predatory hordes in times of anarchy. The towns and villages of whole Provinces were sacked and burnt by them. "Before them was the garden of Eden, and behind them a desolate wilderness." Candish has hardly yet recovered from the devastations committed by the Pindarrees. The "Ras Mala" gives a very interesting description of the beautiful temples, gateways, reservoirs and other architectural remains of the Kingdom of Unhulwara. We can testify to the exceeding beauty of the curved gateway still remaining at Dubhooa, which doubtless only conveys a faint idea of the magnificence of the buildings that once adorned the city Unhulpoor.

We would venture to recommend Mr K. Forbes to employ his able and indefatigable pen in recording the glories of the

dynasty of the Nurputtee Rajas of Annagoondee, which claims descent from the Pandeos. They were the authors of innumerable irrigational works of great magnitude in the Southern Mahratta country, and unless distance leads enchantment to the view, the Annagoondee Rajas were according to popular tradition, models of good government. Nothing can exceed the number, richness, profuseness, and variety of the architectural remains at Annagoondee. The beauty and variety of the brackets, fluted to their pillars and sculptured walls, to be found there, is quite marvellous. One specimen of carving that we particularly noticed was an elaborately finished granite chariot. The figures showed traces of delicate colours, and when they were all fresh from the painter they must have presented a most gay and animated appearance.

Our author gives a spirited description of the city of Unhil poor from a native writer. No doubt the scene must have been most lively and picturesque. We can well imagine what a gala day was there, especially at the Dussera festival, when all the inhabitants proceeded in their gayest attire to the place of sacrifice, and the sovereign, surrounded by his nobles, auxiliaries and ministers seated on painted and gaily caparisoned elephants and prancing studs, moved on in state to slay the sacred buffalo. Nothing can be conceived more animated than such a scene, a bright sky above, green fields and trees below, and sparkling fountains, the flowing and many coloured dresses of the people, the shrill notes of martial music, the sound of the hollow drum, the neighing of horses and the shouts of men. The scene would appear to represent the pleasures of a people of peaceful and polished manners, and yet the ceremony of the day is the unloosing of the dogs of cruel war. The lust of conquest has inflamed the Chief and his followers with the desire of unprovoked war and plunder. Their track will be stained with blood, and marked by ruined farms and burning villages.

The dynasty has come to an end and its place has been taken by the stranger, because it was buried under sensuality, intrigue and corruption, because it was not guided by law and a care for the well-being of the people, but by unjust caste distinctions, and by superstitions which fostered animal life while they disregarded the life of man.

We say of Unhilwara and her dynasty with the Poet—

"In ruin 'mong the States unblessed,
Thus perish every King and State
That run the guilty race she ran.
Strong but in ill and only great
By outrage against God and man.
Let her rest."

And in regard to other Native States we would add in the words of our author "Where royal power has ceased to exist, 'there royal rights also must be admitted to have perished, and 'a great supremacy must necessarily extinguish petty jurisdictions, as the sun does a little fire"

ART VIII — *Copy of a Despatch from the Government of India, dated the 3rd day of June 1859, reviewing the Report of the Commissioner for the Revision of Civil Salaries and Establishment throughout India Return to an Address of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 4th August, 1859*

"THE thing," said a recent traveller to the writer, "the thing which has struck me most forcibly in India is the hate the Anglo-Indians have for it. No man, by his own account, would remain an hour but for the money." The traveller spoke the truth. The old liking of Anglo-Indians for their career, that devotion to the interests of India, that profound acquaintance with the people which made them the most successful of conquerors, and the most egregious of bores, has disappeared. In its stead we have a growing distaste for India, its climate, its people, and its habitudes, which threatens to ripen fast into disgust. The alteration is of comparatively recent origin, fifteen years having in this instance done the work of a generation. The process began with the opening of the Overland route in 1845. From that date Englishmen, previously interested only in India, began to interest themselves in European affairs. The rapid and vigorous life of the West, the constant progress of ideas, the momentous consequences to the world which follow every change, soon exercised their wonted fascination. Men began slowly to re-Anglicise themselves. The new furlough rules followed, the services swarmed homeward, and returned to find the monotony and solitude of Asiatic life almost insupportable. Then came the Mutinies, and with them the temporary extinction of that sympathy for the population which, above all other causes, had given an interest to the work of administration. They were followed by a season of universal discontent, discontent with new taxes and now reductions, with the changes rendered imperative by public opinion at home, and the quiescence enforced by the feeble repressive policy of the Governor-General. The Indian world, wound out with excitement, disappointment, and political disgust, sighs only for the home it is for the majority impossible to reach. Every man who can leave, leaves. Every man who stays, consoles his despondency by calculating when he may follow. England has become all in all, and India, as our travelling friend declared, is simply an object of disgust.

This access of nostalgia, even if temporary, is a serious misfortune to the Empire. Civilization, progress, the security essential to the accumulation which is the basis of both, rest mainly on the views and character of the white aristocracy of the few Europeans

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NOTICE

Owing to the numerous applications both in *India* and in *Great Britain* for the early numbers of the *Calcutta Review*, which are now out of print, the Proprietor was led to determine on printing a **THIRD EDITION** of Nos I, II and III, and a **SECOND EDITION** of the subsequent *nine* numbers. Most of these new editions are now ready, the rest are in progress, and may be had on application to the Publishers, Messrs SANDERs, CONES and Co, Loll Bazar, Calcutta, or to any of the Calcutta Book sellers

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